Architecture, Technocracy, and Silence: Building Discourse in Franquista Spain

María González Pendás

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee
of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2016

ABSTRACT

Architecture, Technocracy, and Silence: Building Discourse in Franquista Spain

María González Pendás

This dissertation explores the modernization of architecture in Spain in relation to the ideological, cultural, and institutional evolutions of Francisco Franco's regime (1939-1975). It traces the ways in which buildings, images, and ideas about the built environment participated in the distinct form of technocracy—a Catholic technocracy—that conformed the Franquista State at mid-passage. In so doing, it provides an interpretation of the historical development of Franquismo as seen through the lens of architecture as much as of the politics of the architecture of the period. Throughout its thirty-six year span, the authoritarian state led by General Franco transitioned from the fascist military autarky that came out of the Civil War (1936-1939) to a technocracy that retained the ultra-conservative values that were essential to its inception. Members of the organization Opus Dei, the lay Catholic movement founded in Spain in the late 1920s, came in the 1950s to control the cultural and governing apparatus of the regime. As non-party technocrats, they were called upon to rationalize the government, advance sciences and technology, liberalize the economy, and bring forth the country's geopolitical realignment with the democratic West. The ambiguous combination of conservative Catholicism and modernization they promoted best suited the regime, as it sustained the reactionary apparatuses of the dictatorship while allowing for partial reforms. Through a series of close analyses of four buildings now canonical of the period—the Camino Chapel designed in 1954, the Tarragona Government Building of 1956, the national pavilion of Expo 58, and the Pallars housing block for workers built in 1959—this dissertation makes buildings speak of the shifting politics of Franquismo and its governing techniques, of the dislocations of Catholicism that were essential to these changes, and of the distinct architectural culture that emerged within these processes. This history thus reveals the structural role certain buildings played in the advent of Spain's Catholic technocracy, arguing that the intersection of aesthetics and politics assumed the paradoxical discursive form of silence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Architecture, Technocracy, and Silence: Building Discourse in Franquista Spain

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig.1.36: Demolition plan (above) and preliminary foundation plans marked “Anulled” (below), 1942, Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

Fig.1.37: Campus Plan, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid. Number 6 is the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, number 8 is the Central Building; number 9 is the Entrance Portico Building, all designed by Miguel Fisac.

Fig.1.38: Central Portico building (above),Central Building (below) National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, 1943, by Miguel Fisac

Fig.1.39: Central Building, 1943, and Daza Valdés Institute for Optical Studies, 1946-1950, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac. As published in *ABC.*

Fig.1.40: Plans and exterior view. Daza Valdes Institute for Optical Studies, 1946-1950, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

Fig.1.41: Plan, view of interior staircase and side façade. Ramón y Cajal Center for Biology Studies, 1951-1956, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

Fig.1.42: Front view (left) and building under construction (right). Ramón y Cajal Center for Biology Studies, 1951-1956, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac. As published in *Arriba*, February 7, 1957.

Fig.1.43: Picture of the official inauguration of National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid on October 12, 1946. Center in the image is Francisco Franco on military clothes, to his right is Miguel Fisac in civil clothes and to his left Ministry of Education José Ibañez Martín. As published on *ABC*, October 13, 1946.

Fig.1.44: Images of Miguel Fisac as public figure. Press clippings of interviews on matters of architecture published in local and national journals (above) and a picture of Miguel Fisac lecturing at *La Estila,* Santiago de Compostela, February, 1949 (below).

Fig.1.45: Illustration in “Orientaciones y desorientaciones en la arquitectura religiosa” *Arbor* 12:39 (1949), above is the Church of Saint Charles Borromeo, Lucerne, by Fritz Merger, which was shown in the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939. Below, the interior of a swimming pool in Stockholm, as captioned by Fisac.

Fig.1.46: Interior view, towards the altar. Church for the Dominican Fathers, Valladolid, 1952, by Miguel Fisac with sculptures of Jorge Oteiza.

Fig.1.47: Interior view, towards the altar. Church for the Dominican Fathers, Alcobendas, Madrid, 1955.

Fig.1.48: Interior view, towards the altar. Concepción Church, Vitoria, 1958.

Fig.1.49: Watercolor, exterior drawing, competition board. San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid, 1952, by Rafael Aburto and Francisco Cabrero.

Fig.1.50: Watercolors and plan (below), competition boards. San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid, 1952, by Rafael Aburto and Francisco Cabrero.

Fig.1.51: Exterior view. Basilica for the Virgin of Aranzazu, Oñate, Guipúzcoa, 1950-55, by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza and Luis Laorga, with scupltors Jorge Oteiza and Eduardo Chillida and painter Lucio Muñoz.

Fig.1.52: Photographs of refrigeration tower (below right), concrete hangar and damn (left) as shown by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza in his keynote for the Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura on the San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid. As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 123, March 1952, pp. 40-41.

Fig.1.53: Photographs of War Memorial by Max Bill (above left), Monument to the Third International by Vladimir Tatlin (below left) and high-tension electrical tower (above right) as shown by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza in his keynote for the Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura on the San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid, to compare with the campanile (below right). As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 123, March 1952, pp.45-46.

Chapter 2 Civil Government Building in Tarragona, 1956-67, and the Politics of Abstraction

Chapter 3

"Hispanization in the Ends, Europeanization in the Means:" The National Pavilion at Expo 58

Fig.4.12: Front view and detail of carved stone base. Colegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 1958-1962, by Xavier Busquets. As published in *Serra d'Ors* V, March 1962, following Bohigas' essay "Cap a una arquitectura realista."

Fig.4.13: Plans and sections, competition boards. Competition for Rural Housing, 1945 (above) and agricultural new village, 1941 (below). As published in *Arquitectura* 199, 1977, p.7.

Fig.4.14: Plans of new villages by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization). As published in *Arquitectura para despues de una guerra* (Architecture For After War), 1977, p.58.

Fig.4.15: Plan and exterior views. Esquivel, Andalucia, 1952, new village by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization) by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.4.16: Aerial view and street views. Vegaviana, Cáceres, 1955, new village by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization) by Rafael Fernández del Amo.

Fig.4.17: Exterior view. Vegaviana, Cáceres, 1952, new village by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization) by Rafael Fernández del Amo. Photograph by Kindell.

Fig.4.18: Census of barracas (in black) and caves (in red) in Barcelona, c.1950, issued by the Barcelona Civil Government (above); general overview of barraca area in the outskirts of Barcelona, c.1950.

Fig.4.19: General overview of barracas in the outskirts of Barcelona, c.1950.

Fig.4.20: General overview of barracas in the outskirts of Barcelona, c.1950. On the background, smoke columns from the burning of barracas by Barracas Eradication Service of the Barcelona Civil Government.

Fig.4.21: Cover and interior page. *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*,1942, by Jose Luis Sert.

Fig.4.22: Aerial view and unit plan. Casa Bloc, workers housing quarters, Barcelona, 192-36 by GATCPAC, *Catalan Group of Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture.* As published in the journal *AC. Documentos de Arctividad Contemporánea,* 11.

Fig.4.23: Fifth National Architects' Assembly, Barcelona, May 10-11-12, 1949. Inaugural lecture by the General Director of Architecture, Francisco Prieto Moreno (above); Gio Ponti speaking up and amongst the audience (below).

Fig.4.24: Summary of the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition. "The housing problem," special issue of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 15, 1953,edited by Oriol Bohigas, Francisoc Bassó and Jose Maria Buxo.

Fig.4.25: Map of urban areas of analysis and diagrams on living standards per area of the city Barcelona. As published in the summary of the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition. "The housing problem," special issue of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 15, 1953,edited by Oriol Bohigas, Francisoc Bassó and Jose Maria Buxo.

Fig.4.26: Housing types proposed in the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition. Proposal of open block for the Manzana Cerdá by winning team, by Antonio de Moragas, Franciso Mitjans, Ramon Tort, Jose Balcells, Antonio Perpiña, and Jose Maria Sostres (above). Proposals for 35 to 75 m^2 three-bedroom units with kitchen open to the living area by the various participants (below).

Fig.4.27: "Town planning….includes the study of the life of cities and of living conditions within them."*Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*,1942, by Jose Luis Sert.

Fig.4.28: Cover. *Barcelona. Entre el Plan Cerdá I el barraquime*,1963, by Oriol Bohigas

Fig.4.29: Barcelona Bishop Gregorio Modrego y Casaus and the diretor of the Colegio de Arquitectos de Catalonia visit the exhibition of the works submitted for the Affordable Housing Competition, November 1949.

Fig.4.30: Official brochure for the Thirty-fifth International Eucharistic Congress, held in Barcelona, May 27-June 1, 1952. Edited by the Dioceses of the Catholic Church of Barcelona and Bishop Modrego, it shows how the city was promoted as a site for evangelism.

Fig.4.31: Perspectival drawing. Housing development along Felipe II Avenue (later known as area of Can Ros), Barcelona, 1953, promoted by Viviendas del Congreso Eucaristico and the National Institute of Housing, designed by Josep Soteras Mauri, Carles Marquès y Antoni Pineda. As published in *La Vanguardia*, January 29,

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Out of the five hundred and plus pages that make up this dissertation, this one—the last blank page for me to face—is by far the most difficult to write. The intellectual, personal, and emotional generosity that I have benefited from in order to complete this project is daunting; the debts that I have accumulated intractable; the amount of life that has come and gone in the process is simply overwhelming. This project could not have been realized without the challenging advice and intellectual imagination of my advisor, Reinhold Martin, whose interest in its content and faith in my abilities as a scholar often surpassed my own. I owe him the deepest of gratitude for inviting me to look for questions and insights hid behind the curtain. The inception of this dissertation is indebted to the genuine interest of Kenneth Frampton, whose door and vast knowledge he made gracefully available to me since the very first time I stepped into Columbia University. He read numerous drafts and his edits have helped sharpen my focus while keeping me close to the objects he knows so well: buildings. Joan Ockman believed in this project since it was a formless intuition. She first planted the seeds of political inquiry and critical speculation, which she has not ceased to nurture with her uncompromised rigor and friendship. I owe particular debt to Juan José Lahuerta, who fostered new kinds of questions and showed me the pleasures of turning the arid times of research into fascinating conversations. Felicity Scott was a candid reader and the best guide one can wish for in the final stages of this enormous project. My thesis owes much to the boldness of the work of José Casanova, whose presence was a constant one, if in paper. I thank him for accepting to turn paper into person and providing insightful comments in my defense. I here extend my gratitude to the rest of the PhD faculty at the Graduate School of Architecture Planning and Preservation at Columbia University, with whom I had the pleasure to grow into a historian, most notably Mary McLeod, Jorge Otero-Pailos, and Barry Bergdoll. The wonderfully perceptive Jean-Louis Cohen supported this project from the beginning and has generously helped me exacting many ideas.

When a doctorate in a faraway land was an unthinkable feat, Mariano Bayón and Alvaro Soto provided the necessary support and imagination for me to believe it possible, while Juan Herreros and Jesús Aparicio opened crucial gateways. This project is but an act of estrangement from the architectural world they helped me be a part of, and also leave behind. For all these years I have discussed, read and written on architectural history with my friend and colleague Patricio del Real. Our collaboration has been the richest of my academic career. Marta Caldeira, Pep Avilés, Leslie Klein and Ayala Levin have been constant friends and challenging interlocutors in all matters of life, and Hellen Gyger was particularly sound in providing her support also in the mysteries of clear prose. The rest of my brilliant colleagues at the doctoral program at Columbia University have conformed the most defining milieu for my thinking. I was fortunate to have been exposed to their minds and feedback in many workshops, lecture rooms and bars. My gratitude goes to Daniel Barber, Irene Cheng, Ginger Nolan, Peter Minosh, Andrea Merett, Alexandra Quantrill, Daniel Talenski, Nori Tsuneishi, Diana Martínez, James Graham, Hollyamber Kennedy, and Chris Barker, amongst others. At Columbia and elsewhere, I encountered a scholarly community that both enriched and helped consolidate ideas in conversations, conferences and panels. Thanks go to many, amongst them: Stanislaus Von Moss, Lucy Maulsby, Jordana Mendelson and Miriam Basilio, Rika Devos, Vladimir Paperny, Danilo Udovicki, Zeynep Celik, Christine Stevenson, Leslie Topp, Vladimir Kulic, Paula Barreiro López, Fabiola Martinez, Dino del Cueto, Angela Giral, Anoo Siddqi, Silvia Perea, Susanna Santala, Federica Vanucci, José Araguez, Urtzi Grau, Joaquim Moreno, Lluis Casanovas, Remei Capdevilla, Ana Maria Leon, Luis Castañeda, and Antonio Petrov, whose brotherly connection runs long. Alexander Ortenberg's insights and friendship were particularly precious findings.

As familiar as I was with my context of study, research in archives, sites and libraries across Spain was a more challenging and fragmented experience than I first envisioned, and I am particularly indebted to Teresa Couceiro and Alberto Sánz for sharing their expertise and for pulling out the random folder and the forgotten box. I owe to the Fulbright Commission, the Foundation Caja Madrid, and the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture and the Graham foundation for funding my research at various stages. I am especially indebted to my interviewees Enrique de la Sota, Antón Capitel, Carlos Sambricio, Tomás Lloréns, and Oriol Bohigas, who shared both their memories and their silences about intense times in the history of Spain. I am only sorry I have not been able to pay the dues that each of their individual stories deserve.

The writing of this book has taught me much about the meaning of History. But it is the passing of time in the lives of those closest to me that I have come to comprehend at heart. Here, I write about the years and context my parents, Francisco and Margarita, came into adulthood and it is to them that I owe everything: to their generosity, example, uncompromising love, and support in all things big and small. Susana and Paloma continue to help me with their courage and the resilience of sisterly love. My amazing children, Carmen, Paco and Miguel sustained me through thick and thin with laughs and love, and they inspire me daily with their sense of urgency and hunger of discovery. I hope this work will one day mean to them more than the many hours it has taken from us spending together. I owe much to the grandparents, aunts, friends, teachers and sitters who made up the three villages that raised them while I was onto something no one really knew what it was. Emilio, he knows this well, is my rock and the one person who best understands the content of this dissertation. His support goes well beyond love and patience, of which there has been plenty. For this book is the result of the unlikely and fascinating journey we once dreamed of together, and have continued to fight for one napkin at a time—to many more to come. This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my mother, her love for stories, and joy of life.

> Architecture as politics is by now such an exhausted myth that it is pointless to waste any more words on it. But if Power—like the institutions in which it incarnates itself—"speaks many dialects," the analysis of the "collision" among these dialects must then be the object of historiography. The construction of a physical space is certainly the site of a "battle"….The possibility of constructing the history of a formal language comes about only by destroying, step-by-step, the linearity of that history and its autonomy: there will remain only traces, fluctuating signs, unhealed rifts.
>
> Manfredo Tafuri
> "The Historical Project" 1980

Introduction

Architecture, Ideology, and Silences in Spanish Modernism

0.1. After Franco: Architecture and Historiography as Politics

On November 20, 1975, an evening special edition of the national periodical *ABC* announced: "Franco ha muerto" (Franco has died). The heading on the cover was printed in thick white letters over a black background, and below a picture of Francisco Franco (1892-1975) in high-contrast black-and-white **[Fig.0.1]**. The ghostly image of the dictator was precise, for his passing was as widely expected—after almost four decades of determined dictatorial rule (1939-1975) and lingering near death for weeks—as was enduring the memory of him in the years that followed. November 20, however, marked a turning point in modern Spanish history, the *de facto* end to Franquismo and the start of the so-called *Transición* (Transition). This was the historical period that spanned from Franco's death to the advent of democracy, which some date from December of 1978 with the

referendum that ratified a new Constitution and the first elections in Spain since February of 1936.[1] A few months into the Transición, a small group of architects and architectural historians began to assess the development of architecture and urban planning during the Franquista period. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Carlos Sambricio, Antón Capitel, and Victor Pérez-Escolano, among a few other figures, began a revisionist operation in a series of discussions, publications, and exhibits. These included a special issue of the journal *Arquitectura* titled "Architecture, Power, Ideology," published in the Spring of 1976; a couple of articles on ideology and architecture in the March 1976 issue of *Arquitecturas Bis*; an essay for the catalogue of the Venice Biennale arts exhibition that summer; a series of lectures preceding the exhibition *Arquitecturas para Después de una Guerra* (Architectures for After a War) held between April and December of 1977 in Barcelona and Madrid **[Fig.0.2]**; and the opening article of the first issue of the magazine *El Carrer de la Ciutat*, in November 1977, titled "Architecture of the Left."

As was manifest in these titles and the ideas introduced in these events, the understanding of architecture's recent past was framed in terms of its relationship to politics. This move would seem rather obvious. Not only had architecture for the previous thirty-six years—as well as just about every other sphere of life—unfolded under the authoritarian regime, but also the Transición was a period of significant social upheaval and political debate. As the figure of Franco took on a spectral life through the 1970s, life in Spain was determined by an ubiquitous debate on political reform, that is, on the form the State would take on in Franco's absence; by students' protests and

1 Others date the conclusion of the Transición at a much later date, if at all, from the failed military coup d'état of 1981 to the election of the first Socialist government in 1982, to the recent passing of the Law of Historical Memory in 2007. As manifest in the polemics around this law, and the need for this law, as well as many other cultural and political quarrels over the legacies of Franquismo, the timing of the Transición and its effects is still a matter of debate. Since it pertains to the regime that ensued from Franquismo—which would eventually be a parliamentary monarchy—it can be said to have started as soon as Juan Carlos de Borbon returned to Spain from exile as early as 1948 to be educated in Spain under Franco's supervision. See for instance Javier Tussel, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), and Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fussi, *Spain. Dictatorship to Democracy* (London: Harper Collins, 1981), 252-55.

demonstrations in support of *libertad* (freedom), democracy and change; and more broadly by the opening up of the public sphere after decades of its closure. This was perhaps best captured in a photograph showing a group of civilians, their hands in raise forming the victory sign, in front of a replica of Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* and calling for the return to the country of both the art work and the values it was painted to represent **[Fig.0.3]**. From those who called for a full political overturning, as in this case, to those who vowed to maintain a seamless continuation of the regime, following Franco's claim to have left the system "atado y bien atado" (tied and well-tied), with Franco dead one could openly speak of politics again.

And so architects did, or so they made it seem. The architectural culture of Spain in the 1970s was certainly defined by an enthusiastic embrace of critical discourse and a political narrative. The turn was, somewhat obviously, toward the left. Also, it began with critical theory as broadly informed by the Frankfurt School of Marxist cultural critique. The architectural historian Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero defined the period in terms of "Spanish architects mov[ing] forward in the direction of theory and criticism," a move that was a prelude to full engagement at the level of policy-making and governmental appointments. This "advance" was noticeable initially through the appearance of new magazines with an "ideological slant."[2] With this, Ruiz Cabrero meant to distinguish a series of publications that took on a theoretical approach to discussions on architecture, as opposed to the professional journals dedicated to expositions of projects, often with a profusion of images over text and without an explicit position other than that of publicizing the trade. Chief among the new "ideological" publications was *Arquitecturas Bis,* received at the time of its inception in 1974 and again well after it ended a decade later, as an "instrument of change in the political arena."[3] The magazine engaged contemporary theory, a revision of architectural modernisms, and the

2 Gabriel Ruíz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain: Architecture after 1948* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001), 67.
3 Ibid. *Arquitecturas Bis* was founded in 1974 under an eclectic board of directors that included the architect and intellectual porvocateur Oriol Bohigas, the literary critic Rosa Regás, the art critic Tomas Lloréns, and the architects Rafael Moneo, Federico Correa, Lluis Domenech, Helio Piñon, and Manuel de Solà-Morales.

relationship of architecture and the city.[4] In its lifespan, which paralleled the Transición, it went from considerations of the role of the architect as a public intellectual, preoccupied with issues of civic culture, to actively participating of the reconstruction of Catalan culture and the city of Barcelona. Other publications equally critical and focused on the city as the locii from which to promote a theoretical and political agenda for architecture included *2c.Construccion de la Ciudad*, which took up Aldo Rossi's ideas on the morphology of the city, and the more explicitly leftist *El Carrer de la Ciutat*, founded in 1977.[5]

Drawing from different threads of Marxist cultural critique, which entered the country mainly through Catalunya by way of Italy, these magazines provided a forum for theoretical and historical debate in ways uncharted in Spanish architectural culture. As Joaquim Moreno has recently argued in the case of *Arquitecturas Bis*, the printed page served as a platform to move further in regard to politics in a progression he has described as one "from publication to public action."[6] In 1979, the architect Victor Pérez-Escolano, a member of the Communist party who was involved with both *2c* and *Arquitecturas Bis*, was named Head of Urbanism in the City of Seville.[7] In 1980, the architect and one of the chief editors of *Arquitecturas Bis* Oriol Bohigas became Head of the Urban Planning Department of Barcelona's City Council and Councilor of Culture a decade later.[8] Pérez Escolano and Bohigas were two of the most conspicuous among many others who entered the government at various levels, and who sought to participate in the construction of a new democratic

4 Joaquím Moreno, *Arquitecturas Bis (1974-1985): From Publication to Public Action* (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2011), iii.

5 *2c. Construcción de la Ciudad* was under the directorship of urbanist and academic Salvador Tarragó and *El Carrer de la Ciuta*t was the product of a collective that included Josep Quetglas, Juanjose Lahuerta, and Beatriz Colomina. The center of gravity of this emergent discourse was Barcelona, a city that had been a bastion of the Second Republic, had remained marginal to the officialdom of Madrid during the dictatorship, and was hit hard by Franquista cultural repression.

6 Moreno, *Arquitecturas Bis*, iv.

7 See for instance, Victor Pérez Escolano, "De vuelta…A.C: documento del destino de la vanguardia**,"** *Arquitecturas Bis* 13-14 (1976)

8 In these posts, he was a central agent in the urban and political transformations of the Catalan capital at the time of the Olympic games of 1992.

Spain. As Escolano later put it, architects saw themselves as agents of the reform of the public sphere and the advent of democracy, a political reform that was much discussed and that had been long awaited. In his words:

> For those of us who were young at the end of Franquismo and during the Transición, for those of us who matured under this historical context, it was necessary to respond to the fact that the country was coming out of circumstances we disliked. The country ought to be taken to a different level, and we had to cooperate. We were professionals of urban issues, and we were aware of what did not work well or could work better…there should be fewer professional politicians and more professionals in politics.[9]

Put simply, architects conceived of their practice as politics. If professional expertise on urban issues was seen as one means to establish this connection, the writing of the recent history of Spanish architecture seemed to function similarly, as noted above. Put simply, architectural history alos was conceived as It was also Bohigas who offered a prologue to the framing of Spanish architectural history in terms of politics, with the publication in 1970 of *La arquitectura española de la Segunda República* **[Fig.0.4]**. The book was a brief and provocative account of the modernizing efforts of architects and urban planners during the Second Republic (1931-1936), where Bohigas established an unambiguous relationship between the reformist ethos of interwar rationalism and the politics of the period. By discussing the work and ideas of architects such as Jose Luis Sert, Secundino Zuazo, Josep Torres-Clavé, and especially of the collective GATCPAC, which was the Catalan section of the GATEPAC (G*rupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles para la Arquitectura Contemporánea, Group of Spanish Artists and Techniques for Contemporary Architecture)* the latter being the Spanish version of CIAM, Bohigas argued for the ways in which "republican ideology had a concrete influence in the modern development of culture, and specifically, of art and architecture."[10]

9 Interview with Victor Pérez Escolano by Angel Pérez Guerra, *ABC Sevilla*, May 25, 2002, 30-31. All translations from the Spanish by the author unless otherwise noted.

10 Oriol Bohigas in the "Introduction" to the 1998 re-edition of the book as *Modernidad en la Arquitectura de la España Republicana* (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1998), 12. See also the review of the book by Carlos Sambricio, "*Crítica: de Oriol Bohigas,*" *Revista de Occidente* 115 (1972): 113-116. From the cover and pages of the last number of its short-lived journal

Bohigas recounted a historical development based on a double opposition of right and left politics and avant-gardist and classicist arts, centered on the coming to power of the Popular Front in 1936. This last Republican government had set forth "great revolutionary proposals" in politics with the socialization of the land and the separation of Church and Sate as much as in architecture with GATCPAC's workers projects, the syndicalization of the profession, and most notably with José Luis Sert's and Luis Lacasa's pavilion for Paris 1937 *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*.[11] Images of the renowned pavilion for which Picasso painted *Guernica* bring Bohigas' book to a close. Both painting and pavilion thus act as evidence not only of the ways in which modern art and architecture supported and articulated ideology—meaning left/socialist politics—but also of this relationship coming to an end in the wake of the Spanihs Civil War **[Fig.0.5].** For Bohigas, a "progressive mentality" in architecture had been possible solely under the dynamics of the Republic—and the more its government was to the left, the more "progressive" was its culture and arts. With a swift and common equation of progressive and modernizing ideals, Bohigas concluded that Franquismo implied the "liquidation" of modernsit ideas and aesthetics, with the dictatorship bringing about one of two outcomes with regard to the modern project: first, those who stayed renounced it, willingly or not; and second, those who stood by it, were exiled.[12] Thus came about the "black years" that "annihilated the cultural project" of the Republic and foreclosed all possibilities of modernity, at least as Bohigas interpreted the social and political experience of modernization.[13]

The ways in which Bohigas mobilized Spanish architectural history, interpreted modernization as an eminently progressive process halted by the Civil War, and dwelt on the

---

AC, the group called on Spanish architects to fight for the Republic. The afterlife of the members of GATEPAC is varied: some died during the war, some were forced into exile, and others were banned from practicing their profession. This was the case with Jose Luis Sert, who had built the Republican Spanish Pavillion in Paris in 1937. The literature on GATCPAC and AC is vast, see for instance Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "A.C. Vanguardia arquitectonica y cambio politico," in *Eclecticismo y vanguardia y otros escritos* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2004)

11 Bohigas, *Modernidad en la Arquitectura*, 24.

12 Ibid, 205.

13 Ibid, 12.

relationship between culture and political ideology were both an inspiration and a provocation for the revisions of the Franquista period that unfolded in the texts and events outlined above. Incited by Bohigas' clear-cut resolution of progressive ideals and of worthy architecture, which he declared basically absent upon Franco's arrival in power, Sambricio, Capitel, Solà-Morales and the others looked to nuance the ways in which architects reacted to the outcome and the trauma of the war.[14] For Sambricio, Bohigas sought "to manipulate the interpretation of history," in order to legitimize his position within the new cultural and governmental elites. Against Bohigas' operative history, they set out to understand how "good architecture" had prevailed even after the war and to reveal the "ideological guidelines" that Spanish architects had followed during the Franquista period.[15] They similarly saw their historiographical operation as a way to engage with the democratization of the country, but in a more "objective" or scientific way than Bohigas had done. As they wrote in the editorial to *Architecture, Power, Ideology*:

> With this issue we are looking to contribute to finding serious and polemical bases through which to understand and look back, without anger and with the aim of preserving our energies whole, so that this will allow us to elaborate cultural alternatives that, today more than ever, are democratic (and not authoritarian), popular (and not populist), creative, critical, and progressive (and not repressive, mute and nihilistic). With this, we are joining the intellectuals who are working in our country, each within their sphere of competence, in the construction of an imminent democratic future.[16]

In order to approach historiography in these terms—as a politics of engagement—the authors enlisted the methods of Italian historian Manfredo Tafuri and the so-called critique of ideology. In 1971, Ignasi de Solà-Morales had invited Tafuri to lecture in Barcelona, in what would be the beginning of a tight and loyal following of the Italian's writings and his call to explore the

14 Interview between Carlos Sambricio and the author, Cambridge, Ma, November 11, 2008. See also Carlos Sambricio, *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura* (Murcia: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos, 1983), 11-13.

15 Interview between Carlos Sambricio and the author, Madrid, December 22, 2010. See also "Editorial," in *Arquitectura, Ideologia y Poder*, special issue of *Arquitectura* 199 (1976): 0.

16 Ibid, 2.

historical relationships between architectural developments and the processes of capitalism.[17] A thorough study of the translation of Italian architectural theory into the Spanish context is outside the scope of this work, but the Tafurian perspective is relevant to understanding the motivations and limitations of Spanish architectural historians when it came to looking at their immediate past.[18] Two essays by Solà-Morales are helpful for better understanding this collective historiographical operation. The first, "The Architecture of Housing during Autarchy, 1939-1953," was published in *Architecture, Power, Ideology*, the special issue of *Arquitectura* in the Spring of 1976. The focus of the essay, as with that of the whole issue of *Arquitectura*, was on the early phase of Franquismo. This corresponded to the so-called period of autarchy, when Franquismo was somewhat isolated from international politics and economics and Falange, the Spanish fascist party, dominated the regime's rhetoric and governmental apparatus. The second essay was published for the catalogue of the Venice Biennial in the summer of 1976, when the central exhibit was dedicated to Spain and to the idea of the arts as instruments of political critique under the title "Spain: Artistic Avant-gardes and Social Reality, 1936-1976." In an essay for the catalogue titled, "Spanish Contemporary Architecture: Mumblings and Silences," Solà-Morales discussed architectural developments from the 1950s onwards. The ways in which Solà-Morales covered the span of the dictatorship in these two essays reveal not only the underlying arguments of the historiographical operation of the period, but also a

17 That same year,1971, Ignasi Solà-Morales wrote the prologue to a translation from the Italian of a collection of essays by Walter Benjamin titled *Angelus Novus,* a crucial influence for Tafuri as well, while Manuel Solá-Moales (Ignasi's brother) launched an urban studies and research progam that drew from the Marxits urban critiques of several other Italian theorists, such as Leonardo Benevolo and Carlo Aymonino. A year later, the Catalan publishing house Gustavo Gili published a Spanish translation of Tafuri's *History and Theory of Contemporary Architecture* and his seminal essay *For a Critique of Architectural Ideology*, which appeared in the publication *De la vanguardia a la Metropoli* in 1972. As Carlos Sambricio recalled, they considered themselves as "part of the gang," the "non-Tafurian Tafurians," who participated in the Italian's collective project far from its Venice headquarters. Interview between Carlos Sambricio and the author, unpublished, Cambridge, Ma, November 11, 2008.

18 The impact of Italian architectural theories and historical methodologies on the Iberian Peninsula is being studied by Marta Caldeira, as indicated in her essay, "Batallas sin Cuartel: Rogers et la cultura architettonica catalana (1958-1969) in *Ernesto Nathan Rogers: 1909-1969*, edited by Chiara Bagliones (Milan: Franco Agneli, 2012), 182-195, as well as in "Critical Translation: The Laboratori d'Urbanisme de Barcelona and the Italian Discourse on Urban Form," paper presented in the *Colloquium on Spanish Architecture 1950s-1980*, NYU, April 2012. An account of the relationship between the Spanish and Italian architectural cultures and several interviews with the protagonists of the 1970s is in Jorge Torres Cueco, *Italia y Catalunya. Relaciones e influencias en la arquitectura 1945-1968* (PhD diss, Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, 1990)

crucial analytical shift that in turn, frames the motivations behind this dissertation and its objects of study.

The first of Solà-Morales's texts was unequivocal in regard to his Tafurian connection, as it is a study of the modes of production, institutions, and policies that defined affordable housing in Spain throughout the twentieth century. Solà-Morales carried the two main arguments running across the whole issue of *Arquitectura,* maintaining that the early period of Franquismo best demonstrated the mobilization of architecture as State ideology, and that there had existed much continuity with the ideals and policies of the Republic, that is, prior to the war. The publication thus accepted a periodization of Franquismo based on a model of diachronic development, where the regime's first period was eminently fascist and distinguished from what followed, namely, the dismantling of Falange and consolidation of a technocratic government that lead to the period of *desarrollismo* (developmentalism) in the 1960s.[19]

On this basis, the special issue of *Arquitectura* set out to expose how architecture was perceived at the outset of Franquimso as a powerful "weapon" of ideology and was thus "manipulated" for the construction of a State culture.[20] During autarchy, or the early fascist period as they interpreted it, the emphasis on public housing, city and country planning, and a ubiquitous debate on an imperial style revealed both a reliance on architecture for purposes of State-building and the architects' affiliations with Falange. In line with the Venice school, the different authors in *Arquitectura* exposed various mechanisms and typologies mobilized for this eminently political agenda: Solà-Morales discussed housing policies and vernacular modes of building technology **[Fig.0.6]**, Sambricio analyzed urban policies for the planning of Imperial Madrid, and Pérez-Escolano

19 This was Spain's version of the economic development that defined much of the postwar period in the rest of Europe. The interpretatio of Franquimso in the three phases of autarchy, technocracy, and desarrollismo is well accepted by historians, see Tussel, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy* and Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (Madison, Wi: The university of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

20 *Arquitectura, Ideologia y Poder*, 0.

summarized discursive and stylistic attempts to make architecture an art of the State.[21] Contemporaneously in *Arquitecturas Bis and* alongside the same argument, Capitel looked on the design of the state's flagship institution for higher education, the Technical University of Gijón, and Helio Piñon provided an overview of the political mobilization of monumental classicism and modernism to argue for the connections between totalitarian regimes and the former **[Fig.0.7]**.[22]

This collective proposition, however, sustained a paradoxical argument with regard to the ways in which Spanish architects had looked to provide a State architecture, and thus construed ideology: that they had missed the mark. In the editorial to the special issue of *Arquitectura*, the team determined that the relationship of ideology to architecture during autarchy had proven "inconsistent and merely epidermic."[23] Pérez-Escolano concluded that architects had emphatically tried but eventually failed to make their work an art of the State, in the manner, for instance, of Nazi Germany, thus also revealing the failure of the regime's project of hegemony.[24] For Sambricio, the study demonstrated how neither Franquismo nor its architecture had a "recognizable set of guidelines or established principles."[25] Reactionary, oppressive, and criminal, the regime was, however for him, not to be considered coherent in its aesthetics or its political ideology.[26] This problematic argument helped these writers substantiate the idea, in part in response to Bohigas, of a continuity of the first Franquista government with the Second Republic. The supefluous and short-lived embrace of the classicism/reactionary relationship, at leasr as they perceived it, served to prove

21 Victor Pérez Escolano, "Arte de Estado frente a cultural conservadora," *Arquitectura* 199 (1976): 3-18; Carlos Sambricio, "Ideologias y Reforma Urbana." *Arquitectura* 199 (1976): 77-88; Sofia Dieguez, "Nueva politica nueva arquitectura," *Arquitectura* 199 (1976): 57-62. Dieguez exposed the many assertions made by architects and state officials to promote a new architecture for purposes of the new State; other articles there are by Jorge Martínez Reverte, Francisco Pol, and Salvador Pérez-Arroyo.

22 Antón Capitel, "La Universidad Laboral de Gijón, o el poder en las arquitecturas," *Arquitecturas Bis* 12 (1976): 25-31; and Helio Piñón, "Ideologia y language en as arquitecturas del poder," *Arquitecturas Bis*," 12 (1976): 19-24.

23 *Arquitectura, Ideologia y Poder*, 0.

24 Pérez Escolano, "Arte de estado frente a cultural conservadora," 3.

25 Sambricio, *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*, 230.

26 Interview between Carlos Sambricio and the author, Cambridge, Ma, November 11, 2008.

the failure of Franquismo as a fascist regime and of its architecture as its counterpart. Furthermore, it sustained the claim that remnants of the social and modernizing project of the Second Republic could be traced in the architectural culture developed after the Civil War.

In his turn, Solà-Morales identified the marks of a pre-Franco period in the continuity of policies and institutions charged with the promotion of affordable housing.[27] If the architecture of autarchy ought to be interpreted in continuity with the Second Republic, it ought, at least in part, to be read in "dialectical confrontation" with the period that followed. Solà-Morales, like the others, determined this period ideologically and politically broadly as one led by the truly "conservative forces" of Franquismo, by which was meant those who came to dis-empower Falange, namely, the military, the Church, and the business elites.[28] For Solà-Morales, this shift resulted in housing development moving away from the State and toward the domain of private capital. It was this shift, and not the Civil War, that marked the close of the socially liberative promise of modernism in Spain. As Solà-Morales looked to bend Tafuri's argument to take account of the impasse of modernism and capitalism in the Spanish context, he drew from the Italian's conclusion as much as his object of study.

It was in the second essay, published in the catalogue of the Venice Bienniale that Solà-Morales wrote about modernist-looking buildings. Here, Solà-Morales addressed the most significant architectural developments of the previous twenty years or so, looking to explain how Spanish architects had embraced abstraction, glass, steel, and the formal tropes of modernism from the 1950s onwards. That Solà-Morales would draw from a critique of ideology and more specifically

27 It would seem paradoxical that the Falange dominated period of Franquismo then, the period of explicit fascism, would continue with the social, institutional and cultural practices of the Republic, unless one considers the revolutionary and socialist underpinning of both Hitler's and Mussolini's revolutionary movements; revolutions, that is, from the right. See for instance, David Schoenbaum, *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany, 1933-1939* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1997) and Alexander De Grand, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: The "Fascis" Style of Rule* (New York: Routledge, 1995). The promotion of social housing was also one of the strategies of the Third Reich for purposes of garnering mass appeal. For Spain see Ángela Cenarro Lagunas, La sonrisa de Falange: Auxilio Social en la guerra civil y en la posguerra (Barcelona: Crítica, 2005)

28 Pérez Escolano, "Arte de estado frente a cultura conservadora," 6.

provide an account of the ways in which architects had navigated and potentially opposed Franquismo, was somewhat assumed. Curated by the zealous Marxists cultural philosophers Tomas Lloréns and Valeriano Bozal, among others, the Venice Biennale that summer of 1976 looked to expose the work of Spanish artists who had devised strategies critical of the State.[29] They deployed the term "avant-garde" in reference to the historical avant-gardes and their alliance, in Spain at least, with the revolutionary and popular promises of the left. This was made clear for instance in the image used to publicize the show, Joan Miro's war-years poster *Aide a la Espagne,* with the profile of a man with a raised fist **[Fig.0.2]**. While architecture was not a subject of the show properly speaking, curators placed Sert's and Lacasa's 1937 pavilion at the center of their exhibit as symbolic of such an argument. With the aid of Bohigas for the exhibit design, parts of the 1937 pavilion were replicated in Venice to pinpoint the historical relationship of left politics and avant-gardist art.[30] It was to Solà-Morales however that the curators turned for a historical account of the modernist architecture erected during Franquismo, surely in the hopes he would substantiate their art-as-critique argument.

He did not, for in this second essay, Solà-Morales shifted gears in his methodology and avoided any social, political, or larger cultural analysis of the architecture from the 1950s onwards. Rather than an argument on process, institutions, or production—as in his analysis of housing—Solà-Morales here provides a strictly formalist taxonomy of the architecture of the region. In a survey-like account of the period, Solà-Morales confesses that his goal is "not to examine the structural characteristics" of the architecture but rather their "epiphenomenal" aspects, restraining his analysis

29 The story of the central exhibit of the Venice Biennale of 1976 as an event that engaged the politics of modernism, the Transición, and contemporary international debates on the avant-gardes is a fascinating one awaiting a comprehensive study. At the time, there was an intense debate in Spain about the exhibition and much opposition to it. It was arguably one of the few instances of critique of the dynamics of continuity that defined the period. My account of the event here remains unfortunately brief, and my insights on it stem from an interview with Tomás Llorens, Denia, Spain, January 3, 2010.

30 This pavilion would be replicated in several other ocassions, notably in Barcelona in the crucial Olympic year of 1992.

to an account of "figurative investigations."[31] While he claimed that these served both as "indicators" of processes of production and repositories of "utopian possibilities," in his text he steered away from referring to either material processes or ideals in any specific manner.[32] Instead, he accounted for formal developments, engaging and reifying a linguistic argument. He described the period in terms of phases that went from an initial one of "enthusiastic formulation" of new aesthetic possibilities to a brief second phase of "ardent debate" on modernism, to a third and final phase determined by the realization of a "crisis" whereby architects "fell into the void" of disenchantment with modernism. As a result, they focused their attention onto the value of form and building as disciplinary domain. Solà-Morales defined this finale as one of the "voices of silence."[33] Thus concluded a story of gradual retreat into the forms and technologies of modernism, into the aesthetics of abstraction, and away from the written and spoken word.

Reigning speechless amongst the buildings of the period was a 1954 project by architects Javier Saénz de Oiza and José Luis Romany together with the sculptor Jorge Oteiza, a chapel for the pilgrimage route Camino de Santiago. According to Solà-Morales, this was the "origin" of a few others that best represented the purging of symbolic aspirations in Spanish architecture. Though he provided no images, Solà-Morales selected a group of buildings that included the pavilion for the Brussels Exhibition of 1958 by Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún and the Civil Government Building in the city of Tarragona by Alejandro de la Sota. He saw these buildings as embodying a "creative breath" where "rationalism is overcome on favour of a poetics of technology," and "where the observance of formal construction and the figurative possibilities of new materials reach much further than simple mannerism or the demiurge of your average architecture."[34] Solà-

31 Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura española contemporanea: balbuceos y silencios," in *España. Vanguardia artítstica y realidad social: 1936-1976,* Tomás Llorens, Valeriano Bozal et al. eds. (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1976), 192.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid, 204.
34 Ibid,. 198. See also Alexander Cirici, *La estética del franquismo* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977), 41.

Morales also pointed to the early writings of Bohigas as providing an alternative to the "technological and functionalist clichés" of the average modernism that had become entrenched in the country. While theoretical and explicit, Bohigas' writings were in Solà-Morales's analysis only a preamble to silence, or, to "the most elemental and succinct of possible languages," reached in the 1960s with projects like the Universal News Building by José Maria Sostres and the French Institute by Coderch, images of which he included in his text **[Fig.0.8]**.

In this manner, Solà-Morales interpreted the period by way of Tafuri again, but in this case by adopting the Italian's reading of Mies van der Rohe in terms of silence. Yet, where Tafuri interpreted silence, abstraction, and the retreat into the language of architecture as critical moves of evasion vis-à-vis capitalist forces, Solà-Morales avoided references to any ideology or political project.[35] This was quite distinct from Tafuri. Silence in Spain was for Solà-Morales linguistic, and little else. While vaguely relating silence to the development of a liberal economy in the country, Solà-Morales relinquished any agenda, other than formal, that might have underpinned these buildings. In so doing, he presupposed the wrenching apart of Spanish modernism from its concrete political context. A significant analytical turn then marks Solà-Morales' transition from the first essay to the second, a turn that opened a divide between the values and forms that emerged during the 1950s under the rubric of Franquismo and the dictatorship itself. Implicit in Solà-Morales's figurative approach to his second essay was that when buildings turned abstract, they were no longer Franquista. This contrast begs the question as to why would Solà-Morales, a noted representative of a generation profoundly invested in the political engagement of architecture, so willingly empty these buildings and the architectural culture within which they emerged of their ideological allegiances.[36] Put differently,

35 Silence is a running theme in Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia. Design and Capitalist Depvelopment*. (Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1990), see especially pp. 148-150. For an assessment of Tafuri's argument on silence as critical see Michael Hays, "Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form" *Perspecta* 21 (1984): 14-29.

36 French structuralism, and specially Roland Barthes, surely played a role in Solà-Morales' emptying of forms from ideological allegiances. Again, a comprehensive and critical study of Solà-Morales' intellectual project is outside of the

what does this silencing operation tell us of the ways in which Franquismo haunted both Spanish architectural modernism and the architecture culture that developed after Franco's death?

0.2. Modes of Silence, or, How to Make Buildings Speak

This dissertation is an attempt to answer this question and overturn the silencing that continues to be performed on Spanish architectural culture and modernism by means of its historiographies. By looking at the nexus of relationships that Solà-Morales turned away from in his second essay—that is, at the intersection of architecture, culture, and politics—the discussion that follows aims to discern the ways in which the silent buildings of the 1950s participated of the developments of the State. It intends, in other words, to take on the task promised by Solà-Morales and his peers of reevaluating the relationships of architecture and ideology in Spain. But rather than doubting the ideological health and coherence of the regime, I here presume Franquismo to have been a rather successful one, for purposes of Franquistas that is: a dictatorial, authoritarian, violent regime unlike any other in twentieth-century Europe (except perhaps Tito's Yugoslavia), which lasted well over three decades, in which power was first established and continually legitimized by a civil war, where lack of self-government persisted with a fair amount of consensus, and which ended only with the death of Franco of natural causes and calmly in bed.[37]

This dissertation will position the architecture of the period firmly within Franquismo in order to better understand the extent to which buildings, designs, architectural events, and ideas about the built environment participated in both the maturation of the regime and its long-lasting

---

scope of this introduction, and to my knowledge such a study has not yet been published. See the compendium of essays on his life and career written upon his passing in 2001, José Maria Montaner and Fabián Gabriel Pérez, eds. *Teorías de la Arquitectura. Memorial Ignasi de Solà-Morales* (Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 2003)

37 For a critique of the Transición along these lines and in the form of cultural impressionism see Gilles Tremlet*, Ghosts pf Spain. Travels through Spain and its Silent Past* (London: Bloomsbury 2006) and Ismael Saz, "España bajo la dictadura. Régimen, antifranquismo y sociedad" in *Memoria y vigencia de un compromiso: Universitarios contra la dictadura*, ed. by Norberto Piqueras and Maria Jose Millán Trujillo (Valencia: Universitatde Valencia, 2013), 15.

survival. Broadly drawing from Antonio Gramsci's theory of the state, which he developed as a Marxist interpretation of State power and the nature of fascism, I here consider the state to signify not only the apparatus of government, mainly in its coercive or policing nature and dependant on the resolutions of its party or leader. In the context of an authoritarian regime like Franquismo, Franco, the government and police mechanisms were certainly prime loci of power. But the Franquista State also stood for an expanded exercise of power, as Gramsci proposed, where hegemony implied a broader model of consensus and power "belonged to private forces, to civil society—which is "State" too, indeed is the State itself." [38] While Gramsci mobilized the idea of the civil society to activate reaction against the policy state from within the state itself, I here take his model of hegemony as one of civil and policy states working in one and the same direction, and in order to better comprehend the survival of Franquismo—which hardly depended on Franco or his government officials alone. My premise is that most of the buildings and ideas about architecture were discussed and consented within the realm of civil society, and more specifically within the realm of intellectual labor and the production of knowledge. As such, they also conformed the Franquista State and their study can help better understand the regime.

Whether Franquismo can be entirely considered a fascist or even a totalitarian state, as opposed to an authoritarian state, is still debated by historians and political theorists, for it functioned unlike Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany in many ways.[39] But as Robert Paxton has argued, the nature of fascisms is far from essentialist and can only be grasped by means of situated analysis of its functioning, that is, contextual analysis of the ways and means through which power was exercised. For Paxton, fasicst regimes are characterized by the continuous displacements and reformulations of the role of ideology as well as the reliance on coalitions with the various

38 Antonio Gramsci, "State and Civil Society," in *Selections from the Prision Notebooks*, trans. by Quintin Hoarse and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 261.

39 See for instance the arguments made by Tony Judt and Raymond Carr for specifics on Spain, and the seminal Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1971 [1948])

conservative factions of society, that is, with those agents of civil society that operate in the margins of the governmental structures properly speaking.[40] What follows is an attempt to activate buildings as objects of consensus that occupied such margins. Far from attempting a political profiling of the architects who practiced and built during the regime, and whose biographies are complex and often mbiguous vis-à-vis political alliances, this work attempts a close reading of buildings and architectural events as means to understand how buildings operated politically and culturally in their time in place. In so doing, it provides a distinct interpretation of the historical development of Franquismo as seen through the lens of architecture.

Solà-Morales considered as the basis of his periodization the transition from the military and explicetely fascist autarchy that emerged from the Civil War into a technocracy that, while less militant, retained the reactionary values that had been essential to the regime since its inception while shedding its social approach. What Solà-Morales framed under the rubric of "conservative forces" in fact refered primarily to the members of the organization Opus Dei, the ultra-conservative lay Catholic movement founded in Spain in the late 1920s who came to control the governmental, cultural, and economic apparatuses of the state in the 1950s. As non-party professional elites, Opus Dei members were called upon to rationalize the government, liberalize the economy, and bring about the country's geopolitical realignment with the democratic West. The so-called technocrats did in deed open Spain to processes of economic liberalism and provided ideological, institutional, and rhetorical basis for a distinct process of modernization in Spain; and thus for a distinct Spanish modernism. Due to his fixation with the Tafurian Marxist critique of capitalism, Solà-Morales like many of his contemporaries dismissed the underlying ideology that accompanied and in fact

40 Robert Paxton, "The Five Stages of Fascism" in *Journal of Modern History*, 70:1 (1998), 7,15. For an alternative analysis of totalitarian regimes of power that calls for situated analysis of their functioning and also as a way to raise awareness of the malleability and uniquity of totalitarian regimes of power, see Anson Rabinbach, "Moments of Totalitarianism," *History and Theory*, 45:1, February (2006): 72-100.

sustained the ethos of modernization carried on by Spanish technocrats: religion. The ambiguous combination of radically conservative Catholicism and the rational ideals of economic modernization that Opus Dei politicians promoted best suited Franco at the time, and conformed a distcint model of Catholic technocracy. In his study of the period, the sociologist of religion José Casanova has argued for the ways in which the mixture of reactionary Catholicism, economic and scientific modernization, and an everyday life conception of religion promoted by Opus Dei allowed its members to achieve power, Franquismo to evolve and survive, and Spain to finally engage a modernization pace in line with international.[41]

This dissertation will show how the character of architecture as an instrument of the state certainly shifted under this new scenario, but hardly loosened. Taking up from where Solà-Morales left off, in what follows I will make buildings speak of the shifting politics of Franquismo and its governing techniques under the reign of technocracy, the dislocations of Catholicism and the emergence of Opus Dei that were essential to these changes, and the ways in which a distinct architectural culture emerged within these processes. A close look at the architecture of the period will reveal how the regime and its cultural production cannot be simply adressed in terms of a longing for and eventual failure to construct a Spanish fascist ideology; in stone and otherwise. Such a narrative assumed a diachronic evolution of the regime, where a weak local fascism gave way to the larger forces of capital. This dissertation will reveal how the Franquista regime rather sustained itself through the convergence of seemingly contradictory ideologies, or set of values and ideals that sustained the processes of economic and technological modernization and that included fascism, modernism, nationalism, technocracy, and capitalism. Above them all, the Franquista State relied on Catholicism. It is in the collision and shifting nature of ideologies, and in the ways in which religion

41 José Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*.(PhD Diss. New York: New School for Social Research, 1982), 8.

shifted and informed political and cultural developments, that one can best understand the architecture of the period—and indeed the period and the regime itself.

At the core of the Franquista Catholic technocracy affecting the architectural profession was an uneven relationship between critical discourse and building, entailing a favoring of the latter. This resulted, by the time of Solà-Morales revision at least, in a performative divide between architectural modernism and its politics that he codified in terms of silence. In the forty years since Solà-Morales noted this gap, it has only widened.[42] In the histories of the architecture of the 1950s onwards, buildings remain cleansed of political content and continue to be celebrated for the value of their "creative silence."[43] The period continues to be accounted for in terms of the stylistic break from early Franquismo, when the links of architecture to fascist ideals and rhetoric were made explicit through stylistic references to monumental historicism and folklorism. The nature of the relationship of architecture and Franquismo in the first decade of the regime has continued to be subject of study, but the ways in which buildings endured as instruments of the regime in its technocratic phase resists the scholarship.[44] Sambricio and Capitel have both suggested this relationship in *The Modern Image of the State, 1954-1969* and *Arquitectura española: Años 50-80* respectively. But, as was the case with Solà-Morales in the second text discussed above, their disregard for a narrative that falls outside of the the fascism-turned-capitalism periodization, a narrative that might consider

42 One could further study the impact of the celebration of silence in the professional practice of architecture, and look at the ways in which Spanish architects have favored their roles as builders and problem-solvers to the detriment of critical or intellectual considerations, promoting a non-discursive architecture as liberating and appealing for the purposes of production. See for instance Alejandro Zaera-Polo, "A Scientific Autobiography 1982–2004: Madrid, Harvard, OMA, the AA, Yokohama, the globe," *Rising Ambitions, Expanding Terrain: Realism and Utopianis. Harvard Design Magazine,* 21 (2004)

43 Ruiz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain*, 13.

44 The explicit connection between the monumental historicism and folklorism of the 1940s and the state was first stablished by the authors already mentioned, and was pinpointed in other seminal studies by Gabriel Ruiz-Ureña in *Arquitectura y urbanística civil y militar en el periodo de la autarquía, 1936-1945*, Antonio Alba in *La crisis de la Arquitectura Española, 1939-72* as well as Alexanedr Cirici in *La estética del Franquismo.* More recently, Pedro Moleón in *La arquitectura oficial en las décadas de 1930 y 1940* and continue to expand our understanding on the role architecture and urban planning played in both the symbolic projection and the physical construction of the state at its inception.

Catholicism as a structural ideological force of the regime, leads to oblique, soft links between modern architecture and the regime, and to arguments confined to formal description.

While the role of the Catholic Church has not gone unnoticed, the impact of Catholicism and technocracy in architectural developments remain unadressed at a conceptual level. Scholars such as Eduardo Delgado Orusco in *Arquitectura Sacra Española, 1939-1975: de la posguerra al Concilio* and Esteban Fernandez Cobián in *El espacio sagrado en la arquitectura española contemporanea* have thoroughly documented the ubiquity of religious buildings under Franquismo, arguing for the leading role of sacred architecture in Spanish modernization efforts.[45] However, neither Cobián nor Delgado Orusco engage with political history or ideological analysis, as they sidestep the relevance of the civic-ecclesiastic alliance. Cobián is explicit in dispensing with politics and Franquismo, claiming that the influence of religion and religious architecture remained strictly within the Church hierarchy and its theological discourse.[46] Delgado Orusco is more open to proposing that the regime's institutions frame the context within which to interpret the scope of religious architecture. But in laying out the archive of the many churches designed during the period and by focusing his analysis to a formal reading of architecture, he falls short to propose a critical understanding of the overlaps that existed between Catholicism, the ideological dynamics of the regime, and the evolving architecture culture of the period.

What remains unexplored in the scholarship is the simultaneous and related impact of religion on architectural discourse and on the politics of Franquista modernization, that is, the impact of religion well beyond church building. During Franquismo, the Catholic Church was not only responsible for a large number of refined modernist-looking buildings; religion was also crucial in the

45 They both argue for religious architecture as being the vanguard of architectural modernization in the postwar period. Eduardo Delgado Orusco, *Arquitectura Sacra Española, 1939-1975: de la posguerra al Concilio*. (PhD Dissertation, Madrid: Universidad Politécnica, 1999), 22. Esteban Fernández Cobián, *El espacio sagrado en la arquitectura española contemporanea* (Santiago de Compostela: Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, 2005)

46 Fernández Cobián, *El espacio sagrado*, 17.

formation of the series of values, concepts, and forms that informed the experience of modernity and the characteristics of modernism, and in effecting the technological and economic modernization of the state. Studies on the architecture and architects of the period continue to underplay the role of ideology in Spanish modern architecture—including religion—and to dismiss the significance of political developments in lieu of technical, formal, and biographical descriptions. This serves in fact as evidence of the pervasiveness of a technocratic discourse in the field.

The recent proliferation of biographies on the Spanish architects who began their practices in the late 1940s and 1950s—Alejandro de la Sota, Javier Saenz de Oiza, Miguel Fisac, Juan Antonio Coderch, Jose Maria Sostres, Javier Carvajal, Ramón Vazquez-Molezún, Jose Antonio Corrales, José Luis Fernandez del Amo, Rafael de la Hoz, Francisco de Asís Cabrero, to name a few of the best known—and monographs on some of the most significant buildings they designed, contain useful information and a rich archive that is a necessary first step to assessing the architects of the period. But authors rarely problematize the roles played by their work as instruments of culture and politics.[47] At best, the works of these architects has been interpreted as oddities, singular and idiosyncratic explorations into the ideas, forms, and technologies of international modernism. This proposition follows from the work of architect Carlos Flores who in 1961 published the first account of the period in *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. The book sets the tone for a narrative of how modern architecture "returned" to Spain in the 1950s in the hands of a few young architects, including de la Sota, Coderch and Fisac who he describes as "self-taught modernists" who practiced in a state of "perplexity" and isolation from external influences and local masters. Apart from the cultural mechanisms of the regime and also in isolation from each other, Flores depicted them as

47 Two recent editorial projects have contributed to an increase in the number of works on the architecture of the 1950s. One is the series of biographies and building monographs published by the Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid, often the product of doctoral dissertations. The other is the publication of the biannual international congress on the history of UNAV. I refer the reader to the bibliography for a detailed account of the expanding literature on the topic, most of which is in Spanish.

"struggling" to find a way "toward modernity" on their own.[48] Most of the studies of mid-century Spanish architecture sustain this narrative of individual, eclectic, and incoherent struggles of intellectual and formal exploration. In so doing, they limit the possibility for a better understanding of the collective and political project that allowed for the modernization of architecture culture in Spain, and that in turn contributed to the modernization of the government and the survival of the regime.

There is an even more problematic tendency in the field, wherein the architecture of the Franquista period is being actively construed as non-political. In 1998, the School of Architecture of the University of Navarra, in Spain, founded a biannual congress titled, "Historia de la Arquitectura Moderna Española," destined to foster the study of Spanish architecture from the 1950s onwards, to which a subfield of the School's doctoral program was dedicated. The program was intended to bring to light buildings, architects, ideas, exchanges, publications, and events of the period that remained understudied. In 2004, the director of these initiatives, José Manuel Pozo, put together an exhibition and catalogue that both summarized the research so far pursued and drew the lines that would be followed. In his text, he proves unapologetic about the pursuit of research that is mainly descriptive and free of what he deems "critical contamination."[49] Pozo explicitly denounces interpretations of the architecture that relate it to Franquismo, and deems any operation that attempts to position architecture within forces of history—other that the history of architecture in its material specificity—as a mode of "prejudice." The most "damaging and frequent" of prejudices, for Pozo, are those of a "political-ideological" bent. For Pozo, and his work is merely evidence of a larger tendency in contemporary Spanish architectural studies, architecture must be seen as surpassing

48 Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea* (Madrid: Aguilar,1989), 203.

49 Jose Manuel Pozo, "Hay otra historia," in *Los brillantes, 50. 35 proyectos*, ed. by José Manuel Pozo et al. (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2004), 19.

politics.[50] The goal has to a large extent been met, and the divorce of the architecture of mid-century Spain from the regime is broadly accepted. Historian Javier Tussel put it candidly in his account of the period, "After 1951 it was clearly inappropriate to speak of the official architecture of the Franco regime."[51]

This dissertation aims to unpack the discourse on the apolitical character of Spanish modernism that has come to dominate its interpretation, and to reveal how the politics that conformed the Franquista Catholic technocracy was in fact structural to the discursive strategy of silence. I consider silence as operating in three different modes, all intertwined but each haunted by different intentions and contexts. The first mode of silence pertains to the image and form of architecture, wherein the symbolic aspirations of architecture were undermined by means of abstraction and the purging of classicism. It pertains to the embrace of modernism as a cultural and aesthetic manifestation of modernity, so to speak. The second mode of silencing is that of the architect, and involves a mode of practice based on the foreclosure of discourse. Beginning with Solà-Morales, architects practicing in 1950s Spain have been revered for their dedication to building, to the formal language of architecture, and to architecture's materiality. In the process, their attempts at a theoretical or discursive practice have been overlooked. The extinction of independent publications and associations during Franquismo, the mechanisms of censorship, and the fact that writing and publishing were certainly not at the center of architectural practice, has been interpreted in terms of absence of an intellectual debate[52] Moreover, many of the architects working in Spain at the time defended their work in terms of their servility and dedication to the here and now of

50 As he writes,"Architecture is beyond political regimes, and the architecture of good architects, more so."If anything, he suggests that certain works of good architecture by good architects—value judgments underpin Pozo's writing—could demonstrate the "positive effect" the regime had on the country's cultural development. As a project launched from the University of Navarra, which is an organ of Opus Dei, I hope that this dissertation will prove this agenda in fact substantiates the cultural politics of the Franquista Catholic technocracy, and serves as prove of their endurance.

51 Tussel, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 100.

52 See more recently the exhibition and catalogue for the comparative exhibition on Fisac and de la Sota by Carlos Asensio-Wandosell and Moisés Puente, *Miguel Fisac, Alejandro de la Sota* (Madrid: Fundación ICO, 2014)

building, best manifested perhaps by Juan Antonio Coderch in his Team Ten manifesto of 1961, "No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora" (It's Not Genius We Need Now).[53] The third mode of silence has to do with the reception and interpretation of the architecture both at the time it was designed and later in the histories, where buildings continue to be interpreted as void of politics. The reference to Solà-Morales is a case in point. As we shall see, the disconnection of architecture from history, or what I refer to as the silencing of architecture, was pervasive and its effects rather complex.

A crucial methodological challenge then lay in the exploration of silence. How does one, in architecture, make silence speak? Given that buildings were the architects' primary mode of expression, I here take a few buildings from the period and ask what each of them have to say. Specifically, I look at buildings Solà-Morales pointed to in his 1976 essay as the most poetic and critical interpretations of modernism: the Camino Chapel of 1954 designed by de Oiza, Romany, and Oteiza; the Tarragona Government building of 1956 designed by de la Sota; the national pavilion for the International Exhibition in Brussels in 1958 by Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vazquez-Molezún; and one project by Oriol Bohigas considered as embodying his critique of modernism, the Pallars Housing Block for workers that he designed in 1959 with Josep Maria Martorell. In choosing these buildings as main objects of analysis—buildings that became canonical in the period—I do not entirely dispose with the muteness of the buildings Solà-Morales proclaimed, nor in the case of Bohigas its opposite. I rather consider silence as the locus of political rhetoric and a starting point to

53 Juan Antonio Coderch "No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora" *Domus* (1961) and *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (1962):21-26; in Englihs in *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, ed. by Joan Ockman (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 335-337. Coderch's essay received much attention amongst Team Ten members, and more so amongst architects in Spain. He later revised and expanded the essay and published with a telling subtitle, especially with regards the thesis in this dissertation, "No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora. Espiritualidad en la Arquitectura," in *Arquitectura española contemporánea. Documentos, escritos, testimonios inéditos*, ed. by Angel Urrutia Nuñez (Madrid: COAM, 2002), 306-309.

reveal how these buildings contained and effectuated both techniques of domination and forces of history.

This dissertation is structured as a series of four *micro-storias*, where each building is the centerpiece of a chapter and a starting point to flesh out a political and cultural dynamic essential to understanding the Franquista form of Catholic Technocracy. In an interpretation of Carlo Ginzburg's model of microhistory, I take each building to be an objectified Menocchio of sorts, and each chapter begins by revealing ways in which the building was construed as silent—or void, or invisible, vis-à-vis its political content.[54] From there, each chapter gathers fragments of the story that made up each building, of how it came into being, of the institutional, discursive, and technical processes to which it related, and of the drawings, design ideas and strategies, forms, construction details, spaces and aesthetic that conformed it. Each micro-storia sheds light on how the building operated culturally and politically, and how essential was the appearance of silence in each case. With Bohigas's housing project, this relation appears in reverse, and the analysis throws into question the supposedly eloquent value of his proposal.

Each chapter unfolds itself around a different narrative and a distinct timeline, each responding to the specificity of the building and the context and argument that it summons. All chapters propose a similar methodology, however, whereby a detailed formal analysis of the buildings—again, whether in terms of program, image, space, technologies, or materials as depending on the building—is placed within a larger and fragmentary landscape made up of other

54 I refer to the historiographical model proposed by Carlo Ginzburg where "investigation pivoting on an individual," in his case a subject, develops into a "general hypothesis" of the culture to which such individual belongs, in the case of Ginzburg's example that of popular culture of preindustrial Europe. Thus research on a singular object, or in my case a building, is intended both as a story and a piece of historical writing. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), xii. While buildings are quite different from the subaltern and thus entirely silent subject of Ginzburg's proposal, the model serves me to unpack a complex map of historical and discoursive forces by locking in my objects of study in quintaessential architectural devices: buildings. For an application of the model of micrihistory into architectural history see Nancy Stieber, "Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58-3, (1999): 382-391.

pieces of the historical archive. These might include political events and policy programs, cultural and institutional developments, books, media representations, other buildings, films, architects' thoughts, fragments of theories, social events, user's responses, photographs, or drawings. When these buildings and their built-in silences are considered in all of their architectural specificity and placed within these fragments of the political and cultural history, I hope it will be found that they have indeed much to say about it.

I begin where Solà-Morales suggested that it all began: with the Pilgrimage Chapel for the *Camino de Santiago,* a project that indeed galvanized Spanish architectural culture in 1954. Mentioned by Solà-Morales only in passing was the religious nature of this precursor project. In chapter one, I discuss the design and reception of the Camino Chapel as a way to enter the much broader, in fact overpowering in their reach and implications, questions of religion and metaphysical ideology and their role in the development of modernism. Specially, I discuss the impact of Catholicism in the formation of a cultural discourse. In Spain, the debate on the stylistic and technological renewal of architecture took place primarily within the Church and was sustained by clergymen and architects alike. A crucial argument in this chapter is that the relationship between modernism and religion impacted the alliance of Church and State that was so central to Franquismo. Most significantly, the modernisation of architecture was structural to the emergence and continual formation of Opus Dei. Here, I discuss how ideas of abstraction, functionalism, monumentality, and technological novelties drove and were informed by the agenda on scientific progress of the National Research Council, the CSIC, that was Opus Dei's flagship academic institution in the 1940s. Along with a formal analysis of buildings, I address critical writings such as those of the philosopher Eugenio d'Ors, whose ideas on architecture as it relates to politics and Catholicism remain understudied, and the architect Miguel Fisac, an early member of Opus Dei whose theories and role as cultural broker in

the period have largely been ignored in favor of the technical and aesthetic achievements of his architectural work.

A determining factor in the ideological development of Franquismo was the penetration of religion into the realms of everyday life. A distinctive aspect of the Franco years, according to Casanova, was the socialization of Catholicism, whereby the alliance of the Church and State hierarchies morphed into a more ubiquitous social presence of religion and as mostly effected by two lay religious institutions, Opus Dei and Acción Católica (Catholic Action).[55] Chapter one reveals how the insertion of spiritual values into a professional and technocratic sphere was essential to Opus Dei theology. Interestingly, this process paralled the championing of aesthetic abstarction, although these two were unrelated at discoursive levels, at least apparently. Thus, I follow my chapter on religious buildings in Chapter One with a series of analysis of profane buildings only to trace how religious sentiments remained part of the aesthetic and professional narratives and how this related to the abstration also of Spanish politics. That is, whereas aesthetic abstraction was initially promoted as a means of religious sacrifice and asceticism, the looseing of signifier from signified was also essential to the regime's form of govermentality and its disctict form of secularism. More specifically, the following chapters explore the ways in which modern architecture participated in the programs of Opus Dei and Acción Católica. Chapters two and three discuss buildings that advanced the modernization of the regime's government structures and cultural politics under the influence of Opus Dei. In chapter two, I look closely at the Tarragona Government buildings of Alejandro de la Sota. An analysis of its façade, Sota's design process, and the building program of which it was a product lead to a discussion of the governmental reforms led by Laureano López-Rozo, an important Opus Dei cadre in the late 1950s**.** Sota's building reveals a new form of mediation between government and society that accompanied the decline of Falange and emergence of technocracy,

55 José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1994), 81-82.

something I discuss in terms of the politics of abstraction. In the Tarragona Government building, abstraction operated as much aesthetically as it did politically by producing the image of a State disengaged from an ideological agenda and calling forth Spaniards to distance themselves from political action.

Chapter three looks outward, towards Spain's role amongst other nations, as I explore the international cultural politics of the regime by analyzing the pavilion designed by Corrales and Molezún for Expo 58. A close look at the quality of the space inside the pavilion, and the ways in which it was received in the media, designed by the architects, and thought of in relation to the exhibit, reveals how an interior served the propaganda machine for introducing Spain's Catholic technocracy to the liberal Western world. The chapter thus provides an interpretation of a literal construction of political space, where the ambiance of the pavilion is seen as embodying the two-sided ideal coined by Florentino Pérez-Embid, another of Opus Dei officials, "Europeanization in the means, Hispanization in the Ends."

In chapter four, a close analysis of Bohigas and Martorell's housing project for factory workers in Barcelona deals with the more socially-oriented program of Accion Católica, and exemplifies how the Church was an active participant in the process of urbanization and subject-formation, whereby certain moral values were meant to expand outward from the home to the city. In so doing, it reveals the discursive and programmatic connections between the promotion of an architecture that was contextual, realist, humanist, and worthy of a privileged connection to the user—Bohigas' ideas on ethics and and housing that echoed those of others in postwar Europe—with the cultural practices of the Church and a technocratic mode of government.

By looking closely at each of these buildings and then bringing them together in a synchronic account, I intend to provide a critical history that reveals the complex ways in which architecture worked within Franquismo and how a distinct form of cultural and aesthetic modernism took hold.

Specifically, a distinct architectural modernism evolved as a series of values, ideas, desires, and forms of modernity imbued by the spiritual and social project of the Catholic Church, in various versions of the latter. In the account of this formation of Spanish modernism, I refer to the buildings' architects, and their ideas and other projects. At the end of this history, they will appear as anything but silent and anything but autonomous vis-à-vis the regime. This dissertation does not, however, attempt an indictment of the architects with regards to the regime and it does not articulate its argument on the basis of political or moral blame.[56] This is a dissertation about buildings and the ways in which they performed politically in a particular place and time. This performance was far from a necessary one with regards to Franquismo, or one where buildings served the regime's ageda in any direct manner. But it was nevertheless a structural performance for the development and production of the regime. In the process, architects will appear as navigating the apparatus of the State and devising strategies for re-inscribing and reimagining through their architecture the shifting convergence of ideologies that determined Franquismo. Often times, architects operated from within the margins of the State and even believed themselves to be alien to it. But as we will see, the buildings they designed were complex agents of the politics of the regime at its very core.

In foregrounding politics and culture in the history of Spanish modern architecture, this dissertation inserts itself both in the literature of fascism, modernism, and architecture that typically spans the first half of the twentieth century, and in the growing literature on architecture of the second half of the twentieth century. If there is a defining aspect of Franquismo, it is certainly the ability with which Franco managed to breach these two periods of twentieth century European history, that is, fascism and the shifting conditions following World War II. The historical context that

56 The politics architects are often ambiguous and complicated by their professional affiliations. With very few exceptions, attempts to interpret the ouvre of an architect in relation to their individual politics lead to contradictory conclusions and vague accounts on the political effect of the works. A seminal study on the politics of modernism around the crucial figure of Le Corbusier, which sustains this argument on the uncertainty of architects' politics without diminishing the crucial relevance of architectural modernism in the political development of the time is Mary McLeod, *Urbanism and Utopia: Le Corbusier from Regional Syndicalism to Vichy* (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1985)

Franquista Spain was part of, and the scholarship on it that this work engages is vast and opportunely growing. It ranges from early studies that unsettled the assumption of modernist architecture serving socially progressive politics alone, as those provided by Barbara Miller Lane and Diane Ghirardo in the context of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, to recent arguments outlining the architectural means and agents through which modernism and modernity were mobilized in fascism, as in Lucy Maulsby's and David Rifkind's very recent books. Franquista Spain and its architecture also related to the vicissitudes of modernism in the context of the European postwar reconstruction, in the international arena of the Cold War, and under totalitarian regimes on Eastern Europe and Latin America. The span of Franquismo—1939 to 1975—witnessed various other versions of crisis and development of architectural modernisms across the world, from Italy and Germany to Western Europe and the US. These were contexts to which Spanish architects and officials invested in architectural matters variously related to, as this study will broadly reveal.

This was also a period when the state operated as a dominant framework of social, political and cultural life at a global scale, whether in the reconstruction of old states, the construction of new ones, the development of transnational organizations, the Welfare States, or dictatorial regimes as was the case in Spain. The worldwide predominance of the state presented architects with similar opportunities for building and planning in these different contexts, from the provision of public housing and public services, to buildings for new governmental institutions, and the international projection of a state's image. This dissertation provides for a case study on the ways in which various building typologies intervened on the formation of the State, and in so doing implies connections to similar contexts elsewhere. Relationship of influence vis-à-vis international architectural culture is not a main analytical approach in this work, but many of the ideas and references considered by architects and officials were often drawn from outside contexts and happened to concur with contemporary developments. International connections remain however in the background of this

history, as it primarily aims to provide for a situated study of buildings as they performed and gave an aesthetics of governance to the Franquista Catholic technocracy. In so doing, it looks to contribute to a broader geopolitical knowledge of the relationship between architecture and reactionary regimes of power.

0.3. Amnesia and the Transición: On the Specters and Silences of History

This relationship most certainly did not go unnoticed in the mid-1970s. Solà-Morales' silencing of the architecture of de la Sota, Oiza, Fisac, Corrales, and Molezún, and of Bohigas' critical discourse, was neither a mere oversight nor a hasty translation of Tafuri. My staging of this dissertation in relation to Solà-Morales' silencing operation compels a historical interpretation of his historiography, even a swift one. For it is not *against* Solà-Morales' interpretation that I wish to position my work but rather as a continuation of it. That is, I here begin with Solà-Morales' argument and the collective project he represented—that of setting the guidelines "through which to understand and look back" at Franquismo—only to better understand its motivations and fill in some of its gaps. Conflicted by a sense of the necessity of presenting an architecture that had advanced a new aesthetics and a modernist sensibility, but had achieved this under the umbrella of an ultra-conservative and dictatorial regime, Solà-Morales avoided references to the underlying political agenda. For if there was a political argument to be made about the architecture of the 1950s and 1960s it was that of their complicity with the regime. Solà-Morales was most likely aware of this connection and thus he opted out of politics.

This, in part, was a dutiful response to the task, since an argument about the reactionary import of the architecture was not exactly what the curators of the Venice Biennial were after. But the historical context through which to better understand Solà-Morales's move pertains more specifically to the *Transición*, which affected his writing in ways quite different from what he

imagined. As already noted, Solà-Morales and the others positioned their work as a way to actively participate in the construction of democracy. Perhaps unknown to them was the project's double bind. For cooperation with the ways in which democracy was being constructed during the Transición, conflicted with the relationship of architecture to ideology that an "objective" history of the Franquista period would unearth.[57] Put differently, to respond to the precepts of the Transición it was necessary to fail in their historiographic promise.

The Spanish Transición was basically the process that replaced Franquismo, a dictatorship, with an alternative system of government. The question of succession was already at play at the inception of Franquismo in 1939, when there began discussions on the institutionalization of the regime. This had been established by force and was thus in need of governmental structures and institutions that would address the day-to-day governing techniques and the mechanisms of continuity in the event of Franco's absence.[58] In 1945, Franco signed the Succession Law proclaiming Spain a Catholic State and a monarchy; in 1967, he chose Juan Carlos de Borbón as prince and thus successor, after having educated him in Spain for years. Two days after Franco's death, Juan Carlos was proclaimed Head of State and began governing along with Franco's last Prime Minister, Carlos Arias Navarro. They together chose his replacement, Adolfo Suárez, a young member of the government who was rapidly construed in the media as the leader of the reformers within the government.

As the story goes, Juan Carlos, Suárez, and other young members of Franco's last cabinet gradually dismantled the extant system through a series of internal twists and turns to the plan for continuity, eventually establishing a parliamentary monarchy. *Time Magazine* put in plainly on its cover of June 27, 1977: "Spain: Democracy Wins." The cover image however reveals how Franco

57 Carlos Sambricio expressed that their collective attempt was for an "objective" and professional historiography and as opposed to an operative history, in interview with the author, Madrid, December 22, 2010.

58 Carr and Fusi have noted how the problem of succession is *the* central dilemma of all dictatorships. Carr and Fusi, *Spain. Dictatorship to Democracy*, 41.

haunted and potentially tarnished the triumph of democracy, in a succession of faces superimposing those of Suárez, Juan Carlos, and Franco **[Fig.0.9]**. The latter remained fittingly in the background, fixed and framed in a portrait; as he had during the Transición. While a somewhat articulated public sphere opened up to political pluralism, free speech, and media debate in ways that had been unfeasible for four decades, during the Transición the government worked formally within the Franquista legal and institutional system.[59] The period was characterized by continuity: continuity of people, institutions, and ideas. Structural continuity was nevertheless the counterpart to endless discussions of reform and the prospects of an imminent democracy—a democracy that was nevertheless deferred. As the newspaper *El Pais*, itself a product of the formation of a public sphere, put it in the cover of its inaugurating issue, on May 4, 1976, "reform" could only be hoped for in quotation marks. That is, the reform of the government for purposes of democracy was only possible without historical rupture.[60]

Urban and architectural space was a significant instrument to effectuate this continuity, as the traces of the regime in buildings, streets, and monuments were rarely modified or even questioned.[61] The main artery of Madrid only changed its name from Avenida del Generalisimo to Paseo de la Castellana in 1980, and this was possibly one of the first cases in which Franquista terminology began to wither in the urban space. To this day, many streets are still named after Franquista leaders. Most official buildings retained their purposes, and in many cases also the Franquista emblems. It was not until the polemical Law of Historical Memory of 2007 that public and private institutions were obliged to remove Franquista symbols from their buildings—not that most did. Most pervasive were the monuments to Franco's victory, big and small. An equestrian statue of

59 Ibid., 207-208.

60 "Ante la 'reforma'" *El Pais*, May 4, 1976, 1.

61 Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia. The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2002), 73-90.

Franco in the center of Madrid was only removed in 2005, after some political dispute of course, and in Santander an exact copy of the statue still stands. The most blatant example here was the El Valle de los Caidos (the Valley of the Fallen), the utmost example of Franquista architecture. Franco personally supervised its megalomaniac design and construction process, which substantiated the regime in more ways than one: from its initial program to commemorate the victory on the civil war, to the use of war prisoners for its fifteen year construction as evidence of the violent and repressive nature of the regime, to serving as mauselum to Franco, who was buried there in late 1975. Today, El Valle de los Caidos remains intact, State-funded, and open to tourism **[Fig.0.10]**.

Jo Labanyi, amongst others, has called for coming to terms with the ghosts that haunt Spanish modern culture, and specially with the specter of Franco during the country's democratization—a presence that the journal *ABC* acutely represented on the eve of his death with the image with which I opened this introduction.[62] The built environment played no small role in constructing Franco's ghost, or as Labanyi put it in her assimilation of Derrida, in allowing for the unspoken traces of the dictator: for the persistence of the symbols and spaces of Franquismo was not intended to assert or memorialize Franco in his death. The point, rather, was to keep his presence somewhat active by hiding him in plain sight. Accordingly, what sustained the institutional continuity of the Transición at a social level was a performative mobilization Franquismo based on its neglect, and which has long been discussed in terms of a pact of silence.[63] A consent on silencing the

62 Jo Labanayi, "Engaging with Ghosts, or, Theorizing Culture in Modern Spain," in *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8-9.

63 Julián Casanova, "El ansiado olvido," *El Pais*, February 6, 2011 and Jose Manuel Roca, *La oxidada transición* (Madrid: La Linterna Sorda, 2013), 11. The literature on the historical silence and pact of forgetting that sustained the Transicion, and that in turn shaped a rather flawed politics of memory, is vast and growing toward critical assessments of the period, a period that has been until recently been celebrated in terms of freedom and political maturity. See Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia;* Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago, eds., *Unearthing Franco's Legacy. Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Damme: University of Notre Damme, 2010); Alberto Medina Dominguez, *Exorcismos de la memoria. Políticas y poéticas de la melancholia en la España de la transición* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 2001). A rather pessimist account of Spanish modern culture, which spans directly from the experience and a belated critique of the Transicion and the consensus on forgetting is in Eduardo Subirats, *Después de la lluvia. Sobre la ambigua modernidad española* (Madrid: Ensayo, 1993), 28-29

country's recent past formed the basis of democratization, which thus allowed the re-inscription of the dictatorship into the new political system. That is, the Transición was built on a pseudo-collective agreement to smooth over ideological debates and keep historical, legal, and political assessment of Franquismo at bay.

This was but a form of collective amnesia, and an act of forgetting that was framed by some and accepted by the large majority as a way to secure stability and avoid a new military intervention. In turn, amnesia was legitimized through the memory and ghosts of the Civil War, its traumas and violence.[64] In October of 1977, amnesia took the form of policy through the Amnesty Law, which freed all political prisoners of Franquismo and also shielded the regime's elites from being tried for crimes dating as far back as the Civil War.[65] An overwhelming majority of Spaniards welcomed the law, evidence of the easy concession to the foreclosure of debate on events preceding 1975. Santiago Carrilo, a leader of the Communist Party that was legalized in April of 1977, was one of those eagerly celebrating the passage of the law. The way in which he justified it points to the complexity of the period, and the crude reality of the country's social trauma that led many to accept amnesia:

> How could those of us who had been killing each other have made the peace if we had not erased the past once and for all? For us, amnesty is a national and democratic policy, the sole measure that might close that chapter. We, who have suffered so many outrages, have buried our dead and our resentments.[66]

Solà-Morales's wrenching of Franquista architecture apart from its political history must be understood as a means to endorse this very same plea to bury the past in order to move forward. His apolitical and figurative reading of Spanish modern architecture was but an application of amnesty

64 Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 33; She provides more detail of the legal process in Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2008), 288-89.

65 Tremlett, *Ghosts of Spain*, 78

66 Op. cit, Aguilar, *Políticas de la memoria,* 296.

by means of historiography. The idealization of the autarchy period as historically closed and social oriented still allowed assigning modernism a liberal character. But the possibility of a reactionary modernism in the 1950s and onwards implied a historical examination of Franquismo (and of the ways in which architects had committed themselves to it, architects who continued to build, teach and garner esteem after Franco's death) he was unwilling to face. The price of democracy was historical silence.

In this, Solà-Morales somewhat inevitably betrayed the Tafurian project, at least when it came to Spanish modernism and in the terms in which the Italian had revised it in his essay, "The Historical 'Project'," as quoted at the opening of this introduction.[67] For Solà-Morales and many of his colleagues, both architecture and the writing of its history *was* politics, or, more precisely, they were instruments of democratization. But in order to concede to the specifics of Spain's transition to democracy, Solà-Morales abandoned the "analysis of the 'collision among the dialects' of power," as Tafuri called for. The pristine and refined buildings of mid-century Spain were not only ignored as sites of the battles of the institutions of power, but were actually construed in terms of the very narrative Tafuri opposed; namely, that of the autonomy of architecture. Central to what Solà-Morales called "the evasive value" of Spanish modernism was a focus on the formal, material, and technological aspects of the work, which he assimilated as constituting a distancing from rhetorical and political value. Pérez Escolano, Sambricio and Capitel similarly argued to consider construction, form, materiality, and architecture as a reflection of itself. Even in the period they claimed to identify a link between architecture and ideology—during the regime's first decade of autarchy—this relationship was found to have been weak enough to conclude that architecture deserved an analysis

67 Manfredo Tafuri, "Introduction: The Historical 'Project'," in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 7.

internal to itself, and somewhat independent of political events.[68] The idea of the autonomy of architecture allowed them to absolve Franquista architecture of its complicity.

When looked at through the shadow of Franquismo, the depoliticization of architecture by way of formal and technological detours proves to have been all too intertwined with the regime's ghostly endurance. At the moment I write this, November 19, 2015, a day short of the fortieth anniversary of Franco's death, an article in the *New York Times* reports on the ways in which the built environment continues to be a site of the unresolved politics of the Civil War and Franquismo in Spain. Triggered by urgent polemics that range from street names, to glaringly ignored mass graves, to the endurance of El Valle de los Caidos, and to war time crimes that remain untried, the article reads:

> The street names and other symbols of the Franco regime…stand as a measure not only of how Franco's legacy remains embedded in the political and physical landscape of Spain, but of the failure of this maturing democracy to grapple with it fully to this day. The shadow of Franco continues to be a potent source of division between right and left, despite his death.[69]

This dissertation is my attempt to join the rallying cry to construct a collective discourse of the cultural politics in contemporary Spain, which this quote summarizes. In the process, I hope to restore some sense of political consciousness to the field of architecture, its practice and historiography. Forty years ago, architects and architectural historians in Spain believed themselves to be engaging politics head-on. But in looking to construct and theorize the city as the locus of democracy and in their collective emphasis to move forward and look outward, they overlooked the ways in which buildings and monuments across Spain continued to participate in the continuity of the regime. The writing of the history of architecture was similarly thought of as a mode of political

68 This was the underlying arhument in the articles by Sambricio, Pérez Escolano and Capitel in *Arquitectura* 199 (1976) and *Arquitecturas Bis* (1976), as noted before. This approach found many resonances in the 1970s well beyond the Spanish context, when autonomy was variously mobilized, for many as way to revise episodes and examples of architectural history whose politics were disputed.

69 Raphael Minder, "Civil War Legacy Continues to Divide Spain's Politics and Its Streets," *New York Times*, November 19, 2005

engagement, and not as a privileged space for the construction of memory—a space not unlike those of the city streets and monuments where regimes of power are codified and their memories construed. As it turned out, historians as much as architects were eager to move forward with the storm of progress, and the angel of history—to quote one of Walter Benjamis's thesis on the philosophy of history that Solà-Morales knew well—turned her face as much as her back against the ruins of the past.[70]

The aim then is to overcome the silencing of Spanish modern architecture and repolitize modernism, since silence still serves as evidence of the muted perseverance of Franco in the histories of architecture as much as in the political, cultural, and physical landscapes of the country. To do so, this dissertation returns to Tafuri, at least for starters. It assumes that buildings are sites of battles of power dynamics; in this case, of the battles that constructed the legitimacy of Franquismo, its distinct model of hegemony and ideology. The battles indeed involved different languages and a fragmentary archive. It is precisely in the ways in which the stories of the buildings here scrutinized bring together traces of events, individuals, institutions, images, media, buildings, techniques, and genealogies of Franquismo that I aim at speaking of rather than participating in politics. In the end, what these fractured archives and buildings together declare is that the relationship between architecture and ideologies in Franquista Spain was a far from necessary one—nor was it a relationship based on the one following or reflecting the other—but was one of ongoing redefinition between them.

70 Solà-Morales wrote the prologue to the Spanish edition of Walter Benjamin, *Angelus Novus* (Barcelona; La Gaya Ciencia, 1971); for "Thesis in the Philosophy of History" see pp.77-90.

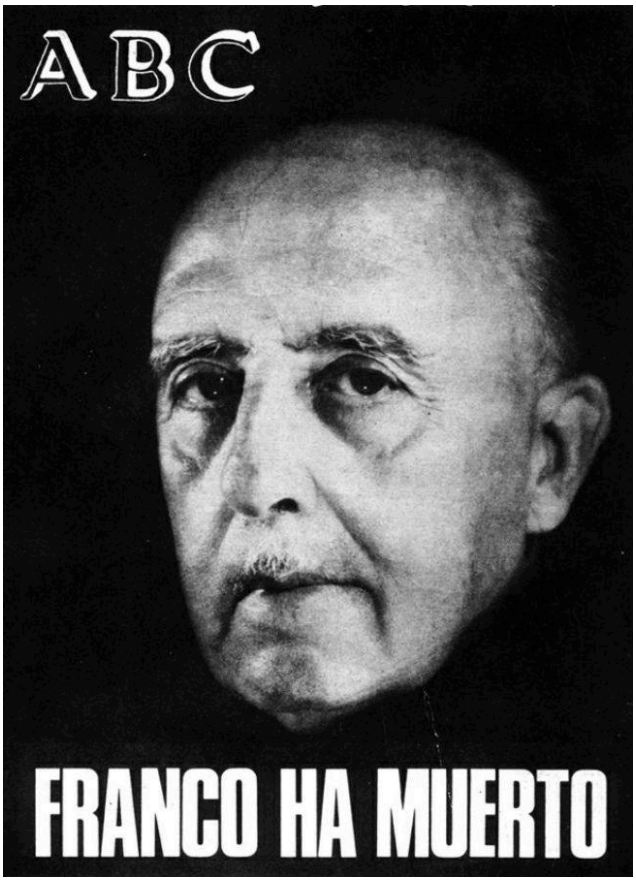
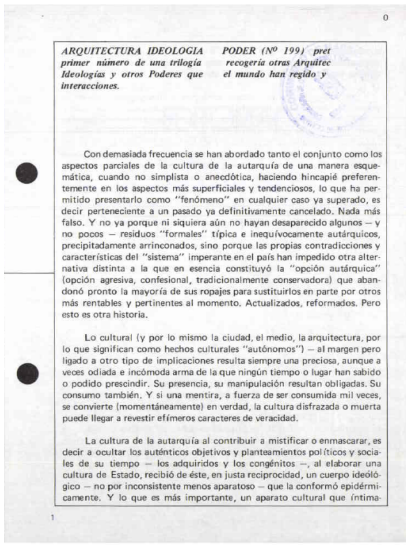


Fig.0.1: “Franco ha muerto” (Franco has died). Cover of *ABC,* special evening ediion, Novemeber 20, 1975.



ARQUITECTURA IDEOLOGIA — *PODER (Nº 199)* — *pret*
primer número de una trilogía — *recogería otras Arquitec*
Ideologías y otros Poderes que — *el mundo han regido y*
interacciones.

Con demasiada frecuencia se han abordado tanto el conjunto como los aspectos parciales de la cultura de la autarquía de una manera esquemática, cuando no simplista o anecdótica, haciendo hincapié preferentemente en los aspectos más superficiales y tendenciosos, lo que ha permitido presentarlo como "fenómeno" en cualquier caso ya superado, es decir perteneciente a un pasado ya definitivamente cancelado. Nada más falso. Y no ya porque ni siquiera aún no hayan desaparecido algunos — y no pocos — residuos "formales" típica e inequívocamente autárquicos, precipitadamente arrinconados, sino porque las propias contradicciones y características del "sistema" imperante en el país han impedido otra alternativa distinta a la que en esencia constituyó la "opción autárquica" (opción agresiva, confesional, tradicionalmente conservadora) que abandonó pronto la mayoría de sus ropajes para sustituirlos en parte por otros más rentables y pertinentes al momento. Actualizados, reformados. Pero esto es otra historia.

Lo cultural (y por lo mismo la ciudad, el medio, la arquitectura, por lo que significan como hechos culturales "autónomos") — al margen pero ligado a otro tipo de implicaciones resulta siempre una preciosa, aunque a veces odiada e incómoda arma de la que ningún tiempo o lugar han sabido o podido prescindir. Su presencia, su manipulación resultan obligadas. Su consumo también. Y si una mentira, a fuerza de ser consumida mil veces, se convierte (momentáneamente) en verdad, la cultura disfrazada o muerta puede llegar a revestir efímeros caracteres de veracidad.

La cultura de la autarquía al contribuir a mistificar o enmascarar, es decir a ocultar los auténticos objetivos y planteamientos políticos y sociales de su tiempo — los adquiridos y los congénitos —, al elaborar una cultura de Estado, recibió de éste, en justa reciprocidad, un cuerpo ideológico — no por inconsistente menos aparatoso — que la conformó epidérmicamente. Y lo que es más importante, un aparato cultural que íntima-

ARQVITECTVR12S EN LAS MARGENES
PAG. 2
JOSEP MARIA JUJOL
PAG. 6
ALVARO SIZA VIEIRA
PAG. 11
IDEOLOGIA Y LENGUAJE EN LAS ARQVITECTVR12S DEL PODER
PAG. 19
LA UNIVERSIDAD LABORAL DE GIJON O EL PODER DE LAS ARQVITECTVR12S
PAG. 25
ARQVITECTVR12S
marzo 1976 BIS información gráfica de actualidad

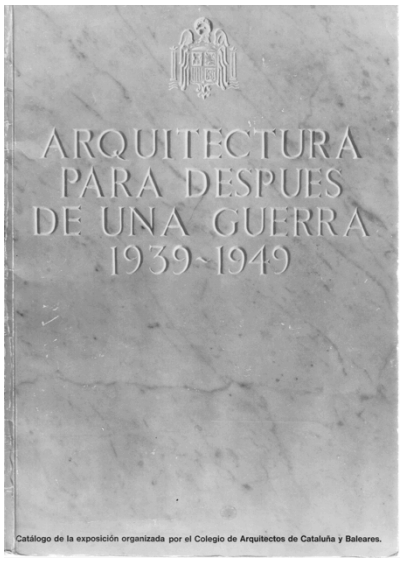
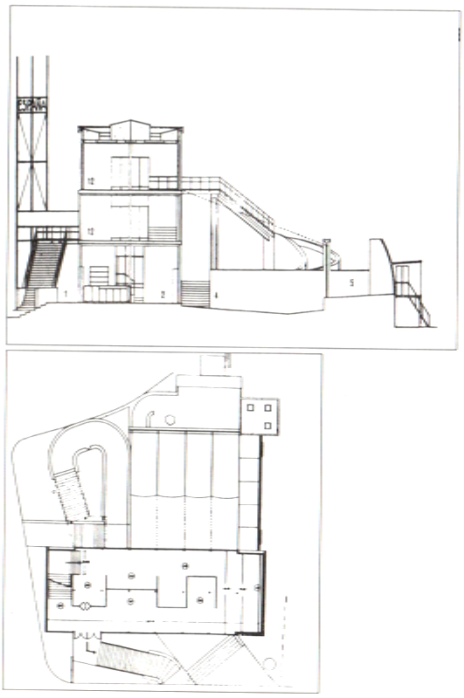


Fig.0.2: "Architecture, Power, Ideology," special issue of *Arquitectura* 199, spring of 1976 (above left). Cover of *Arquitecturas Bis*, March 1976 (above right). Cover, *Spain: Avant-garde art and social reality, 1936-1975*, catalogue of the Venice Biennale Arts Exhibition, summer 1976 (below left); Cover, *Arquitecturas para Después de una Guerra* (Architectures for After a War), cover of catalogue of exhibition, April- December, 1977.

Held for Copyright

Fig.0.3: Demonstrations in front of a replica of Guernica, by Pablo Picasso, 1977. Photograph by Leonard Freed.

Fig.0.4: Cover. *La Arquitectura Española de la Segunda República* (Spanihs Architecture during the Second Republic), 1970, by Oriol Bohigas.

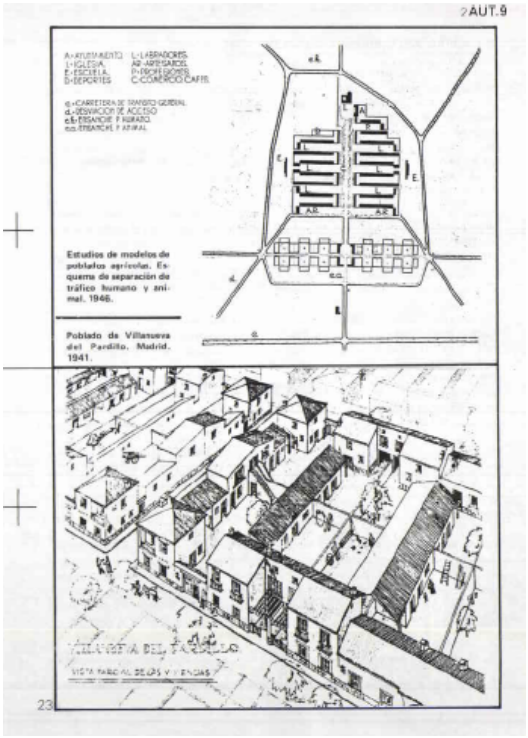


Sección y planta del pabellón español de la Exposición Universal de París, 1937.

Rampa de acceso al pabellón español de la Exposición Universal de París, 1937.

Fig.0.5: Outside view, plan and section. Spanish Republican pavilion at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*, Paris, 1937, by José Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa. As published by Oriol Bohigas.

Fig.0.6: Rural housing by the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas (General Directorate of Devastated regions), c.1941. As published in "Architecture, Power, Ideology,"1976, by Ignasí de Solá-Morales.



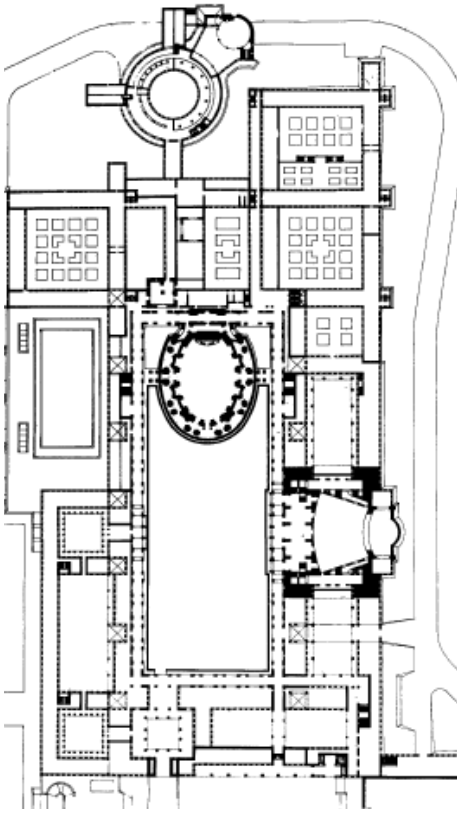


Fig.0.7: Plan and outside view from courtyard. Universidad Laboral, Gijón, 1947, by Luis Moya. As published in *Arquitecturas Bis*, March 1976, by Antón Capitel.

Fig.0.8: Outside views, Student Residence Cesar Carlos, Madrid, 1970, by Alejandro de la Sota (above) and French Institute, Barcelona, 1976, by Juan Antonio Coderch (below). As published in "Arquitectura española contemporanea: balbuceos y silencios" (Spanish Contemporary Architecture: Silences and Mumblings), 1976, by Ignasí de Solá-Morales

Fig.0.9: Cover, Time Magazine, June 27, 1977.

Fig.0.10: Equestrian Statue of Franco, Nuevos Ministerios, 1942, by Fructuosos Orduña, 1942. Removed during the night of March 17, 2005 (right) Exterior aerial View of Valle de los Caidos, Madrid, 1940-1959, by Diego Méndez and Pedro Muguruza. As is today (below).

Chapter 1

The Camino Chapel, 1954, and the Cultural Discourse of the Catholic Church

1.1 The Silent Chapel

On Thursday, February 24, 1955, several architects, a couple of art critics, and a priest gathered in what was called a Sesión Critica de Arquitectura (Critical Meeting in Architecture) to discuss the project that had been awarded the National Architecture Prize the previous December.[1] Following a brief presentation by one of its creators, Javier Sáenz de Oiza, the conversation that evening focused on a color collage of the project, a frontal perspective showing a rectangular three-dimensional grid structure floating over and around a carved-stone plinth **[Fig.1.1]**. Rendered in white, the spatial frame suggested a tubular steel structure that was barely perceptible against the light blue of a clear sky, and was seemingly about to fly off as it cantilevered over the plinth. In contrast, the grey pedestal rested heavily on the high ground of an unidentified landscape, possibly a wheat field. Without any human figures or nearby structures in the image, the scale of the building remained elusive, lending a weightless and open character to the structure itself. To highlight the

1The series of debates called Sesiones Críticas de Arquitectura (Critical Meetings on Architecture), had been organized regularly and since October of 1950 by architect and editor of *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (*RNA*) Carlos de Miguel. De Miguel decided on the topic of discussion, normally a recent architectural project in Spain or abroad, or a series of projects on a given theme that ranged from traffic to housing. A Sesión Crítica would normally comprise a brief presentation of the project under discussion by either the architect or commissioner or keynote response by a different architect, followed by a Q&A session attended by a group of architects summoned by invitation. De Miguel kept a detailed record of these meetings and published a summary of each of them in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. The Sesión Crítica here mentioned was published as "Una capilla en el camino de Santiago," in *RNA* 161 (1955)*:* 12-25, transcribed in Javier Sáenz Guerra, *Un mito moderno* (Alzuza, Navarra: Fundacion Museo Jorge Oteiza, 2007). For a note on the invitation to the meeting and list of guests, see p. 187.

contrast between floating frame and grounded base, a drawing of the project in plan showed the frame drawn in fine red lines and the plinth in thick black outline, all against a white background **[Fig.1.2]**. While the frame was a closed rectangle of seven by nine squares, triangulated at the edges for stability, the plan of the plinth was a square open on one side and with one arm extending out beyond the modular grid. On the right bottom corner of this panel, a smaller version of the plan included a photograph of a seashell pasted in, so as to suggest an ever-growing spiral structure transmitted to the open geometrical form of the plinth. To stress this point, another drawing included the image of a galaxy above a white-on-black perspective of the steel structure **[Fig.1.3]**.[2] Oiza complemented his presentation with images of emblematic projects with regard to the use of space-frame structures, showing images of Mies van der Rohe's Chicago Convention Center of 1954 and Konrad Wachsmann's airplane hangar, among other references in order to substantiate his design **[Fig.1.4]**.

The enigmatic character of the images and the novelty of the structural solution struck a chord among those who met to discuss the project. The first to comment on it after Oiza's presentation was Luis Moya, a leading architect at the time and one of the three members of the competition jury. Stressing the lyricism of the drawings and likening the aesthetics of the panels to a "fantastic Mondrian painting," Moya went on to commend the building for its potential to open up a new way for an architecture "of our time," one that allowed "pure structure" to take command of design.[3] Moya's commentary reiterated the jury's statement on December 30, 1954, where they noted the project's "maximum originality," especially with regard to its use of a three-dimensional

2 For an account of the material presented to the competition see Aurelio Vallespín Muniesa, "Sobre la documentación gráfica bajo el tema 'Capilla en el Camino de Santiago' al Premio Nacional de Arquitectura 1954" in *Concursos de arquitectura: 14 Congreso Internacional de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica : Oporto, del 31 de mayo al 2 de junio de 2012.* (2012) 707-712. The project was widely published at the time and later reviewed in the scholarship.

3 "Una capilla en el camino de Santiago," 13, and *Un mito moderno*, 199. The three-member jury was composed of architects Luis Moya, José Luis Fernández del Amo and Modesto Lopez- Otero. See especially commentaries to the project by José Antonio Sanchez Camargo and Miguel Fisac. According to the records published by de Miguel, the priest invited to the meeting had little to say about the project

grid structure, certainly unique in the Spanish context. “This work represents an effort of authentic creativity,” the jury wrote, “a contribution made by assimilating the new conquests of technique in regard to spatial structures.”[4]

Designed by Oiza in collaboration with the architect José Luis Romany and the sculptor Jorge Oteiza, the project responded to the competition brief launched by the Jefatura Nacional de Bellas Artes (National Fine Arts Service) of the Ministry of Education for the National Architecture Prize. This competition was held every two years, on each occasion focused on a different typology. In 1954 the theme was a religious building. The winning team had identified their design as a Camino Chapel, a religious building they loosely located along one of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela, or Camino de Santiago that since the medieval times has led pilgrims to the grave of the Apostle Santiago (St. James) in the far northeast of Spain. The allusion to openness and an ever-growing geometrical system responded to the designers’ intention to propose a building that would mark a stop in an ongoing journey and suggest the idea of growth. Specifically, the architects emphasized spiritual growth. For as Oiza claimed at the Sesión Crítica, they had imagined the project “not as an object that interrupts or stops the pilgrim but as an object that helps him move forward in his pathway—a pathway under the stars that is above all spiritual, a pathway that leads to the Apostle.”[5] Accordingly, the fundamental issue for the jury, and endorsed by attendees at the meeting, was not only the way in which the project espoused the latest trends in building technology, but also the way in which it aimed to “adapt these to the spirit that the theme requires.”[6] That is, the cornerstone of the project was its adaptation of the “conquest of technique”

4 “Fallo del concurso….” December 30 1954, op.cit., *Un mito moderno*, 175.

5 Javier Sáenz de Oiza, “Memoria,” *RNA* 161 (1955), 16; Sáenz Guerra*, Un mito moderno*, 176.

6 Luis Moya, “Una capilla en el camino de Santiago,” *RNA* 161 (1955), 13.

to religious ends, meaning, of course, Catholicism. In so doing, the Camino Chapel asserted its devout character through an "exaltation of technique."[7]

The building, however, barely represented any kind of association with Catholicism. Without a cross, a tower, or even a roof or entrance, the project looked nothing like a church. The only markers of the program in the competition panels were a photograph of the sculpture of a saint pasted inside the plan, and the faint images carved on the stone plinth **[Fig.1.5]**. The designers claimed these corresponded to scenes of Santiago riding and fighting underneath the stars in his crusade of evangelization. In his presentation, Oiza confirmed their intention to avoid the formal language typical of Catholicism, which he characterized as "mere figurative concerns."[8] Many at the discussion noted how this absence of traditional religious markers and the semantic ambiguity of the Camino Chapel were highly problematic for the winner of a prestigious State-run prize. Despite his appreciation of the project's qualities, Luis Moya articulated this concern for the symbolic value, or lack thereof, of the Camino Chapel:

> This was a National Architecture Competition, under the theme of a chapel and organized by the Ministry of Education of a Catholic State. But this project does not have a cross, or a bell tower or anything related to religion. Under these circumstances, could we award a prize to a chapel that lacks a religious symbol?[9]

Moya's point about Spain being a Catholic State was particularly relevant. Throughout the dictatorship, the alliance of Church and State was a bastion of Franco's power, and one of its more reactionary ones. The term Nacional Catolicismo (National Catholicism) has been invariably used as the most suitable characterization of the regime, related to but distinct from the models of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism.[10] Although Franco adopted many of the markers of fascism

7 Ibid.

8 Op.cit Sáenz Guerra, *Un mito moderno*, 178

9 Moya, "Una capilla en el camino de Santiago," 16; Sáenz Guerra, Un *mito moderno,* 189.

10 José Casanova, "Church, State, Nation and Civil Society in Spain and Poland," in Said Amir Arjomand, ed., *The Political Dimensions of Religion* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 108; Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime. 1936-*

and was closely tied to the Spanish fascist party, Falange, the Catholic Church provided the regime with crucial institutional and ideological justification. In Franquista Spain, Catholicism constituted what the historian of religion William Callahan has called the "ideological coagulant" of the various right-wing factions that supported the Franco regime. [11] Unlike the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, in Franquismo it was religion that came to stand for nationalism and the rejection of liberalism, acting as the basis for Franco's moral legitimization and authoritarian mentality, and providing for mass mobilization and popular policing.[12] Remarkably conservative, the Church in Spain curtailed modernizing efforts in the fields of culture, education, and religion, and its hierarchy was charged with conveying ultraconservative social policies.[13] As complex as civil-ecclesiastic ties were, a stronger and more regressive alliance between faith and nation could hardly be found elsewhere in the Western world at the time.[14]

It was certainly questionable, then, whether the modernizing allure of the Camino Chapel and the way in which it was purged of Catholic symbols was deserving of a prize granted by the Ministry of Education.[15] The Camino Chapel indeed came as a contrast to the most prominent religious architecture of the time. Two projects concurrently under construction received most of the attention. One was the completion of the main façade of the Almudena Cathedral, in the center of

---

1975 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987*),* 362.

11 William Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998*. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 383. Callahan provides the most comprehensive history of the Catholic Church in its relationship to politics in Spain. For the period here analyzed see chapters 12-20.

12 José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, 81; Rafael Abella, *Por el Imperio hacia Dios* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1978)

13 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 351, 380. Javier Tusell, *Franco y los Católicos: La Política Interior Española entre 1945 y 1957* (Madrid: Alianza, 1984), 80. Not only were Catholic groups the closest to being coherent ideological groups during Franquismo besides the only legal political party, Falange, but also the members of the Falange party were also mostly religious.

14 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 382

15 See the official letter from Ministry of Education to Oiza informing him of the prize, December 30, 1954, in Sáenz Guerra, *Un Mito Moderno*, 175.

Madrid, in a neo-baroque style **[Fig.1.6]**.[16] The other was the Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen), Franco's megalomaniacal war memorial in the Cuelgamuros Valley on the outskirts of Madrid **[Fig.1.7]**. Its most prominent feature was a 500 ft. high stone cross that sat atop a granite hill. Underneath it, a neoclassical curved portico gave way to the grand-scale vaulted church that was carved into the mountain.[17] The acute formal discrepancy between these constructions and the Camino Chapel, and the ways in which the latter redefined the terms of religious monumentality, were key to its gaining recognition. But, as Moya pointed out, how could such an enigmatic and novel church stand for Franquismo?

The corollary to this question—a question that has underscored disciplinary commentaries on the Camino Chapel ever since it was first discussed—is that by its very form the project incorporated some degree of political resistance; that in its silence, the Camino Chapel was anything but Franquista architecture. As an oddity amid the "pastiche of the old" proper to official architecture, the project stands as a challenge to the norms of the civic-ecclesiastic alliance, at least on the level of architectural language.[18] And yet, the design was awarded a prize by the Ministry of Education and publicly recognized. If one is to outline the political implications of the Camino Chapel, more detail on the ideas and values that were taking shape at this time within the Spanish Catholic Church, the Franquista regime, and the field of architecture seems necessary. Only by placing the Camino Chapel's novelty in relation to the discursive parameters established within the realms of religion, politics and culture, will we be able to shed light on its ideological baggage. In other words,

16 The competition for the design of the front of the Almudena Cathedral was held in 1944 and the neo-baroque winning design was was by young architect and historian Fernando Chueca-Goitia. Construction of the Cathedral lasted until 1996.

17 Originally designed by Diego Méndez and built under the supervision of the architect Pedro Muguruza after Méndez's passing, over a period of 18 years. The complex also included a large plaza, a Benedictine Abbey, and a Hospederia, or guest quarters, and was eventually Francos' mausoleum. It was inaugurated on April 1, 1959. For literature about the polemic construction process by war prisioners, the political symbolism and politics of memory of El Valle de los Caidos, see for instance José María Calleja and Julián Casanova, *El Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Espasa, 2009); and Jeremy Treglown, *Franco's Crypt: Spanish Culture and Memory since 1936* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014).

18 Alexander Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977), 149; Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain: Architecture after 1948* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 42.

to understand how the Camino Chapel was conceived in 1954 and the purposes of the designers' technological and aesthetic choices we must first ask: *what discourse undergirded the silence of the chapel? And what changes in the orientation of Catholicism accompanied the formation of this discourse*?

This chapter addresses these questions and inserts the Camino Chapel into the landscape of religious, political and cultural narratives that made it possible, narratives that invariably addressed the relationship between Catholicism and modernization. After the end of the Civil War, the construction and reconstruction of religious buildings dominated architectural production and the debate within architecture on the relationship of religion and modernism became, in the accounts of many, an obsession.[19] Between 1939 and 1954, when the National Architecture Prize was focused on religious buildings, the Spanish Church commissioned over 200 projects and design competitions, ranging from chapels and cathedrals, to war memorials and schools.[20] Although most of these initially followed the neoclassical and monumental tone set by the Valle de los Caídos and the Almudena Cathedral, religious projects gradually diverged from this norm. By the summer of 1958 the concept and aesthetic of "modernity" was comfortably paired with religious architecture, sanctioned by the apparatus of the State, and steadily introduced to the public, as I will return to toward the very end of this dissertation. By the time Franco died in 1975, the Church had commissioned more than 500 buildings, often in association with the State; numerous exhibitions, conferences, and publications had displayed and discussed modernist religious architecture; and architectural journals had dedicated hundreds of articles to religious buildings and questions of church design, including about fifteen special issues on the topic.[21]

19 Cobián, *El espacio sagrado*, 187. See also the many articles on the topic on *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* and *Hogar y Arquitectura.*

20 Delgado Orusco, "Fichas tecnicas" in *Arquitectura Sacra Española*, Volumne II, Anexos.

21 Cobián, *El espacio sagrado,* 155.

As implied by Ignasi de Solá-Morales's remark on the Camino Chapel in "Balbuceos y Silencios," seen in the introduction, in Spain the Catholic Church took command of the modernization of architecture. As noted in the introduction, this point was eventually taken up in the scholarship, although mainly to emphasize the patronage of the Church and the ubiquity of religious buildings, leaving aside the ways in which religion conformed the discourse on architectural modernization at its core. During Franquismo, the Catholic Church not only commissioned a multitude of buildings and provided the main institutional and cultural armature from which to discuss the challenges of modernity and the aesthetics of modernism, or what was more often referred to as the "new architecture." Also, the debate on the renewal of architecture was primarily posed in relation to the Church and in exhibitions, meetings, lectures, publications, and designs by or for religious institutions.

These multiple sites for the enunciation of modernism, and the discourse that emerged from them, entered into and determined the liaison of Church and State that was so essential to Franquismo. In what follows, a discussion of a selection of architectural events leads to an understanding of the emergence of a distinct discourse on architectural modernity that led to the Camino Chapel, and which implications extended well beyond Oiza's, Romani's and Oteiza's design and ideas. As the relationships between the fields of architecture, the Spanish Church, and the Franco regime developed over time, these architectural events also took part in the process of transition that Spanish Catholicism underwent in this period. The bond between Church and State remained a cornerstone of the regime, but the nature of this bond changed over the years. As noted before, José Casanova has argued for the ways in which Spanish Catholicism gradually shifted from the state-centered strategy proper to Nacional Catholicismo to a society-centered strategy, where the impact of the Church was found less in the clergy and the realm of the institution of the Church

than in an intellectual and lay-based cultural mode of Catholicism.[22] This non-clerical Catholicism was less pompous and rhetorical and not as explicit in binding Franquismo with God. If this lay Catholicism was initially overshadowed by the fascist rhetoric and grandiose imaginary of Nacional Catolicismo, its cultural and non-ecclesiastic focus was eventually more effective, as it became more deeply ingrained in Spanish society and politics. In all of its silence, the Camino Chapel will appear at the end of this analysis less as a refusal of religious symbolism than as a crucial stage in the consolidation of this new mode of Catholicism—a Catholicism with modernist, technological, and secular aspirations that was coming of age at this point in time.

1.2 International Exhibition of Sacred Art, 1939: State, Church and Architecture

The notion that Catholicism and architecture should join forces to face the challenges of modernization emerged as soon as the Franco regime set its course. And it was a connection deemed essential to the very conception of the regime. Two days after the Fiestas de la Victoria (Victory Celebrations), the lavish military parades and religious services held on May 19 and 20 of 1939 to mark the triumph of Nationalist Spain over the Second Republic in April, the new regime held its first cultural event in the form of an exhibition of art and architecture. Under the title *Exposición Internacional de Arte Sacro* (International Exhibition of Sacred Art), the show was announced in the press as a counterpart to Franco's Victory Celebrations. In tune with the "solemn," "majestic," and "fervent" tone of those festivities, the show was planned as "the best exhibition on sacred art ever in the world," ready to provide the imaginary to nourish the Franquista promise for a better future involving the "triumphant accord of beauty and faith."[23]

22 José Casanova, "Church, State, Nation, and Civil Society in Spain and Poland, " in *The Political Dimensions of Religion*, ed. by Said Amir Arjomand (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 110.

23 "En Vitoria se inauguro ayer oficialmente la Exposicion Internacional de Arte Sacro," ABC, May 23, 1939, 13. Press release by Eugeni d'Ors, in Fondo Eugenio d'Ors, Fons 255 in Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya (Fondo d'Ors ANC thereafter), 23; 1202; Cod. 020602.

Ever since the 1937 *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* in Paris, when the Popular Front government had presented its pavilion as a rallying cry for international support in the Civil War, art and architecture exhibits were a prime stage for propaganda, on the Nationalist as much as on the Republican front.[24] Following the lead already set by the Nationalist displays in Paris in 1937 and the 1938 Venice Biennale, the International Exhibition of Sacred Art focused on Catholicism to construct Franco's cultural image **[Fig.1.8]**. As would become the norm in Franquista-era shows, the International Exhibition of Sacred Art was a collaborative effort that included participation from various institutions from the government, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice and Religion, and the General Secretaries of Tourism, Press, and Propaganda. Led by the National Fine Arts Services of the Ministry of Education (the same department that would stage the Camino Chapel competition fifteen years later), the show's head curator was its then director, philosopher and cultural critic Eugeni d'Ors.[25]

The show served as the prime stage for d'Ors's discourse on architecture, modernism, and the relationship of aesthetics to politics. In addition to the role he played through his official appointment at the National Fine Arts Service, d'Ors's discourse was ubiquitous in Spanish culture. Mainly through his *Glosas* (short essays on cultural and social criticism published in different periodicals) and other exhibition initiatives, Eugeni d'Ors was arguably the mastermind of Franquista culture and he orchestrated the gradual introduction of modernist art into Spain as well as the accompanying agenda of cultural criticism.[26] The 1939 show was but a fragment of d'Ors's

24 On the relevance of art and architectural exhibitions as instruments of political propaganda during the Civil War and its aftermath see Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain. Artists, Exhibition Culture and the Modern* Nation, 1929-1939 (Pennsylvania Park: Penn State University Press, 2005) and Miriam Basilio, *Visual Propaganda, Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War* (London: Ashgate, 2014).

25 Eugeni d'Ors (1881-1954) had been secretary of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and director of the Departament d'Instrucció Pública de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya before the war. In 1937, he co-founded the first Franquista Section of Press and Propaganda with Dionisio Ridruejo and in 1938 he was appointed chief of the General Service of Beaux Arts of the Education Ministry, in which capacity he was also in charge of the Spanish contribution to the 1938 Venice Biennale.

26 The glosses became d'Ors' characteristic literary genre and were published in various periodicals. For an argument on the relevance of d'Ors on Franquista culture see for instance Cirici, *La estetica del Franquismo*, 41; Gabriel Ureña, *Las*

overarching philosophical project, but it was an especially relevant one in terms of his conception of architecture and the specifics of the connections he drew between aesthetics, Franquismo and religion.

Before expanding on d'Ors's philosophy, it is important to look more closely at the relationship between the Church and the regime at this time, and at the ways in which his exhibition positioned this relationship. The International Exhibition of Sacred Art was inaugurated on May 22 and remained open through until August fifth in the old city of Vitoria, in the north of Spain.[27] Naturally, it was inaugurated with a mass in the cathedral and, to match the grandeur of Franco's Victory Celebrations, it displayed an impressive collection of over 1,200 works of art and architecture drawn from churches and Catholic institutions from eleven different countries **[Fig.1.9-10]**. Only sparely photographed, one can reconstruct the show from the exhibition catalogue where all objects were carefully listed by categories **[Fig.1.11].** The architectural section included 100-plus objects, along with 125 paintings, 280 sculptures, stained glass and mosaics (whether originals or photographs), 126 vestments, 62 ceramics, over 100 engravings and graphics, 15 metalwork objects, and much more, all distributed somewhat randomly in the various rooms of the sixteenth-century Villasuso Palace. The architecture included over a hundred architectural photographs, models, and drawings of churches, many of which were shown in the first room as one entered the building.[28] In

vanguardias artísticas de la posguerra española (Madrid: Istmo, 1982),19; Julian Díaz Sánchez and Angel Llorente, eds., *La Crítica de Arte en España, 1939-1976* (Madrid: Istmo, 2004), 47; and Treglown, *Franco's Crypt*, 102-107.

27 The EIAS had been in planning since 1938 and was not initially intended as part of the victory celebrations. As the opening date was delayed often times for budgetary issues, its opening fit the war schedule neatly and was portrayed as the cultural counterpart to the celebrations over the wars' end. Vitoria, a Basque city in the northeast of Spain, had served as capital city for the nationalists during the war, and was the site of the Fine Arts Administration.

28 Art histories of the period invariably include mention to this seminal exhibition, but as these are often survey-like, very little attention has been given to the specifics of the show. Only Miriam Basilio in *Re-inventing Spain: Images of the Nation in Painting and Propaganda, 1936-1943* (PhD diss., New York University, 2002), 254-72, and Andere Larrinaga Cuadra in "La Exposición Internacional de Vitoria de 1939: Un híto artístico en la posguerra española," *Ondare* 25 (2006): 221-232, have described the exhibition in detail, in both cases from the perspective of art history. The architecture section remains overlooked or disregarded for lack of impact, as in Fernandez Cobian, *El Espacio Sagrado,* 148, and Rubén Labiano, "Entre dos guerras, Un grito en tierra de nadie. La Exposición Internacionla de Arte Sacro de Vitoria de 1939," in *Las Exposiciones de arquitectura y la arquitectura de las exposiciones. Actas*, ed. by Jose Manule Pozo (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2014):395-400.

addition, d'Ors had a freestanding bell tower and the interior of a chapel built on-site for the occasion **[Fig.1.12-13]**.

For Spain's domestic purposes, the show was primarily pedagogical as it was intended to establish guidelines for the restoration and construction of religious art and buildings in the aftermath of the war. The works were presented "as models and as examples of some of the best attempts and products offered by artists and artisans of the day."[29] More widely, the show targeted an international audience by proclaiming the "ecumenical" and "universal" nature of sacred art.[30] That the leading character in Franquismo's first cultural event, marking the stepping-stone for postwar reconstruction and the formation of the new State, was the Catholic Church was anything but remarkable. As noted above, the outcome of the war represented in many ways the triumph of Catholic Spain over the country's liberal factions and secularising efforts. The early 1930s had seen not only the Second Republic's controversial separation of Church and State that ended, amongst other things, financial support to the clergy. The period had also been defined by rampant anti-clericalism, most infamously represented in explicit material terms by the burning of churches and the looting of sacred art.[31] This anti-clerical tradition became sanguinary with the outbreak of the war, and the assassination of priests by anarchists starting in 1936 turned the war into a fully-fledged religious crusade, according to a trope commonplace in Franquista rhetoric, and Franco into an evangelical military leader **[Fig.1.14]**. In his writings during the war, d'Ors had been instrumental in making Catholicism a crucial point of contention between the two parties, likening the material destruction of churches and religious objects at the hands of the left to a loss of the nation's cultural and spiritual capital. The 1939 exhibition paired Franquismo with religion in similar terms, in order to further relate the Civil War with religion and to stage the conflict and the regime, as a confrontation

29 EIAS Press release, Fondo d'Ors ANC.
30 Ibid.
31 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 349.

between Catholicism and Communism. In the press release announcing the exhibition, and later in the catalogue, D'Ors positioned the show as responding to "the wrecking and profanation of churches and religious art works perpetrated by Bolshevism in Spain."[32]

Postwar reconstruction began, quite naturally, with those buildings whose destruction had been most symbolic during the war: churches. The reconstruction of religious buildings was framed both as a physical and an ideological operation, aimed at conforming a new regime on the basis of the country's presupposed historical and cultural traditions, and of an alleged spiritual essence. As d'Ors wrote in the catalogue: "Reconstruction could bring about equivalent tragedies [to the destruction suffered during the war] if it goes about without the vigilant assistance of a dual spirit of aesthetic dignity and liturgical purity."[33] Operationally, church reconstruction was a joint effort between the Church and the State, with the former recuperating the lands and estates it had lost under the Second Republic and the government sponsoring most of the new church building. In a similar way, the exhibition unified Church and State through the curatorial board, which included members of the Church hierarchy. Most significant was Cardinal Isidro Gomá y Tomas, Archbishop of Toledo and primate of the Spanish Church, who, only two days before attending the opening of the exhibition, had received Franco in the Church of Santa Barbara, in Madrid, to bless his sword as an "eloquent testimony to the faith of our Catholic people."[34]

The State-Church alliance expressed itself in every realm of culture, extending well beyond the material reconstruction of ecclesiastic buildings and artworks. Beginning in the fall of 1939, the Church regained the institutional power it had lost during the Second Republic, its autonomy and economic privileges.[35] Most significantly, Franco granted the Church a leading role in the fields of

32 EIAS press release, Fondo d'Ors ANC.

33 Eugeni d'Ors and Santiago Marco, *EIAS. Catálogo de la Exposición Internacional de Arte Sacro* (Zarauz: Ministerio de Educacion, Jefatura Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1939), 19.

34 Quoted in Anastasio Granados, *El Cardenal Gomá. Primado de España* (Madrid:Espasa-Calpe, 1969), 220.

35 Soon after attending the opening of d'Ors' show, Gomá wrote an open letter to Franco expressing his desire for tangible

culture and education. As the traditional means to control morality and to indoctrinate and police the public education and culture were seen as the most fitting fronts for the action of the clergy.[36] Pedro Saínz Rodriguez, the Minister of Education under whom d'Ors planned the exhibition, had laid the foundations for a religious-oriented education in the schools, while his successor José Ibañez Martín ensured pro-Church policies in higher education in the following decade. Entwined with educational public services was the emphasis on "truth," and on the Church and God as its bearer, which became a well-rooted motto for the regime and its purposes of the national essentialism and totalitarianism.[37] Education had a particularly salient meaning to establish ideological monopoly at all levels of society and culture, for, as the Catholic journal *Razón y Fe* stated in 1938, "there is only one truth, that taught by the Catholic Church."[38]

A crucial benefit for the Spanish Church was also religious monopoly, with Catholicism becoming the only faith allowed. It is not coincidental that the civic-ecclesiastic alliance was forwarded through an art exhibition, where the representational dimension of Catholicism was intended to counter Protestantism. In its international scope the show served to project the confessional ethos of the State for the purposes of foreign relations. D'Ors brought works, artists and critics from all over Europe and Latin America, including Italy, Germany, Portugal, England, France, Belgium, Argentina, and Uruguay, while statesmen and clergymen from all these nations attended the opening on May 22, 1939. Thus, the event was the first occasion the regime had to validate its legitimacy on an international level.[39] The International Exhibition of Sacred Art was a significant propaganda event for the nascent regime, with one reviewer remarking: "surely there is not one

---

results in return for the support the Church had provided during the war. Payne, *The Franco Regime,* 199-200.

36 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 369, 375

37 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 370, 397, and Payne, *The Franco Regime,* 351.

38 R.S de Almadardi, "La enseñanza religiosa en la Nueva España," *Razón y Fé* 114 (1938): 47.

39 Basilio, *Re-inventing Spain,* 255.

single educated Catholic who doesn't know of the exhibit."[40] The main impetus behind the exhibition, both at home and abroad, was to demonstrate the fundamental role Catholicism played in the conception of Franco's new State, while conferring upon artists and architects a leading position in reinforcing this relationship. The exhibition catalogue opened with the note sent by Pope Pius XI to consecrate the event, which put it in unambiguous terms: "Let the work of architects, painters, sculptors, and craftsmen demonstrate the heightened religious fervor that inflames the soul of the New Spain."[41]

1.3 D'Ors and the Morphology of (Catholic) Culture

The artworks hinted at the style to which the nascent state should adapt its "inherent" religious fervor, at least as far as d'Ors was concerned, and certainly reflected his philosophy of aesthetics, politics, and spirituality. In his broad selection of media and time periods, d'Ors looked to make the point of how the synthesis of the arts was inherent to Catholicism and also condemn industrial production for purposes of sacred art and instead favor craftsmanship. With regards to style however, eclecticism was undoubtedly the norm in the show. Many of the objects were medieval and classic while some paintings and posters revealed modernist tendencies, as in the work of the expressionists Pere Pruna and Georges Rouault carefully studied by Basilio **[Fig.1.15]**.[42] While not completely giving in to abstraction, since d'Ors defended the figurative nature of Catholic art, these artists served one of d'Ors's ambition in the show, namely, that of fostering "a progressive

40 "La pulcra capital de Alava ha sabido cumplir dignamente la mission acogedora que se le confió," *Pensamiento Alavés*, August 4, 1939, 18. From 1938 on, when the exhibition was in the works, the coverage of the exhibition in the press was wide as mostly kept in the Fondo d'Ors ANC, Fons 255, "Exposicion Internacional de Arte Sacro," *Pensamiento Alavés*, December 20, 1938, 2; "Alemania en la Exposición de Arte Sacro," *Informaciones*, June 31, 1939; "Algunas Enseñanzas de la Exposicion Internacional de Arte Sacro," *La Gaceta del Norte*, Auguts 9, 1929; "La Exposición de Arte Sacro," *España*, May 17, 1939; *ABC*, March 16, 1929, 13; *La Vanguardia*, February 18, 1939, 8; *Pensamiento Alavés*, May 22, 1939, 1; *ABC*, May 26, 1939, 11.

41 "Bendicion de Su Santidad Pio XI," Vatican, February 9, 1939, in d'Ors and Marco, *EIAS*, 3

42 Basilio, *Re-inventing Spain,* 259-263.

movement in the arts."[43] As he claimed in the press release announcing the show in 1938, he looked to show works that proposed "new forms and formulae" in ecclesiastical art.[44]

It was in the architectural section that d'Ors, freed from the constraints of figuration, most clearly revealed this aspiration. In the catalogue it was noted that the intention was to display "modern temples" and provide for "examples of the new style, illustrated as much as possible through models and evocative drawings."[45] Most evocative, perhaps, were a couple of axonometric drawings titled "Concrete, Glass and Marble Cathedral" where a series of sharply defined rectangular volumes of various dimensions intersected with each other in an irregular distribution and were shown from above, as if suspended on an empty background. **[Fig.1.16]**. With a slender cylinder tower on one end of the complex, the largest orthogonal volume rested on *piloti* and the various surfaces of the volumes were gridded to suggest glass facades. Without a cross, pediment, or even a distinguishable entrance, nothing other than the accompanying title signaled the religious nature of the building. These constructivist-looking drawings were Alberto Sartoris's 1931 project for the Cathedral Notre-Dame du Phare in Fribourg, Switzerland. Elsewhere in the show was exhibited the church that he had realized in Lourtier in Switzerland, in 1935 **[Fig.1.17]**. This last was presumably intended to persuade the viewer of the feasibility of such ideas; namely, the possibility of using the latest building materials, aesthetics, and compositional devices in the service of religious building. As Sartoris put it elsewhere, the Fribourg project was the "futurist" version of religious architecture—an interpretation of Futurism as the mute, rational, and non-monumental version of a cathedral.[46] Other

43 d'Ors and Marco, *EIAS*, 30.

44 EIAS press release, Fondo d'Ors ANC.

45 d'Ors and Marco, *EIAS*, 38.

46 "L'architecture nouvelle et l'église," *Anthologie*, 19- 1. (1938): 10-11; op.cit Massimo Duranti, ed. *Piety and Pragmatism: Spiritualism in Futuristic Art* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2010), the catalogue of an exhibition on the same name that addresses the religious connections to Italian Futurism. In Spain, Sartoris' project had been published in *Hormigón y Acero*, October 6 1934 and the article "Caracteres innovadores de la arquitectura religiosa," *Tiempos Nuevos*, 46, March 11, 1936. The abstract composition of white volumes of Sartoris' Lourtier Church had been a cause of controversy, questioned by conservatives in the Church for the way in which it too readily embraced modernist tendencies.

projects in the show were surely selected to similarly encourage architects and clergymen to engage in experimental designs. These included the Church in Carmaux by Auguste Perret, with drawings of its light concrete frame and abstract stained glass **[Fig.1.18]**; the Church of St. Charles Borromeo in Lucerne by Fritz Metzger, with a photograph showing its interior colonnade **[Fig.1.19]**; Fernand Dumas's Marienkirche, in Bern, a rationalist design of bare brick volumes; and several drawings of churches by Paul Bellot, showing his signature bare vaulted interiors **[Fig.1.20]**.

The ambitions of the show regarding the renewal of architecture did not end in the buildings themselves or the art works within them. D'Ors's holistic understanding of the built environment brought artworks, crafts, and architecture together as means not only to generate a particular aesthetics or a space—in this case, the church as a space for religion—but also the life within it—in this case religiosity itself. The value d'Ors gave to Catholicism derived, among other things, from the fact that it demonstrated how art, architecture, and life were integral to each other, and not autonomous. For d'Ors, the church as a building type best demonstrated the dialectical relationship and synthetic potential of art and life, and also proved the prominent position that architecture occupied in this equation. D'Ors' envisioned a renovation of the arts beginning and ending with architecture and for purposes of reforming all epheres of life. Put differently, church design and religious art were, for d'Ors, not the end point but the model to follow. In fact, he intended the 1939 exhibition on Sacred Art as the first of a series of three shows that aimed at the comprehensive restoration of the built environment, and thus the reintegration of art and life more broadly. Following the exhibition on the church would be a second on the house and a third on the city. As he explained: "The temple, the house, the city mark the steps for the restoration of all the arts."[47] These three essential architectural foci comprised the whole sphere of the arts for d'Ors. By extension, he thought of this exhibition sequence as not only guiding design across these three scales, but also

47 *ABC*, May 23, 1939, 13.

leading to new configurations of religious, domestic, and urban life. Thought of this way, the series aspired to an overarching renewal, launched on the cultural and aesthetic front for the inception of a new regime of social, political, and cultural order.

To understand d'Ors's selections for the 1939 show, the implications of his show series, and his association between culture, spirituality and the built environment, we must look more closely at his philosophy of aesthetics.[48] D'Ors began his intellectual trajectory in Barcelona during the 1900s as one of the leading voices of Noucentisme (literally "1900-ism").[49] This was the movement that reacted to the liberal and subjective tendencies of Modernisme, the Catalan version of Jugendstil, by proposing an alternative model of modernity, or, of the characteristics of the social and cultural experiences developing under the inevitable processes of economic and technological modernization. Noucentisme was essentially a call to order, both in aesthetics and in politics, as it corresponded to the rise to power of the conservative Catalan nationalist Lliga Regionalista (Regionalist League) led by Enric Prat de la Riba. Both politically and aesthetically, it defended a reformulation of Catalan identity on the basis of a culture that was as metropolitan as it was anchored in a Greco-Roman Mediterranean heritage. It advocated for order, form, and proportion in aesthetics, and defended the ethical values of rectitude and moderation.[50] The merging of aesthetic, political, and ethical aspirations in Noucentisme was most famously articulated by d'Ors in the

48 For an introduction to d'Ors and his philosophy of aesthetics see José Luis Aranguren, *La filosofia de Eugenio d'Ors* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1981); Laura Mercader, Martí Peran, and Natalia Bravo, eds., *Eugenio d'Ors del arte a la letra* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1997). D'Ors' architectural theory remains largely ignored in the scholarship, regardless of how influential d'Ors was and how big role architecture played in his discourse. Tellingly, one of his sons, Victor d'Ors was an architect and director of the School of Architecture in Madrid during Franquismo. The essay by Laura Mercader, "La arquitectura en la elipse, Una lectura desde la cultura y la forma orsiana," in *Oceanografia de Xenius,* ed.by Carlos Ardavin, et al. 177-194 comes the closest to an analysis of d'Ors' aesthetics in terms of architecture. To my knowledge, only Jean-Françoise Lejeune has looked at the influence of d'Ors in the lingering preoccupation for the Mediterranean vernacular among architects at mid-century in "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain," in Jean-Francois Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, eds*., Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean. Vernacular Dialogues and Contested* Identities (London: Routledge, 2010), 65-94.

49 Carlos d'Ors, *El Noucentisme : Presupuestos ideológicos, estéticos y artísticos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000). See also the special issue on *"Modernisme i noucentisme," Serra d'Ors* 3, (1961).

50 Mendelson, *Documenting Spain*, 5-15.

central female character of his 1911 novel *La Ben Planta*, which became a manifesto for the movement.

D'Ors's writings on architecture from this period referenced the tradition of Andrea Palladio as a point of inspiration for a Neucentista style, and his influence in architectural discourse has been discussed, when at all, in terms of his championing of neoclassicism **[Fig.1.21]**.[51] But d'Ors' philosophy extended more specifically into a theory of architecture and politics through the concept of the "Morfología de la Cultura" (Morphology of Culture), which he first expounded in his 1926 lecture "Ideas y Formas" (Ideas and Forms) and developed further in subsequent writings, exhibitions, and lectures. This included a series of international debates on the relationship of art to politics that he was involved with in the mid-1930s, most significantly the 1934 conference in Paris on "The Art of Reality and the Art of the State." He gathered these writings in the books *Las Ideas y Las Form*as (Ideas and Forms) published in 1928, and *Teoría de los Estilos y Espejo de la Arquitectura* (Theory of Styles and the Mirror of Architecture), published in 1944 **[Fig.1.22]**.[52] The latter was permeated by d'Ors's position on religion and concluded with the various writings he produced in relation to the International Exhibition of Sacred Art.

D'Ors' concept of the Morphology of Culture drew from the formalism of Heinrich Wölfflin and Jacob Burckhardt as he identified aesthetics and ideology, or form and idea, as the two sides of culture. D'Ors understood Culture—with a capital C—in holistic terms, as the Hegelian spirit of the time that encompassed social, political, and moral values. The architectural style and construction system that prevailed in a particular time and place were, for d'Ors, a reflection of Culture or "spirit."

51 On the architecture of neucentisme in Catalunya, see Angel Urrutia, "Neucentisme Catalan," in *Arquitectura española contemporánea,* 113. Josep María Rovira, *La arquitectura catalana de la modernidad* (Barcelona: UPC, 1987); and Ignasi de Solá-Morales , "Sobre Noucentisme y Arquitectura," in *Eclecticismo y vanguardia y otros escritos* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2004) In 1938 d'Ors gave a lecture on Andrea Palladio,a nd befriended Sartoris, as manifest in a solid epistolary relationship. He wrote extenseively on architecture and to architects, and published a monograph on the Itlaian architect of the noveccento, the equivalent of Catalan neucentisme, Ggiotti Zanini, Eugeni d'Ors, *Gigiotti Zanini*. Milano: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1953.

52 Eugeni d'Ors*, Las ideas y las formas; estudios sobre morfología de la cultura* (Madrid: Editorial Paez, 1928), and Eugenio d'Ors, *Teoría de los estilos y espejo de la Arquitectura* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1944)

Aesthetic values were therefore plausible as a true historical style only in so far as they cohered with the concurrent prevailing moral, social, and political values. These values could in turn be inferred from aesthetic phenomena. According to the Morphology of Culture:

> Each particular work must be interpreted as a sign and index of a larger spiritual and stylistic complex. In each work, let's note this once again, the works merge with and are equivalent to the creation of artists, philosophers, men of science, men of state, and captains, and even of anonymous production, like fashion, language, and folklore.[53]

Architecture was for d'Ors the most perfect manifestation of Culture. Consistent with Noucentisme's characteristic call to order and to fight against the *amorfo* (in-formal), d'Ors revered all practices driven by the "Spirit of Construction."[54] Architecture had the potential to unify and to embody both the spirit of construction and the spirit of the times; in architecture, "the material, the intellectual, and even the evangelical are manifest at the utmost level of collaboration and equilibrium."[55] In speaking of the spirit of the times, d'Ors explicitly referred to ideological and power structures—to the "political forms"—that prevailed at a given point in time. Architectural forms, d'Ors contended, could be both translated into and derived from such political forms.[56] The most significant evidence in d'Ors' Morphology of Culture was the twinned phenomena of the Renaissance revival of the dome and the rise of the monarchy. Alluding to the shifting of power structures in fifteenth century Italy from a feudal system to the advent of a central power through the figure of the pope-king, d'Ors argued that the centralization of power was both represented and elicited by the emergence of domes in architectural design, as seen in Leon Battista Alberti's drawings of circular plans and domes in Da Re Aedificatoria. The pope-king and the dome were for d'Ors parallel

53 d'Ors, *Teoría de los estilos*, 76

54 Ibid., 11. To my knowledge, the only theoretical anlayis of d'Ors writungs in architecture is Laura Mercader, "La arquitectura en la elipse," in *Oceanografía de Xénius. Estudios Criticos dea Eugenio d'Ors*, ed. by Carlos Ardavín (Girona: Universidad de Girona, 2005) 177-194. Both Josep María Rovira and Jean-Francois Lejeune have pointed to the influence of d'Ors in Catalna architecs in the 1930s and into the 1960s, but much work remains to be dome on the ubiquity of d'Ors' ideas in Spanish architecture culture.

55 d'Ors, *Teoría de los estilos,* 244.

56 Eugenio d'Ors, "Las formas arquitectonicas de una epoca de la historia estan en función de sus formas politicas," *Teoría de los estilos,* 203.

manifestations of a "principle of unity" that displaced the preceding chaotic political system of rival city-states, and its corresponding landscape of heterogeneous bell towers.[57]

In D'Ors' key essay "Espejo de la Arquitectura" the choice of the term *espejo* (mirror) was a careful one, for d'Ors not only conceived of architecture working as a product and sign of existing sociopolitical structures. Rather, reflection worked both ways, as architecture was also a producer of these very structures. Consequently, differing styles and construction systems should not be interpreted according to a historical process of disciplinary evolution or material development. Rather, they could only be interpreted in relation to Culture. In d'Ors's theory, a given architectural form and its related spirit were determined by, and should thus be interpreted according to, two enduring paradigms of Culture, the two "constants" of Culture he referred to as "eons": the "classical eon" and the "baroque eon." These should be understood not as historical styles but as trans-temporal categories. Framed in a Hegelian dialectical relationship, if the "classical" bore with it order, unity, form and proportion, restraint, reason, and a certain social consensus, the "baroque" pertained to fragmentation, rupture, excess, and subjective acts of innovation.[58] Essentially opposites, the classical and the baroque eons were in a constant struggle to determine the spirit and style of the times. The monarchy-dome conjuncture in the Renaissance represented, in d'Ors's view, the prevalence of the classical eon over the baroque eon that had predominated during the medieval period.

Following his formalist logic, D'Ors interpreted the aesthetic manifestations of Modernisme—Jugendstil, or Modernisme in its Spanish variation, but also the international variants of Cubism, Expressionism, and so on—as both effect and cause of the political and moral liberalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was a period he identified with the baroque

57 d'Ors, *Teoría de los estilos,* 215. The dome of the Basilica Sta. Maia de la Salute, in Venice, represents the Monarchy shifting guears and from where D'Ors goes on to identify different modes of monarchy, or different systems of unified power, through different types of dome constructions.

58 Eugeni d'Ors, *Lo Barroco*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1993.First published in 1935 and in Spanish in 1944.

and thus as evidence of an inherent loss of order, as altogether lacking a political system and spiritual values, the latter undermined by materialism and reason; it was the period that had fostered the dislocation of form and idea in the realm of culture, if only at a rhetorical level.[59] For d'Ors, the informal, iconoclastic, and subjective character of the avant-gardes was but a manifestation of these losses, and by extension the rise of unspiritual Culture. D'Ors's aspirations for a "modern sense" of Culture aimed at a return of the classical eon, as in Noucentisme, which could conform with "sobriety," "simplicity," and "honesty."[60]

In his use of the term classic, and even in his favoring of classic architecture, d'Ors was also wary of historicist approaches where the mimicry of past styles might not necessarily correspond to the spirit of the times but only revive empty forms. In Paris in the mid-1930s, D'Ors's contacts with thinkers from the Catholic reform movement, as well as his personal friendships with artists and architects, among them Alberto Sartoris, led him to recognize the ways in which some of the avant-gardes were advancing values similar to those he claimed with regards to honesty, simplicity and historicity.[61] For d'Ors, certain new ideas should be taken into consideration, but cautiously and drawn away from the "false path" of liberalism. Only through a disciplined deployment of the innovative and fragmentary drive of the avant-gardes could their formal repertoire be made readily available for the purposes of a classical Culture.

Since his early formulation of Noucentisme, the notion of tradition had been a favorite of d'Ors's, a prime means of restraint and a way to evoke the Classic eon. One of d'Ors's most celebrated aphorisms was: "Classicism. Fora de la Tradició, cap veritable originalitat. Tot lo que no és Tradició, és plagi" (Classicism. Outside of Tradition, originality is not possible. Everything that is not

59 Julián Díaz Sánchez, *La crítica de arte en España, 1939-1976* (Madrid: Istmo, 2004), 47. Laura Mercader et al., *Eugenio d'Ors del Arte a la Letra* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1997) 166. See also the seminal study on the religious dimensions of d'Ors thinking by Jose Luis Aranguren, *La Filosofia de Eugenio d'Ors* (Madrid: Ediciones y Publicaciones Españolas, 1945)

60 d'Ors, Teoría de los estilos, 321.

61 d'Ors, *Teoría de los estilos*, 324.

tradition is plagiarism).[62] For d'Ors, the notion of tradition allowed for boundaries on subjective creativity and speculative thinking, while leaving room for a certain degree reform of the arts, in as much as he rejected mimesis. In Teoría de los Estilos he expanded his idea of tradition in the context of architecture by claiming a middle ground for the design process, where creativity should fall somewhere in between innovative and solitary intentions of revolutionary potential and the literal copying of historical referents. In this, d'Ors called for tradition as something other than the reiteration of formal referents, as something deeper in the object, that "which Culture knows, the universal and the eternal." He warned against pastiche in these terms: "History, which lies underneath the grids of time and space, is prolific in procuring false traditions. These are merely habits that only lead to contrived attempts at literal repetition."[63] Put differently, the key was to identify the right type of tradition. As he put it in a dialogue with his collaborator in the International Exhibition on Sacred Art, Father Andres Ripoll: "Any revolution that has been efficient in the world has been done in the name of tradition.…True tradition only considers that which is permanent."[64]

The Catholic Church provided d'Ors with the strongest and most permanent notion of traditions, as in the context of the Church tradition implied a combination of liturgical norms, ecclesiastic laws, and moral dogma. In essence, the Church allowed for the most efficient and universal system of restraint. And in this way it should overlap with the avant-gardes. If he was able to endorse modernist art and architecture and propose reform in the arts in the 1939 exhibition, this was in so far as it came within the limits of the Church. D'Ors therefore thought of the exhibition as a way to subordinate avant-garde design strategies to the Catholic tradition, as the means to "guide

62 "The inventive genius of the times rests on tradition; for tradition and renovation are not opposing terms," d'Ors y Marco, *EIAS*, 31. Eugeni d'Ors, "Glosari. Aforística de Xènius I-XIV," *La Veu de Catalunya*, October 31, 1911, later in Spanish as "Clasicismo. Sólo hay originalidad verdadera cuando se está dentro de una tradición. Todo lo que no es tradición es plagio," in "Primeros lemas", *Gnómica*, 1941. The quote was literally set in stone, in the frieze of the Cason del Buen Retiro designed by Victor d'Ors, in Madrid, sometime in the 1940s.

63 d'Ors, *Teoría de los estilos*, 72.

64 Ibid., 337.

current art following the norms of tradition and the sacred canon and liturgical norms."[65] Just as he called for aesthetic reform, the Catholic Church provided him with a trans-historical canon and a strategy of artistic self-discipline.[66] D'Ors saw as essential that the artist himself be Catholic, a belief based on the assumption that the religiosity of the artist acted as the main guarantee for the sacredness of the work itself. This was a contentious issue in the Catholic reform movement at the time, and for many like d'Ors,' the artist's faith best assured that he would not give in to individual creativity and strays from tradition. Artists ought to work with "humility", d'Ors defended, so that he would control "the will toward a total rupture with the artistic forms of the past and toward the blind search for new forms." [67] Catholic tradition and faith would necessarily circumvent "flamboyant and ridiculous results, or an absolutist functionalism, dry and offensive to the sacred character of buildings."[68]

It is not surprising then that the 1939 show marks the moment in which d'Ors began to open up to modernist currents in aesthetics, as he looked to counter the over-ornamented tendencies in neo-baroque church design. Moreoever, his summoning of new forms was not confined to the realm of aesthetics, but was closely related to the renewal of Catholicism as well. Exhibited near Sartoris's "futurist" cathedral there were photographs of and objects retrieved from the eleventh-century Benedictine Abbey of Maria Laach, in Germany, and contemporary works by architect Dom Bellot at the Abbey of Solesmes, in France, both leading institutions in the Catholic reform movement. This was a theological and cultural campaign that had been unfolding throughout Europe since the early twentieth century and that looked to reform the Church by bringing it into accord with concurrent processes of modernization. In the face of a lingering crisis of the Catholic Church, the various

65 *Pensamiento Alavés*, May 20, 1939, 3.
66 Basilio, *Re-inventing Spain*, 257.
67 d'Ors y Marco, *EIAS*, 31.
68 Ibid.

institutions and thinkers that comprised the reform movement called for the *aggiornamiento* (bringing up to date, from a-to giorno-day) of Catholic values, structures, and rites. The reform movement, which would eventually lead to the Second Vatican Council in 1963, aimed to revise the role and form of the liturgy, which was reframed as the most crucial element of Catholic life; to give a new prominence to the faithful over the clergy; to reform ecclesiastical leadership toward simpler manners and lesser symbolic value; and to widen the social outreach of the Church. This was exemplified, for instance, by the campaign to replace the Latin Mass with the vernacular, by placing a renewed emphasis on parish communities, and by promoting of a religious cultural discourse well beyond theology proper.

Questions about aesthetics were intrinsic to the various debates that opened in Catholic communities on the reform movement, debates in which architecture played a crucial role. For architecture was considered at once a symbolic representation of the Church and a specific physical context wherein to develop ecclesiastical functions. The question of how appropriate modernist architecture could be for the purposes of a renewed Church was discussed in debates that focused largely on representation and ornament, the role of abstraction versus the need for figuration in Catholic art, and on the role of functionalism in ecclesiastical space versus monumentality. Other poignant ideas on these debates pertained to the challenges and advantages of prefabrication, changes in the building industry, new construction techniques and the symbolic meaning of new materials. Undergirding these issues was the challenge of giving new churches a proper religious character through these new means of construction and representation.[69]

69 For an overview of *aggiornamiento* and its impact in architecture at mid-century, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture From Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Robert Proctor, *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975* (Farnham: Ashagate, 2014). The literature exploring the modern, post-modern and contemporary architecture produced for religious purposes is aptly growing, as well as Hejduk and Williamson, *The Religious Imagination*, see for instance Jeanne Kalgen Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space. An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Julio Bermúdez ed. *Transcending Architecture: Contemporary Views on Sacred Space* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press: 2015) and more recently, Anthony Acciavatti, Justin Fowler and Dan Handel, "Kingdoms of God," *Manifest* 2 (2016), 3-9. As

In the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, d'Ors looked to broaden the ecclesiastical and State hierarchy in Spain with these ideas, which at that point had only been taken up in the Benedictine Montserrat Abbey in Catalunya, and whose members collaborated with d'Ors in the planning of the exhibition.[70] D'Ors's closest collaborators in planning the exhibition were Montserrat priest Father Andres Ripoll and the architect Santiago Marco, in charge of restoration work at Montserrat and also the designer of the model chapel for the show. The ideas behind the Catholic reform movement also ran through the lectures that accompanied the show, such as "Tradition and Modernity in Sacred Art" by Father Ripoll; "Temple Restoration according to the Liturgy" by Luis Moya; "Architecture for the New Temple" by Francisco Folguera; and "Liturgy in Education for the Artistic Professions" by Santiago Marco.[71]

D'Ors's most significant connection to the Catholic reform movement was French cultural critic Jacques Lassaigne, a former collaborator of d'Ors's who was invited to be part of the exhibition advisory board.[72] Lassaigne was a regular contributor to *L'Art Sacré*, the French journal leading the reform movement in France from the perspective of a twofold renewal of the liturgy and the arts. The journal was d'Ors's source for the material he selected for the show **[Fig.1.23]** while his curatorial claims closely followed the editorial mission of *L'Art Sacré* at the time. Since 1937, the journal had launched a campaign against the mass-production of Catholic imagery for popular consumption, which was called in France the art de Saint-Sulpice in reference to the market of

---

much as this chapter looks to add to this literature with some Spanish examples, its main focus is not on religious architecture but on the impact of religious ideologies and institutions in the cultural discourse and in the political, technological and economic processes of modernization; that is, on the production of secularity as studied from the lenses of architecture. A fascinating argument for the crucial role played by the shifting of religion—nad not its eradication—in the very formation of enlightened theories of architecture is in Richard Wittman, "The Church and the Altar: Architectural Origins and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 36.1 (2007): 235-259.

70 Josep María García Fuente, *La construcción del Montserrat Moderna* (Phd diss., Universitat Politecnica de Catalunya, 2012), 204.

71 *ABC*, June 22, 1939, 12.

72 The two had worked together in Paris in launching the journal *Almanac des Arts*, an annual review of events in art and architecture. Only one issue was published in 1937 under the title "The Year of Exhibitions." The architecture section included an article on the "Renovation of Religious Architecture," as well as articles on Le Corbusier, symbolist architecture, and muralism.

religious souvenirs that grew up around the Parisian church of the same name. Instead, *L'Art Sacré* called for Catholic culture to engage with the contemporary art world in technical and aesthetic terms, while still promoting a craft-oriented mode of artistic production. *L'Art Sacré* considered Catholic art as an organic whole, and featured articles on sculpture, painting, architecture, cinema, and music.[73] In its broad cultural and media scope, the journal raised questions about the relationship between modernity and tradition, abstraction and figuration, and, polemically, about the religiosity of the artist and the freedom that should be left for his own subjectivity.[74] The main goal of the journal was to redirect new church architecture and the public's tastes. While its main audience was clergymen and the art-oriented members of the Church, the journal also targeted a broader non-Catholic public, those still in need of being Christianized, what granted the journal an evangelical purpose.

The August 1939 issue of *L'Art Sacré* included a review of d'Ors's exhibition by Lassaigne **[Fig.1.24]**, who positioned d'Ors's efforts as in tandem with the journal's, and deemed the show "one of the most important exhibitions in recent history."[75] Like the editors of the journal, D'Ors intended to orient the "demands of taste" and curb industrial serial production that led to the low quality, mimetic and pastiche objects of populist imaginary.[76] D'Ors similarly disliked the one-off creations of

73 Since 1937, *L'Art Sacré* was edited by Dominican fathers Marie-Alain Couturier and Raymond Régamey who led the introduction of modern art and architecture into the Catholic Church, particularly in the postwar period. Most famously, they commissioned Notre Dame du Haut and La Tourette to le Corbusier and the paintings for the Vence Chapel to Henri Matisse. The journal and Couturier's and Régamey's ideas were invariably involved in the so-called *Querelle de l'Art Sacré* (Quarrel of Sacred Art) that dominated ecclesiastical cultural circles at the time, and which revolved about the implications of adopting abstraction and other modernist tropes for purposes of Catholic art as well as the religiosity of the artists who were commissioned religious art and architecture. Epitomized in their choice of Le Corbusier, Régamey and Coutuirer were eventually open to having non-Catholic artists designing Catholic works of art. For an overview of the journal in the postwar period, see Françoise Causse, *La revue 'L'Art Sacré': Le débat en France sur l'art et la religion (1945-1954)* (Paris: Cerf, 2010), and account of the architecture shown in the journal and the ways it related French and German architecture cultures was given by Vanesa Grossma, "Crossing the Rhine: German Modern Churches as Seen by *L'Art Sacré,"* paper presented *in* the *European Forum on the History of Religious Institutes in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Leuven, November 8-9, 2012.

74 Regamey, "A la recherche de la tradition," *L'Art Sacré* 5-6 (1948): 81-107. See also Aidan Nichols, "The Dominicans and the Journal *L'Art Sacré*" *New Blackfriars*, 88 (2007): 39. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-2005.2006.00122.x

75 Jaques Lassagne, "Une esposition internationale d'art sacré in Espagne" *L'Art Sacré* (1939): 245-46.

76 d'Ors y Marco, *EIAS*, 19.

the genius artist. “Next to our refusal of mechanical production,” he wrote in the catalogue, “is always our rejection of the deviations of the solitary speculator.”[77] D’Ors’s call for a structural renewal of Catholicism was not only an echo of international cultural debates but was also a reaction to the public profile of the Spanish Church in the wake of postwar physical reconstruction and political reconfiguration. Despite the image of a tightly organized confessional State, as witnessed by the opening of the show, the social animus that had built up against religion during the Second Republic was obviously not entirely eradicated through Franco’s victory alone, and a good segment of the population remained alienated from the Church.[78] After the war, as great a challenge as the material and organizational reconstruction of the Church was the pastoral rebuilding of Spanish society, the religious reconstruction of the country so to speak.[79] To create a society permeated by Christianity was as crucial for the Church to regain its authority as it was for the Franco regime to sustain its victory.[80] The challenge was not lost on d’Ors, who, as Lassaigne noted in his review, used the show to pair aesthetic and spiritual arguments for reconstruction. Most significant for Lassaigne was the way in which d’Ors’s exhibition interwove processes of material, aesthetic, cultural and spiritual reconstruction. With the intent of reaching not only a specialized audience concerned with art and architecture, but also the wider public, d’Ors accompanied the show with several events and lectures on sacred music, liturgical studies, theater, and film.

It was through the proposed church-house-city exhibition series however, that d’Ors most clearly engaged the challenge of reestablishing the pastoral power of the Church in broader social terms. Furthermore, the series revealed how d’Ors positioned architecture at the forefront of the re-Christianization of Spanish society. The proposed exhibitions reveal d’Ors’s conception of

77 Ibid.
78 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 363.
79 Ibid, 367.
80 Ibid, 371.

architecture as a prime tool of evangelization. As noted above, beginning with the church and the associated renewal of religious life, the series moved on to the house, as a means to renew domestic life, and to the city, as a way to reorient urban life.[81] D'Ors conceived of each exhibition as building on the lessons drawn by its predecessor. That is, just as the architecture of the church explored in the first show would inform the architecture of the house and later of the city, similarly, a renewed religious life would provide a foundation for the renewal of domestic and urban life. For d'Ors, sacredness was both the reference point and the implicit objective for the second and third shows, religion being the goal "toward which the construction of the main cities ought to direct all the artistic life of the new Spain."[82] D'Ors already addressed the challenge of the religiosity of the city by way of including parish complexes in the 1939 show, where the space of the church itself is part of a larger complex that includes community areas and open public spaces, providing for a social and physical environment proper to urban contexts. The intent was, in the end, to permeate secular environments with "spiritual dignity" and religiosity.[83] For d'Ors, architecture best allowed for the dissemination of religion throughout everyday life and thereafter for the Christianization of society.

The remainder of this dissertation will reveal various attempts made to follow through with this project on evangelization through architecture, very few of whom were explicit in referencing d'Ors but all echoed these ideas. I will return to his church to house to city vision only at the very end of chapter four. In all of d'Ors's emphasis on form and church design, he was unclear on what form, specifically, he thought could best reflect a Catholic Culture. That is, according to d'Ors, what should the new church actually look like? As noted above, his choices for the exhibition were somewhat heterogeneous and he never quite identified the equivalent of the dome for the twentieth century church. It was left to the architect Santiago Marco to articulate d'Ors's ideas into a design program,

81 *ABC*, May 23, 1939, 13.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.

which he did in a series of long footnotes in the exhibition catalogue. Following the focus on the liturgy and the faithful of the Catholic reform movement, Marco called on architects to think of the congregation as the "true actor of the liturgical drama," and to design according to the user and his experience of the program and the space.[84] This resulted in a kind of functionalism, a liturgical functionalism where the altar ought to become the focal point of both the experience and the design. Among other strategies, Marco recommended a single altar, raising the presbytery above the nave and restraining the use of ornaments and images around it. His altar of choice, seen in the model chapel that he built for the exhibition, was surrounded by tapestries and had a few simple liturgical objects.

With the emphasis put on the situated experience of the faithful during mass, Marco spoke of church design in sensory terms, reflecting a phenomenological approach to design that focused on the bodily experience of the user and on his ultimate goal during mass—spiritual fulfillment. For Marco both the liturgy and the architecture that framed it should foster a particular experience and feeling. Light, color, materiality, and atmosphere should be considered and defined so as to "transport the spirit" away from the outside world and toward *recogimiento* (meaning meditation, in the sense of withdrawal from the world).[85] Specifically, Marco recommended different levels of intensity in the lighting and the use of indirect natural light so as to give the presbytery the maximum amount of light possible. The goal was "to attract the attention of the faithful to the most important and central element of a church: the altar."[86] Directly speaking to the emphasis on light, Marco's rhetoric was suffused with a cry for authenticity and truthfulness, which he claimed should come together at material and spiritual levels in a church. For all the significance he gave to lighting effects,

84 d'Ors y Marco, *EIAS*, 45.
85 Ibid., 42
86 Ibid., 43.

Marco warned against theatrical tricks in design and an artificiality that "both the liturgy and aesthetics condemn." [87]

The belief in a truth-value for architecture relied on the assumption that buildings were accountable in terms of some sort of verisimilitude, a long-held assumption in architectural history, and also an extension of d'Ors's Morphology of Culture and its belief in the aesthetic object as the bearer of an essential moral, historical, and material truth.[88] Marco applied d'Ors's ideas to the materiality of architecture, and not only to its form. The idea only gained further urgency in a church, a typology both d'Ors and Marco considered being not only the space of religion but also the actual embodiment of religious beliefs. As the house of God, the architecture of a church was the ultimate bearer of truth, or rather, of God.[89]In a church, architecture was not only where religion occurred but also how it occurred to the faithful; the very materiality of the building was the means to find faith.

In a review of d'Ors International Exhibition of Sacred Art titled "Arte Nuevo, Arte Apostólico" (New Art, Apostolic Art), cultural critic José Camón Aznar picked up on the restorative implications of d'Ors's project and expanded on this idea of architecture as able to convey truth, or God, through its very form and materiality. Camón Aznar also approached architecture from a phenomenological perspective, speaking of the sensorial effects of the body moving though the space of the church, and going as far as identifying its architecture with the human body—specifically, the body of Jesus Christ. Just as d'Ors reacted against the historicist trend in religious buildings, Camón Aznar began his review by targeting the use of past styles in new churches, a move

87 Ibid.

88 Since at least Marc-Antonie Laugier 1753 *Essay on Architecture* and his apologia for the primitive hut, architects and architectural theorist have often hold onto the truth-value of architecture in similar terms. See for instance, Peter Lamarque, "Truth," *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, Michael Kelly, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Forty, Adrian. "Truth." In *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 289-303.

89 Marco also insisted on the religiosity of the designer, in order to ensure the "humility" needed to produce sacred art works. "In the nature of everything liturgical resides the abdication in humility of any individual ambition," d'Ors y Marco, *EIAS*, 89. For Marco, the design act was already part of the liturgical action, a point he elaborated on in his lecture on "Liturgy and Architecture" on the ocassion of the exhibition.

he found particularly unfit for Franquismo in the context of postwar reconstruction. "The declamatory pomposity of baroque forms," he wrote, "carries an arrogance of victory and an excess of gesture inappropriate to the dry and wounded state of the spirit of the day." [90] In Camón Aznar's view, in its alliance with the Franquista regime the Church should draw less upon the transcendental and omnipotent nature of God than on his humane and worldly aspect, that is, the figure of Jesus Christ, and specifically Christ's death. In an explicit reference to the war and the anticlerical violence that defined it, Camón Aznar seized upon the Passion as the episode upon which to model Spain's process of renewal. It was after all in the Catholic Passion that the pain and suffering of crucifixion led to the ultimate redemption of the spirit in the form of resurrection.

In Camón Aznar's argument, the reference to Christ's bodily Passion transferred quite naturally into architecture, as he shifted the emphasis from the symbolism of the church's façade to the spatial characteristics of its interior. There, the image of Christ in the anguish of his death ought to be shown in a "simple space, a space pure in lines."[91] In a clear analogy between the body of Jesus and the building of a church—both material embodiments of Catholicism—Camón Aznar called for architecture to go through a process of suffering, stripping, and expurgation in order to arrive to an architecture without ornaments or rhetorical flourishes, for "a space without dead leaves or reflections, without golden ivy or archangels' armor."[92] Here, Camón Aznar asked for penitence through design. By calling for stripping off ornament he was in fact asking of buildings to both convey and embody the ultimate Catholic value: asceticism.

---

90 José Camón Aznar, "Arte nuevo, Arte Apostólico," *La Gaceta del Norte*, Bilbao, May 25, 1939, unpaginated. This conception of architecture in terms of space and feeling recalls nineteeth century theories on empathy, see August Schmarzow, "The Essence of Architectural Creation" (1893) in *Empathy, Form and Space. Problems in German Aesthetics 1873-93,* edited, translated, and introduced by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftheriou Ikonomou (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 281-297, and Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy* (1902), in *Abstraction and Empathy a contribution to the Psychology of Style,* translated by Michael Bullock (New York: International Universities Press, 1953).

91 Camón Aznar, "Arte nuevo, Arte Apostólico," unpaginated.

92 Ibid.

In Camón Aznar's argument, experiencing a space that reflects Catholic suffering would not only help the faithful realize their own spirituality but could also help form community by providing for a shared experience. It is in the sharing of an intense and spiritual spatial experience where Camón Aznar identified the evangelical potential of a church. For Camón Aznar, the ecclesiastic building provided for "a space that is, after all, as apostolic as the new Church itself, where men can abnegate themselves to the divine with no other effort than their own pain."[93] In Camón Aznar's view, a church was the space where the faithful pray, feel, and commune with the larger social body of the Church. In so doing, architecture itself ought to be Catholic and an instrument of proselytizing. If d'Ors hoped to Christianize architecture of all types—church, house, and city—Camón Aznar hinted at the aesthetic strategies through which this might occur.

The intention was not only to sacralize the architectural object in and of itself so to make it "evangelical," but to sacralize architecture in its disciplinary and professional dimensions. This was made clear in the series of conclusions drawn from the International Exhibition on Sacred Art, discussed during the lectures and seminars that surrounded the show. On the occasion of the show's closing in August, a series of precepts were drafted recommending that liturgical studies be included in the curriculum at schools of architecture in order to better prepare architects for the challenge of church reconstruction.[94] The aim was to sanctify the field of architecture as a whole, so that the objects it produced would intrinsically embody religious values.

Given the ways in which d'Ors called for permeating all spheres of life with Catholicism, including architectural education, the subject matter and the intellectual network summoned by the International Exhibition of Sacred Art fit comfortably with the purposes of the nascent regime. But the expurgatory and reformist ethos the show invoked in aesthetic and liturgical modes was at odds

93 Ibid.

94 Eugeni d'Ors, typewritten original, "Conclusiones de la Exposición Internacional de Arte Sacro," July 5, 1939, Fondo d'Ors ANC, Fons 255.

with the Church that came to partner with Franquismo. Venues for reform within Spanish Catholicism were already marginal during the Second Republic, and the advent of Franquismo further curtailed any prospect for social or cultural liberalism among Catholic thinkers.[95] In 1939, the Church that prevailed in Franquista Spain took the most anti-modern position possible. Tellingly, the public d'Ors had most hoped to influence received the architecture section of the show with harsh critiques. A review published in the local journal *Pensamiento Alavés* denounced d'Ors's attempts to break away from the historical referents and monumental character of ecclesiastic buildings in the name of modern needs by presenting an architecture that was too "shocking" and of "a strange novelty."[96]

The competition for the design of the Valle de los Caidos was launched a few months after the closing of d'Ors's exhibition. Without exception, the entries displayed the historicist and exuberant expressions of religion proper to Nacional Catolicismo.[97] The memorial that was eventually built was undisputed evidence of the reactionary and highly rhetorical turn taken by the Church-State alliance, physical evidence of the narrative of triumphalism, moral sovereignty, and reclamation of history that paired Franco with God, and that fit the grand vision of a totalitarian government.[98] As Callahan put it, "if there was anything novel about the romantic image of a triumphant Catholic Spain and its identification with a regime that apparently embodied its values, it lay in the militancy with which it was projected to the Spanish public and the world."[99] Public projection was likewise intrinsic to the planning of the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, as manifest in the grand scope and

95 For an alanlyis on the reactionary nature of Spanish Catholicism, see José Luis Aranguren, "La 'progresía católica en la época de la República, " *El Ciervo* 47-565 (1998), 33. Unlike elsewhere in Europe, in Spain there was never a Christian Democratic Party.

96 *Pensamiento Alavés,* August 4, 1939, 19

97 Later published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 18-19 (1943): 23-24. See also Diego Méndez, *El Valle de los caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*.(Madrid: Ed. Alberti. Madrid, 2009) and Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero. *Francisco de Asís Cabrero* (Madrid: Ed. COAM, 2007) 19-20.

98 Callahan, *The Catholic Church*, 380,

99 Ibid., 383.

superlative tone with which the show was launched. In this, the show actually overshadowed d'Ors's aesthetic project, and in the end failed to meet his cultural ambition; at least directly. D'Ors left his government post soon thereafter and the exhibitions on the city and the house never took place. While his campaign of evangelization through the arts did not follow the path he laid out in the 1939 show, his conception of a modernism suited to the Church and a secularization of Catholicism would develop through other, less evidently official channels.[100]

1.4 Church of the Holy Spirit, 1943: Building Opus Dei

Camón Aznar recognized the principles that he and d'Ors had staked out in 1939 in a small church at the center of Madrid, the Church of the Holy Spirit, designed by Miguel Fisac in 1942 and built in 1943 **[Fig.1.25]**. In a press review some three years after its construction, Camón Aznar pointed to this church as an example of the type of sacrifice he had urged in "Arte Nuevo, Arte Apostólico." In Fisac's church, Camón Aznar noted, "audacity is stopped in its tracks through sobriety and a noble assumption of classicism."[101] The Church of the Holy Spirit was an unassuming design that hinted at many of the ideas put forth in the 1939 show. A volumetric composition of two 20-meter-high rectangular volumes arranged in a T-plan and a taller cylindrical volume on one end, the church was constructed entirely of exposed brick. Without a front properly speaking, the main façade was simply marked by a double door and an oculus framed in stone topped with an unornamented brick pediment **[Fig.1.26]**. The inside was planned as a three-bay single nave 21 meters long and 14 meters wide that supported a barrel vault and pitched roof on top **[Fig.1.27]**. With its buttresses on

100. D'Ors continued to write on religious art and the Reform Movement. See *Nuevo Glosario*, vol. III (1934-1943), (Madrid: Aguilar, 1949) D'Ors' glosas on religious art continued to be influential. See, for instance, Alfonos Roig, "El Arte de Hoy y la Iglesia," in *Arbor*, 28:101 (May 1954), 69. After d'Ors left the National Fine Arts Services, he continued to introduce modern art in Spain, in a way that was only seemingly autonomous from governmental control. Most significant was his *Salon de los Once*, a series of annual small exhibitions that paired eleven artists with eleven critics and through which he monopolized the agenda for cultural criticism. The Salones were the central events of the prestigious *Academia Breve de Arte*, founded by d'Ors in 1942. Gabriel Ureña has argued that these cultural institutions were a "political necessity to overcome the phobia towards avant-garde art" of many state officials and Franquista ideologues, but nevertheless very much part of the cultural politics of the regime. Ureña, *Las vanguardias artísticas,* 41.

101 José Camón Aznar,"Un conjunto monumental," *ABC*, October 12, 1946, 17.

the inside of the larger rectangular brick volume, the nave was bound within this larger volume and separated from the exterior brick walls by a narrow circulation corridor. The single altar was housed in the cylindrical volume, elevated from the nave by a flight of ten steps and surrounded by colored stone reliefs.[102]

Like Marco, Fisac similarly spoke about his design in terms of "spiritual functionalism" and echoed his claims regarding the lighting.[103] With the windows on the exterior brick walls of the main volume, the nave barely received any natural light and was only lit by three lamps along its central axis. These marked the trajectory toward the altar but left the space in partial shadow. The altar, by contrast, received a stream of light through a clerestory on the top of the cylinder **[Fig.1.28]**. The round walls of the presbytery and the soft colors—light orange marble and white granite—of the stone reliefs that enclosed the altar diffused and intensified the light around it **[Fig.1.29]**. With the drum being higher than the nave, the clerestory remained concealed from the perspective of the viewer in the nave so that, as Marco had suggested, light came down onto the altar powerfully and somewhat mysteriously.

In Camón Aznar's view, these strategies and the ways in which Fisac had reduced the design to a spatial problem through tight volumetric and "potent schematics" foreshadowed a different mode of monumentality, one where "poised solemnity" served as an alternative to the "tired neo-Gothicism our sensibilities can no longer tolerate."[104] In this mode of monumentality, Camón Aznar argued, the building produced an impact and a sense of spirituality not through size, ornamentation, or other formal signifiers. Rather, Fisac was able to affect the viewer through experience and by understanding that "[l]ight [was] the quintessential element of the divine."[105] Fisac's church was less

102 Fidel Garcia Cuéllar, *La obra artística de Fisac, Adsuara y Stolz en la Iglesia del Espíritu Santo* (Madrid: CSIC, 2007)
103 Miguel Fisac, "Lo clásico y lo español. Iglesia del Espíritu Santo en Madrid" *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 78 (1948): 200.
104 Camón Aznar,"Un conjunto monumental,"17.
105 Ibid.

of a spectacle than a background that ought to affect the user on a sensory, non-visual level, through light and materiality. This feeling was, quite obviously, a spiritual one. By stressing the individual experience of religion over its representational value, Fisac meant to counter both the over-ornamented tendency in church design and the consumerist attitude to sacred art condemned by d'Ors. Like Marco, Fisac also spoke of achieving the project's "emotional religious feeling" in terms of recogimiento. As he wrote:

> Through the treatment of lighting, both natural and artificial, and considerations of the imaginary, I look for an ambience that is appropriate for prayer and *recogimiento*. What I hope for in the end is to escape from those churches overdone in ornamentation, which are so ostentatious and lack the most basic taste, and also from those museum-like temples where the faithful walk around indifferently like tourists in the Acropolis. [106]

Before delving in more detail into Fisac's discourse on architecture—a discourse that was essential to the conception of the Camino Chapel a decade later—it is important to understand the ways in which the Church of the Holy Spirit went well beyond Fisac's stated intention to simply provide for a more intimate space for prayer. This church not only fulfilled d'Ors's call to strip architecture in order to load it with spiritual content, but it also effected a dislocation of religion from the institutionalized Church—the socialization of Catholicism that d'Ors had envisioned. Only rather than the transfer of religiosity from the church to the domestic and urban spheres that d'Ors projected, the Church of the Holy Spirit triggered a transfer of the sacred toward academia and the conception of science, technology, and progress.

Fisac's church explicitly aimed to relocate God within the practice and space of scientific research. The Church of the Holy Spirit was built as part of the headquarters of the Centro Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas (CSIC, or National Research Council) in Madrid. This was the official institution in charge of coordinating research practices in every field of the sciences and the humanities, overseeing research institutes in disciplines from physics and biology to linguistics,

106 Miguel Fisac, "Orientaciones y desorientaciones de la arquitectura religiosa actual," *Arbor* 12:39 (March 1949): 380.

history, and theology, to name a few.[107] Broadly supervised by Minister of Education José Ibañez Martín, its Secretary General was the chemist José Maria Albareda, a friend of Ibañez Martín from the war. They jointly conceived the CSIC from its foundation in 1939 and Albareda was granted ample operating and financial autonomy. As the leading academic institution of the new regime, the CSIC was intended as the Franquista countermodel to the academic strongholds of the Republic, namely, the Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios (JAE, Board for the Expansion of Studies) and the Instituto Escuela (School Institute) which had been the primary channels of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE, Free Institute of Education). This last institution had engaged with European ideas of political liberalism and secularism, pedagogical reform, scientific progress, and avant-garde culture from the beginning of the twentieth century.[108] In 1939, the CSIC continued many of the institutional structures and initiatives of the ILE, thus demonstrating the regime's determination to support innovation and research.[109] But the values that came with the ILE's vision of progress and scientific research proved ill-suited to the purposes of right-wing ideology. More importantly, the ILE had diminished the Church's role in education; with the CSIC, a reframing of science and the production of knowledge was in order.

In characteristic conquering fashion, one essential strategy in the CSIC's effort to supplant the ILE was for it to physically occupy its grounds and buildings. Ibañez Martín handed Albareda all of the departments and facilities in the ILE's main complex in the center of Madrid, in the so-called

107 The literature on the history of CSIC is vast, especially focused on the evolution of the institution, the history of sciences, and the ideas of its leader, José María Alabareda. See for instance José Manuel Sanchez Ron, *Cincel, Martillo y Piedra: Historia de la Ciencia Española* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999). CSIC published yearly summaries of its work and evolution in Memorias de la Secretaria General (Madrid:CSIC) and its journal *Arbor* also reported on the publications, events and institutions that made up CSIC. See for instance the special issue '"Sesión solemne de clausura, premios del consejo 1949 y discursos," *Arbor* 16:53 (1950).

108 For an overview of the transition from JAE to CSIC see Miguel Angel Puig-Samper, ed.,*Tiempos de investigación: JAE-CSIC, cien años de ciencia en España* (Madrid: CSIC, 2007). See especially the chapter by Salvador Guerrero, "La colina de los chopos: un campus; un campus para la pedagogoa y las ciencias modernas," 47-53

109 Tussel, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 95.

Colina de los Chopos.[110] One of Albareda's first moves was to reprogram the auditorium of the Student Residence of the Instituto Escuela, in the northeast corner of the complex. The auditorium had been a salient representative of the ILE from its construction in 1933 as it embodied the ethos of the institution in its rationalist design and also hosted its most celebrated public events **[Fig.1.30]**. The architects Martín Domínguez and Carlos Arniches had designed a series of distinct volumes for the different functions of the building—a classroom wing, a library, and an auditorium proper—built with a long-span steel structure, exposed brick facades, and scarce ornamentation.[111] The building operated as the main hub for the ILE's renowned lecture series, which over the years had included avant-garde thinkers in the sciences and the humanities, such as Paul Valéry, Albert Einstein, and Marie Curie, to name a few, and the likes of Marinetti, Le Corbusier, and Theo van Doesburg in art and architecture.

Domínguez and Arniches's building thus construed the liberal, modernizing and secular aspirations of the Second Republic, and Albareda soon decided to remake it. In 1942 he asked his confidante, architecture student Miguel Fisac, to develop a preliminary design for turning the building into a church.[112] The project became Fisac's graduating thesis and first professional commission. Early in January 1943, the Church hierarchy approved the design and the transformation

110 The architecture of CSIC was firs adressed in a special issue of *Arquitectura* edited by Antón Capitel, *Arquitectura* 241 (1983): 17-173. More recent study of the architecture of CSIC include Ramón Vicente Díaz del Campo doctoral dissertation on Miguel Fisac, which is also a source on fisac's biographical information, although it largely lacks a theseis on Fisac's theorerical proposal. Ramón Vicente Díaz del Campo, *Miguel Fisac: arquitector, teórico y artista* (Phd diss., Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 2009), see esp. 125-132; by the same author "Iglesia y modernidad. Miguel Fisac y la nueva arquitectura en España," in *Arte, poder y sociedad en la España de los siglos XV a XX* (Madrid: CSIC, 2006), 673-686; and "El conjunto del CSIC en Madrid: La Creación de la Ciudad de Dios y de la Ciencia" in *Memoria e identidades*, ed. by Justo Beramendi ; (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2004), s/p.; Enrique Rodriquez Romer, "Un Siglo de Arquitectura a traves del CSIC: la arquitectura institucional del CSIC en Madrid," *El Arte Español del Siglo XX, ed.* by Miguel Cabañas Bravo (Madrid: CSIC, 2001), 43-48. The articles on the section on architecture from the latter volume all pertain in various ways to the topic of this chapter.

111 *Arquitectura* XV- 169 (1933); 141-152; *Arquitectura* 64-241 (1983):26-27. For an account of the ouvre of Arniches and Dominguez see María Concepción Díez Pastor, *Carlos Arniches y Martín Domínguez, arquitectos de la generación del 25* (Madrid: Mairea Libros, 2005)

112 Miguel Fisac in conversation with Alberto Moncada, in Alberto Moncada, *Historia Oral del Opus Dei* (Barcelona: Plaza y Janes, 1992), 93. See also Díaz del Campo, *Miguel Fisac*, 72.

of the auditorium into the Church of the Holy Spirit was completed 23 months later.[113] The symbolism of a church rising on the site of the ILE auditorium was not lost in Franquista propaganda. The headline of the article announcing the project in the national newspaper *Ya* on January 2, 1943, read: "The Spanish sciences will erect a temple to the Holy Spirit. Replacing the headquarters of ill-fated rationalism, Spain will extol the source of true knowledge."[114] The article included an elevation of Fisac's design **[Fig.1.31]**, the first drawing he ever had published, and captured the implications of this architectural makeover in unambiguous terms: "In those fields previously devoted to impiety and secularism," the article read, "we will now hear the songs of the gospel and the emphatic declaration of God's sublime knowledge… Science in the New Spain is the result of the effort of intelligence to reach truth, which is the aspiration to God."[115]

The project thus dramatized the overturning of the secularizing aspirations for Spanish society, acting as material proof of God's victory over liberalism and rationalism and of the renewed preeminence of the Church in Franquista education. Manifest in this typological turnover, Albareda's overriding agenda for the CSIC was quite simply to Christianize the sciences.[116] His intention for the institution was to bring science and research under the banner of God and in the process redefine the production of knowledge in terms of a messianic practice. This conception of science was based on a rejection of specialization and the fragmentation of the various fields of research, which was seen as tantamount to the liberal project of modernization. Albareda instead advocated a holistic conception of academia and envisioned the CSIC as the institution in charge of the "order of culture," destined to unify and direct all branches of research. This was best encapsulated by the institution's

113 The projects for the new CSIC Central Building and Holy Spirit Church were presented in the yearly publication of the CSIC, *Memoria, 1943* (Madrid: CSIC, 1944), 327-330.

114 *Ya*, January 2, 1943, in Miguel Fisac Archives, Fundación Miguel Fisac, Ciudad Real and digital archives in http://fundacionfisac.org/fondos/ (Fondo Fisac from here thereafter)

115 Ibid.

116 "CSIC Founding Law, November 24, 1939," in *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 332, November 28, 1939, signature 6668-6671.

logo, the Tree of Knowledge that was eventually engraved on the frieze of the main building **[Fig.1.32]** and employed as the symbol of its journal *Arbor*.

The image embodied the idea, articulated already by Eugeni d'Ors who was a referent, that order and hierarchy could best be assured by returning to the "universal and Catholic tradition."[117] This followed the long-held assertion on the Right that the origin and ultimate cause of Spain's decline under the Second Republic was the abandonment of Catholic traditions in favor of foreign models of secular enlightenment and modernization.[118] A return to Catholic tradition was not meant to eradicate the promotion of reason and new knowledge, but certainly changed the terms of the pursuit of progress. As the press article on Fisac's project also noted:

> Today's Spain repudiates the Kantian thesis of absolute rationalism and recognizes that man cannot aspire to possess all truth by means of continuous progress. Therefore our intellectuals and researchers, our men of Science, don't scorn the prospect of learning in the new temple to pray to God, sovereign owner of the essential science which is one, infinite, intuitive, independent, and infallible. Spanish Science wants for itself an Empire, an empire of the Cross, an empire of Spirit, the Gospel, and Catholicism.[119]

Far from being a regression into religious obscurantism, Albareda's turn to God presumed the compatibility between God and the modernization of science. Albareda's aim was still to "meet the needs of modernity," but this would be achieved while dethroning the liberal thesis of modernity in which progress and the process of modernization involve the demise of religion and its unifying power.[120] Put differently, in CSIC the aim was to foster a lay version of religion, where the ecclesiastical and the non-ecclesiastical do not simply coexist or alternate, but are brought into synthesis.

---

117 Ibid.

118 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 234.

119 "This church is first and foremost a supreme symbol that all Spanish research must be inspired by the Catholic effort of serving God, and with Him Truth and Good. In addition, it will be the spiritual home for all national and international researchers who work for this institution." Fisac, "Lo clasico y lo español," 199.

120 Albareda's institution of reference for the CSIC was the Puritan Royal Society of London, where the coupling of Puritanism and modern science offered an alternative to the eighteenth and nineteenth century rationalist and secular conceptions of science. Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 242. For Albareda's biography, see Adolfo Castillo Genzor and Mariano Tomeo Lacure, *Albareda fue así* (Madrid: CSIC, 1971).

The architectural conversion of the rationalist auditorium into a Catholic church was symbolic of this new order, pointing to the ways in which a secular audience was being replaced with a religious one at least in the fields of academia. Fisac's project did also have a functional purpose. The Church of the Holy Spirit was meant for the regular use of CSIC students and professors, intended as "the spiritual home for all national and international researchers who work for this institution," in Fisac's words.[121] The building site was aptly located on the CSIC campus, just north of its main entrance and with access both directly from the street and from the campus via a courtyard. The cylindrical tower was visible from all points of the campus, dominating the experience of its everyday life. **[Fig.1.33]**. In the church, researchers would not only find a space in which they could fulfill their individual religious needs, but most importantly, they would find inspiration for the work they did outside of the church, just across the courtyard in the classrooms and labs. That is, CSIC workers and students would find that God was guiding not only their spiritual lives but also their intellectual lives.

To pray and work side-by-side was not just convenient; it was essential to the conception of science that Albareda promoted at the CSIC, coupling progress with Catholicism, in an integrated environment for prayer and research. This vision must be understood in terms of the specific theological movement within which Albareda and Fisac operated: Opus Dei (Work of God.) This was the movement founded by the priest José María Escrivá de Balaguer in Madrid in the late 1920s and that matured under Franquismo to eventually become one of the most powerful branches of the Catholic Church worldwide.[122] Albareda and Fisac were prominent members of the movement, and

121 Fisac, "Lo clasico y lo español," 199.

122 In his conception of Opus Dei in the late 1920s and 1930s, and in the midst of growing anti-clerical sentiments throughout Spain, Escrivá reached out to a small group of university students in Madrid who were for the most part laywers and architects. Among them were Albareda, a chemist, and Fisac and who formed part of Escrivá's core initial group of accolades. After the war, part of which the three spent together in France, Fisac and Albareda joined the association formally and lived together at Opus Dei's headquarters in Madrid. Opus Dei would rise in the second half of the twentieth century to become of the most powerful branches of the Roman Catholic Church, first in Spain and later worldwide. For

arguably exemplary ones, having been part of his close group of early supporters **[Fig.1.34]**. Tellingly, Fisac designed the cover for one of the early editions of Escrivá's founding manifesto, *El Camino* (*The Way*) **[Fig.1.35]**. Independently of episcopal control, Escrivá advanced his own Catholic ethic and doctrine of life that amounted to a full-fledged ideology. This was based on the idea that individual spirituality was cultivated through the most ascetic Catholic practices, like sacrifice, confession, penitence, and abstinence.[123] His appeal was for an orthodox understanding of Catholicism, in which ascetic conduct acted as the means through which to identify God, a God in the world.

As Casanova has defined it, Opus Dei's main characteristic was its "innerworldly asceticism," a way of being in the world while abstaining from worldly temptations. In this way, and drawing form Max Weber's sociology of religion, Casanova sees Opus Dei as bringing a "militant type of Protestantism" to orthodox Catholicism.[124] In his in-the-world approach to the religious, Escrivá called for his followers to recognize everyday life and everyday work as the main locus of holiness, to be reached through sacrifice, humility, austerity, and self-effacement in their actions. Resorting to a construction metaphor that was commonplace in his rhetoric, Escrivá wrote:

> You only care about building your culture. But it is necessary that you build your spirit. Then you will work for Christ, as you must. For Him to reign in the world we need many of you, with your eyes on Heaven, in every type of human activity, from which to practice, silently and efficiently, an apostolate of a professional character.[125]

Escrivá considered his followers God's apostles—an apostolate that provided leadership in reform—but as such they ought to be fully immersed in the world, with their work serving as the foremost means of worshipping God. Moreover, they ought to observe the principles of abstinence and restraint required for the pursuit of spiritual fulfillment in their everyday life. Escrivá's theology

---

details of Fisac's relationship with Escrivá, see Vicente Diaz del Campo*, Miguel Fisac*, 38; Alberto Moncada, *Historia Oral del Opus Dei*; and Fisac's personal account well after he left the institution, "Gracias a Dios, nos fuimos! Entrevista a Miguel Fisac," ODAN, Opus Dei Awareness Network, 2000, in http://www.opuslibros.org/escritos/entrvista fisac, consulted April 29, 2011.

123 Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 427.

124 Casanova, "Church, State, Nation," 110; Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 426.

125 Jose María Escrivá de Balaguer, *El Camino* [1939] (Madrid: Rialp, Kindle ed.), salmo 347.

effectively brought abstention, purgation, and self-effacement into the realm of work, while the idea of the "calling" was as religious as it was professional. A distinguishing aspect of Escrivá's movement was that its members were not necessarily ordained, and in fact ideally were not, but were rather laymen. It was precisely from a non-ecclesiastical, lay position that Opus Dei members could best devote their lives to revealing God, seen as latent in all aspects of life.

Opus Dei's worldly or lay theology was essentially evangelical: its members own sanctification and the sanctification of their place in the world was, for Escrivá, the starting point for the Christianization of the world.[126] In its universal scope, Opus Dei had less of the social and mass orientation of other lay movements and more of a top-down approach. Escrivá focused on highly educated elites, targeting his discourse initially to university students—specially and eventually gaining followers among professionals like engineers, scientists, lawyers, economists, and architects. Drawn from the highest ranks of Spanish professionals, Opus Dei members were meant to effect their spiritual influence from their privileged and cultured positions, to "silently and efficiently," as he put it, evangelize through their work: the Work of God.

One of the most significant and least understood aspects of Opus Dei was its modernizing ethos, as highlighted by Casanova. In the late 1920s and 1930s, Escrivá echoed the main ideas of the Catholic reform movement, as he called for redefining the values of Catholicism and the scope of the Church and urged a focus on Christian essentials such as the Gospel, the faithful, and prayer. His reformist message and his informal demeanor caught the attention of young Catholic intellectuals who disapproved of the traditionalism and pomposity of the Church hierarchy as much as the broad dismissal of religion by the Republican government.[127] In all, Escrivá's spiritual and non-ecclesiastical

126 Moncada, *Historia Oral del Opus Dei*, 15.

127 In the 1940s Eugeni d'Ors and his son Alvaro, a prominent member of Opus Dei, engaged the writings of Italian Catholic priest Romani Guardini, a leading thinker in the Reform Movement in Germany. d'Ors's commentaries to Guardini's writings, which appeared in *Arbor*, emphasized the links Guardini made between everyday and religious life, and the idea that objects were bearers of spiritual meaning. As Fritz Neumeyer has argued, Guardini was an important influecen on the

approach to religion, his combination of a religious order and a lay apostolate, and the emphasis he placed on professional and technical development were radically different from the traditionalist Catholicism that came to prevail in Spain, and even in Rome at the time, prior to the reforms brought about by the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s.[128]

After World War II, when the global demise of fascism led the Franquista regime to tighten its alliance with the Church and portray Franco less as a fascist dictator than as a benevolent "Catholic leader."[129] Re-Catholicization remained rather superficial at a societal level and religion did not so much colonize life as reign by public pressure and administrative coercion.[130] With d'Ors acting as an influential older voice, a few independent Catholic intellectuals and cultural groups advocated for changes to this Church, voicing their alternatives for a religious culture updated through means other than the pulpit. This eventually led to the changes in the Spanish Church that Casanova has termed the socialization of Catholicis, and where Escrivá was one of the few and most charismatic voices who promoted alternatives to the traditionalist and highly rhetorical flavor of the contemporary civic-ecclesiastic alliance. His movement, Opus Dei, arguably had the biggest impact on the changes in Spanish Catholicism and cultural life, as it embraced modernization well beyond the Church and engaged with questions of material and historical progress as well. Casanova describes the ways in which Escrivá's ultraconservative moral grounding introduced reformist

---

development of architectural modernism through the impact of his ideas on technology and spirituality in Rudolf Schwarz and Mies van der Rohe. Fritz Neumeyer, *Mies van der Rohe. La palabra sin artificio*, trans. By Jordi Siguan (Madrid: El Croquis Editorial, 2000) 300-324. For Guardini's reflections on Catholicism and modernization see his The Spirit of Liturgy (1923), and, of direct impact for Mies, *Letters from Lake Como. Explorations in Technology and the Human Race*, trans Geoffrey Bromiley (Michigan: Grand rapids, 1994)

128 Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain,* 426. Opus Dei was only accepted within the ranks of the Roman Church in 1950, as its first Secular Institute. It is to date the only personal prelature, or Catholic organization with independent jurisdiction over its members in issues concerning the organization.

129 See for instance the depiction of Franco in the cover of *Destino, date,* under the heading "Franco.Governante Católico," June 14, 1947, cover page.

130 Casanova, *Public Religions*, 81.

elements that ultimately led to a particular model of progress.[131] According to Escrivá's "programmatic theory of the present," Opus Dei members redefined the role of the social elites and espoused modernization both as the historical process under which they operated and as the means of their redemptive mission.[132]

Casanova uses the term "ambivalent modernity" to convey the paradoxical nature of Opus Dei's modernization.[133] This recalls Jeffrey Herf's "reactionary modernism," which identified the ideological foundations of German thinkers that fed into the development of Nazism. Herf's term captures the implications of a selective embrace of the process of modernization, where material, industrial, and technological development and a certain notion of political and cultural revolution coexist with the values and apparatus of the political Right: a revolution of the Right, so to speak. The crux of the sociopolitical success of this seemingly paradoxical stance, Herf argues, comes at the conjuncture of modernist and "irrationalist" values, as reactionary modernism sustains modernization on messianic absolutes such as blood, race, and soul. As Herf notes, this model of modernity removes political, social, and cultural progress from the process of modernization while offering a liberating alternative to modernity's "slumbering powers."[134] Somewhat similarly, Opus Dei members endorsed modernization in as much as its ends were spiritual self-fulfillment and worldly redemption. For Escrivá, material, technical, and professional progress underscored—and in fact sustained—ultraconservative Catholic values. Opus Dei coupled Catholic asceticism with liberal economic, material, and social management, becoming "unwavering in its Spanish Catholic orthodoxy yet at the same time well-versed in the most modern methods and techniques, and thus,

131 "Combination of Catholic traditionalism with modern instrumental rationalization," Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 241.

132 Ibid. 270.

133 José Casanova, "The Opus Dei Ethic, the Technocrats and the Modernization of Spain" *Social Science Information* 22:27 (1983): 29.

134 Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 10. Herf analyzes the thinking and cultural role of Oswald Spengler, Ernst Junger, Werner Sombart and, to a lesser extend, Martin Heidegger.

technically well-prepared to solve the problems of Spain."[135] In this way, they were eventually able to bring about a series of technological and economic reforms—or modernization—that had been previously boycotted by the conservative ranks of the Church.

The CSIC was the prime conduit of Opus Dei's modernizing ethos and the testing ground for Escrivá's lay theology. Under Albareda's leadership, the CSIC also became Opus Dei's flagship institution and the platform for the movement's expansion in culture and society. Albareda attempted, after all, to sanctify the very notion of science as the epistemological field most immediately immersed in the world, and of research as the practice that collects and produces information on the world.[136] In line with Escrivá, Albareda promoted progress in so far as it came with the idea of science and research as collective endeavors, resulting from the accumulation of "humble" individual contributions. In this way, scientific research was a religious practice in itself, and the scientific vocation was analogous to a religious calling.[137] Moreover, the CSIC provided for an education that coupled lay asceticism with sacred sciences and was the institution that trained most Opus Dei members, positioning them at the vanguard of the Spanish academic and business worlds, and launching them into the international scientific and financial communities. Accordingly, the CSIC's journal, *Arbor*, became an influential instrument that folded Opus Dei ideology into theories of science, history, and so on, and made them public.

As was suggested in the press note announcing the construction of the Church of the Holy Spirit, the scientific paradigm advanced by Albareda substituted the Enlightenment drive toward the Kantian autonomy of reason with medieval Christian thought, a reference that was also essential to

135 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 262

136 Ibid, 95, 235. Casanova has noted how Opus Dei's ethics were institutionalized before they were extended to society and politics, specifically through the CSIC. As Moncada also put it, "the Christianization of science had been one of Escriva's early goals," Moncada, *Historia Oral del Opus Dei,* 92.

137 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 242-243. José Maria Albareda, *Consideraciones sobre la investigación científica* (Madrid: Vita Brevis, 1951). See also a primary source on Manuel Lora Tamayo, "El momento actual de la ciencia espanola" *Arbor*, 43-44 (1949)

Escrivá. Most common were references to the philosophical system of Thomas Aquinas. In Thomism, science is the means to truth and knowledge, just as it would be in the Enlightenment; but in medieval theology, the goal of gaining knowledge was shared with religion, with God as the ultimate locus of truth and equivalent to supreme reason. In Thomism, as for Albareda, reason and scientific knowledge—or the drive toward truth—was but a drive toward God, as truth was the utmost moral value. In consequence, Albareda's theory of knowledge was eminently positivist. He favored empirical and applied methods of research and disdained speculative thinking and the idea of error as valid in methodological terms. If the Thomist model was essentially one of transcendental reason, with God being the ultimate arbiter of a knowledge that remains unseen and unknown, in Escrivá's theology, God is the bearer of truth but is in the world and the here and now.

Since everyday life and work were realms to reach God, for Escrivá the prime means to truth was man himself. Moreover, he established the sacrifice of the self as the path to sanctification. For Albareda as well, the purpose was to "restore value to Man," to recuperate a sense of humanism in the sciences.[138] In this claim, Albareda followed the conservative criticism of rationalism on the basis of its inherent dehumanization, most effectively articulated in the 1920s by Ortega y Gasset in *Rebelión de las Masas* and, in specifically aesthetic terms, in *Deshumanización del Arte*.[139] However, unlike Ortega, Albareda and Escrivá placed God at the center of their critique of dehumanization and their defense of a new humanism. In contrast to the Renaissance conception of humanism, that honors the autonomy of the subject from messianic forces, they focused on God's presence in the world. Thus for Albareda spirituality was equal to humanism; like Escrivá, he proposed the sacralization of man himself.

138 José Maria Albareda, "Discurso. X Pleno del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas," *Arbor* 16:53 (1950): 159.
139 Ortega y Gasset's arguments were soon taken up by the Spanish conservative intelligentsia to mount a critique of modernization, as argued by Gregorio Morán, *El Maestro en el erial. Ortega y Gassset y la cultural del franquismo* (Barcelona: Tusquest editors, 1998)

Escrivá was never explicit as to the aesthetic implications of his theology. But the fact that Fisac's Church of the Holy Spirit acted as the aesthetic counterpart to Albareda's promotion of the Thomist-inspired coupling of progress with God, was clear enough. In the blessing that Pope Pius XII wrote for the CSIC in 1946, he stated it thus:

> You have founded this institution so that the Spanish sciences can advance toward Truth and Good, while still aspiring to God, and as a means to achieve progress. For that purpose, you have recognized the supremacy of the Spirit; . . . that is why you have decided to build a temple for the Holy Spirit, so that your intellectual work is not deprived of light.[140]

Light was here summoned as a space-defining device as much as as a metonym for the truth and good sought by scientific research, but ultimately only provided by God. Aesthetics was an essential dimension of Thomism, a model in which the value systems of truth, moral good, utility, and beauty were intrinsically related.[141] As the source of truth, the Scholastic tradition conceived of God in terms of *lumen*, light, a conception that worked discursively—where light appeared as the metaphor of knowledge and spirituality—as well as aesthetically. If light represents and leads to God and truth, and is thus conceived as a means of spirituality, it should also be understood as a device for the making of architecture.[142] It is through light that the spatial and formal dimensions of a building come into focus. Put differently, the perception of color, shape, and space, depends entirely on lighting.

The light that saturated the altar in the Church of the Holy Spirit **[Fig.1.28]** must be understood in these terms, as both a device that determines the architectural qualities of the building and as the symbol of God—the ultimate source of reason and knowledge, whose origin nevertheless remains beyond the perceptual range. In addition to the forceful way in which God/light/knowledge penetrated the building, Fisac's design articulated Albareda's purposes for a

140 Letter from Pope Pius XX to the Minister of Education José Ibañez Martín, May 20, 1943, *Arbor* 1:3 (May 1944).
141 Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. By Hugh Bredin (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2002), 15.
142 Ibid, 46.

Christianized reason in other ways. Fisac claimed early Christian architecture of the medieval period as an immediate reference, and the rounded archs and single-nave plan were in fact interpretations of the Romanesque constructions common across the north and east Spain. The essentialist emphasis on the liturgy of early Christianity was also a referent for Escrivá. Accordingly, the Church of the Holy Spirit was an introverted version of a pre-Romanesque church. By introverted, I mean that Fisac bound the typical single nave within the original footprint of the auditorium, separating the church proper from the preexisting brick framing wall by means of a circulation corridor. He debated this, as early structural drawings of the project show him gradually moving the buttresses inwards so as to minimize their cutting through the auditorium's perimeter walls **[Fig.1.36]**. In so doing, Fisac never fully erased the original plan. Rather, he was looking to occupy the existing building with God.[143]

If the auditorium—rationalist in design and devoted to secular learning—could become a container for the spiritual, so could the spaces dedicated to research. One of Albareda's main objectives, and a direct consequence of Escrivá's innerworldly theology, was that those working at the CSIC should aspire to the experience of godly enlightenment not only during their prayers at the Church of the Holy Spirit, but also, and most importantly, during their work. Albareda gave as much consideration to the design of the non-sacred spaces of the CSIC as to the church. He conceived of architecture as an "instrument" in the production of knowledge, a technical object meant to aid research and progress just as books and microscopes did.[144] Referring to the interior of the laboratory, the classroom and the library, Albareda also called for a "decorous and sober space that ensures a long and echoing silence, awakens the idea, and tames a soft light to feed the eyes,

143 Casanova*, The Opus Dei Ethics and the Modernization of Spain*, 242; José Maria Sánchez-Ron, "Política científica e ideología: Albareda y los primeros años del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas," *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 14 (1992), 53-74; 68.

144 Albareda, "Discurso. X Pleno del Consejo," 156.

rebellious against fatigue."[145] It was this transfer of ascetic spatial values from the church to the spaces of research that fulfilled Escrivá's ambition of relocating God into the non-ecclesiastical professional spheres of life.[146]

The Church of the Holy Spirit was also the key project of an ambitious building expansion for the CSIC. Between 1940 and 1953, Albareda mobilized construction in order to expand and consolidate the institution, going from the original twenty institutes in the Madrid headquarters to 141 institutes across Spain.[147] In the span of over a decade, Fisac was responsible for designing and building most of the buildings in Madrid, projects commissioned by the Ministry of Education **[Fig.1.37]**. These included, among others: the Central Building, a five-story construction that housed a library, auditorium, general offices, staff housing and the History Institute (designed with Ricardo Fernández Villaspín, 1943);[148] the landscape and the granite entry portico (1943) **[Fig.1.38]**; the building for the Institute for Geology Studies (1943) **[Fig.1.39]**; the Institute for Soil Sciences (1944); the Daza Valdés Institute for Optical Studies (1946–1950) **[Fig.1.40]**; the Steel Institute and Science Library (both in 1950); the Ramón y Cajal Center for Biology Studies (1951–1956), which would become the most renown building on the complex**[Fig.1.41]**; the Plastic Institute and the Entomology Institute (both in 1953); and the Information and Documentation Center for the Juan de la Cierva Institute (1961).[149]

In these projects, one could trace Fisac's stylistic evolution from a monumental neoclassical orientation of the early period that drew from Italy, and most clearly from Marcelo Piaccentini's

145 Ibid, 157. See also manuscrip by Jose Maria Alabreda "Programa de Principios de Estetica," in Colección José María Albareda, in Archivo General Universidad de Navarra (hereafter Fondo Albareda UNAV), signature 006/014/270.

146 Albareda, "Discurso. X Pleno del Consejo," 152.

147 Rodriquez Romer, "Un Siglo de Arquitectura a traves del CSIC,"44.

148 Before getting the commission for the Church of the Holy Spirit and while he was still a student, Fisac had collaborated with Vallespin on the design of the Institute Torres Quevedo in 1941. Vallespin was also a member of Opus Dei, as discussed by Moncada, *Historia Oral del Opus Dei.*

149 "Nuevos Edificios del Consejo" *Memoria CSIC* (1943), 327.

Rome University of 1935, to a northern European organicism during the mid-1950s.[150] But what is of significance here is less the developments of Fisac's work in terms of image or international influenes, and more the way in which he carried on the sobriety inherited from the ILE's original, ill-fated auditorium, for instance by deploying exposed brick throughout the campus as the CSIC's signature material. More than simply helping us understand the formal developments of Fisac's ouvre, the complex provided for the life-work-religion continuity essential to the Opus Dei modus operandi. Known as the "City of God and the Sciences," the CSIC thus sublimated through its built environment the traditional tension between religion and world, work and devotion, and conformed to "the Opus Dei injunction that one's whole existence, without spatial or temporal segmentation, should be at once work, prayer, apostolate, and charity."[151]

Albareda's building program also positioned the CSIC in the national vanguard of technical progress. The press remarked the scope and speed of the construction, as well as the novelty of the technologies with which the new institutes were erected as testimony to the institution's commitment to modernization. The falangist journal *Arriba* featured the CSIC's Ramón y Cajal Center in its cover and deemed the institution as "The New Face of Spain."[152] **[Fig.1.42]** Throughout the process of the CSIC's expansion, Fisac was Albareda's main consultant, the contact person for every aspect pertaining to the construction. It was surely on a regular, face-to-face basis (they lived together for a period of time in one of the Opus Dei apartments in Madrid) that Albareda and Fisac exchanged ideas and discussed the development of the CSIC. They also dealt with these questions

150 CSIC had funded Fisac a research trip across Europe precisely with this purpose.) Chapter three of this dissertation discussed to the role organicism—as a style and an idiosyncratic take on modernism—played in the cultural politics of the regime during the 1950s.

151 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethics and the Modernization of Spain*, 434

152 " El nuevo rostro de España," *Arriba,* February 7, 1957, cover page. For the wide press coverage on the construction of CSIC see for instance *La Vanguardia,* October 13, 1946, 1, 4; *ABC,* October 13, 1946, 13-15*; ABC,* April 15, 1950*; Ya,* April 16, 1950, as kept by Fisac. Archivo Fisac. For an overview of the construction of CSIC in which Fisac ws involved see Miguel Fisac, "Viejos recuerdos en torno a la construccion del Instituto Cajal y de Microbiologia en 1950" *Arbor* CLX, 631-632 (1998): 333-341.

through copious correspondence, succinct letters that addressed issues ranging from real estate management and the preparation of drawings and building descriptions for PR purposes, to minutia on building permits or the location of new boilers.[153] Fisac was, so to speak, Albareda's foremost technician.

1.5 Miguel Fisac Toward a Consecrated Modernism

It should be no surprise that it was Fisac who walked by Franco's side when he toured the campus on October 12, 1946 **[Fig.1.43]**.[154] The visit, a belated inauguration of the CSIC, was thoroughly covered in the press and brought together most of Franco's top officials. The event suitably opened with a mass in the Church of the Holy Spirit.[155] Afterwards, Franco walked through the main granite portico and crossed the central plaza, with Minister of Education Ibañez Martín to his left and Fisac to his right, heading toward the new auditorium now housed in the CSIC's Central Building. The picture of the scene published in *ABC* shows Fisac (unmentioned in the caption) attentively addressing Franco, perhaps discussing the speed of construction or the Italian echoes of the design. Maybe, he was asking Franco to notice how one could sense the chapel virtually from any point on campus. For it was the Church of the Holly Spirit what provided for the institution's seed, as well as ideological umbrella. In a speech that preceded Franco's that morning, Ibañez Martín suggested as much, and he presented the CSIC's buildings as an "offering" to God and to Franco.[156] In turn, Franco cited the CSIC's infrastructure as proof of his having fulfilled the promise of a prosperous new Spain and granted the institution the leading position in the modernization of the country.

153 Fondo Albareda UNAV.

154 Not accidentally, the inauguration of the CSIC coincided with the so-called *Día de la Hispanidad* (Day of Hispanism) on October 12 and which Franco renamed *Dia de la Raza* (Day of Race). See *ABC*, October 13, 1946, unpaginated.

155 Detailed in the national periodicals *La Vanguardia* and ABC the following day.

156 Ibañez Martín. "The Divine Spirit has made the Centro Superio de Investigaciones Cientificas bear its fruits," he proclaimed, "alongside the continuous development of scientific labor, we find that a new city was also born . . . a city in which to cultivate, day by day, the scientific revival of Spain." *La Vanguardia,* October 13, 1946,4.

Willing as he was to embrace progress, the process of scientific and cultural modernization should be determined by a "Spanish, Catholic, universal, and holistic [notion of] Science."[157] Referring to the CSIC's constructions and its technicians, "those men laboring in the silence of their labs," Franco proclaimed:

> These grand works of culture have determined, year after year, the social, cultural, and scientific renewal of a nation that attempts to contribute to the progress of civilization.…This is how Spain undoes the myth of its peril. You have in your hands the future of economic research, technical progress, the vitality of agriculture and industry, all of it part of a sociological context that is bound to eternal Christian ideas.[158]

If Albareda translated Escrivá's theology into his conception of technological and scientific modernization, a conception that fit Franco's aspirations as outlined above, Fisac did the same with architecture. Following his design for the Church of the Holy Spirit, Fisac began to articulate a theory of architectural modernity in which he folded d'Ors's and Escrivá's discourses.[159] Beginning in 1948, Fisac articulated his thinking on modern architecture through a series of lectures, including "Orientaciones y desorientaciones en la arquitectura Religiosa Actual" (Directions and misdirections in contemporary religious architecture), first given on May 28, 1948 at a seminar on church reconstruction in Madrid; "Una manera de ver el arte" (A way to see art), which he gave at the student residence La Estila in Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia, in February 1949; and "La arquitectura popular española y su valor en la arquitectura contemporánea" (Spanish popular architecture and its value for contemporary architecture), which he gave with much success to a general audience at the cultural center Ateneo in Madrid in March 1951.[160] Fisac developed the ideas he laid out in these lectures in a series of essays, press articles, and interviews that were widely

157 Ibid.

158 Ibid.

159 Fisac often admitted to have been influenced by d'Ors.

160 References to these and other lectures by Fisac invariably appeared in national and local press, which Fisac kept in his archives, Archivo Fisac, section facsimiles.

published **[Fig.1.44]**.[161] The audience of Fisac's ideas thus ranged from architects to academics and the general public, with Fisac often appearing in journals such as *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (RNA), *Cortijos y Rascacielos*, *Arbor*, along with local and national periodicals.

Initially, the overriding issue in Fisac's writings concerned the question of style, or on the image most appropriate to the era and to Spain. In this, Fisac accepted the relationship between aesthetics and society that had been outlined by d'Ors, and claimed that the country merited a classical expression of culture. This, he argued should be understood not in terms of formal quotations to classicism or other exterior markers, but in terms of a deep sense of order . "The classical, the permanent"—Fisac wrote—"stands for the perfect equilibrium between idea and form, and outlives taste and fashion."[162] The classical was not a thing of the past, he claimed, but was still to be discovered, latent and yet unrefined. The way to discover the classic order underlying contemporary architecture, and by extension Spanish culture and society, was to discern the difference between the "permanent" and the "transient." By the former he meant the deeper formal laws of classical architecture such as geometric and volumetric rules, whereas the transient refered to the superficial and ornamental, "pilasters and cornices, frontals, balls, and pinnacles; in short, everything that is pasted on."[163]

For architecture journals, such as *RNA*, Fisac articulated this argument in strictly formalist terms, calling for stripping architecture of neo-classical ornament in order to achieve a truly classical essence. It was in the version of "Orientaciones y desorientaciones…" published in *Arbor,* the CSIC's main journal*,* that Fisac most clearly linked his formal claims with a broader vision of culture, society and Catholicism while elaborating on a dual criticism of modernist architecture and contemporary

161 As noted on chapter three, Fisac's public persona was also very much a product of Opus Dei's cultural project, specifically through the support of Florentino Pérez-Embid.

162 Fisac, "Lo clásico y lo español," 198

163 Ibid.

religion. Following d'Ors's Morphology of Culture, though implicitly, Fisac understood architecture as embodying the spirit of the times, and religious architecture as embodying the religiosity of the times. In his view, the status of religious architecture relative to non-religious architecture pointed to the ranking of religious values in society. In other words, the comparison of sacred and secular architecture indicated the underlying state of religion in society, as it positioned religion against its antagonist, materialism. As for many writers on architectural theory, for Fisac the Gothic cathedral was the quintessential evidence of such a thesis, as it represented a period in which architecture had not only mastered the aesthetic formulations of the *Zeitgeist* but was also an index of the prominence of religion in society, politics, and culture.

In Fisac's own era, however, the limited "expressive mode" of sacred architecture revealed a deep crisis in society, a crisis of faith. Denouncing the functionalist bent in religious buildings across Europe, Fisac interpreted them as evidence of the "predominance of material over spiritual values."[164] Modernist churches were clearly "of the times," as they responded to function and rational planning, explored the possibilities of the latest materials and building technologies, and were less concerned with symbolic than programmatic value. Sacred architecture should indeed be of the times—but for Fisac, the mediocrity he diagnosed in most modernist sacred buildings was a marker of religion losing its once-leading role. With side-by-side images of the Church of St. Charles Borromeo in Lucerne by Fritz Metzger (which had been part of d'Ors's 1939 exhibition) and the interior of a swimming pool **[Fig.1.45]**, Fisac claimed that religion itself was falling as low as its architecture, "to the level of cinemas and garages."[165]For Fisac, the swimming-pool-like church made tangible how frivolous and material interests, like sports or worse still social and political concerns, overtook the Church's lead in society. The rampant problem that Fisac saw in the new churches was

164 Fisac, "Orientaciones y desorientaciones," 380. One could draw a more detail crossreading of this essay and d'Ors writings on religious architecture from 1939, and also bring up the link between the two on the idea of the "work well done."

165 Ibid, 381.

the way in which they invariably lacked a spiritual dimension, what he called "that something else."[166]

Spiritual deficiency constituted, for Fisac, the deepest crisis: the crisis of Man. Fisac here followed Albareda's humanism, where man is above all spiritual, faithful, and the ultimate loci of God. It was in the 1951 Ateneo lecture, given to a general public and thoroughly covered in the press, that Fisac most vehemently echoed Albareda's denunciation of modernism in terms of its dehumanizing force. Fisac decried "buildings that are strictly functionalist" and called for the new architecture to bear a "human message." According to Fisac's own definition, architecture was "the act of confining a part of space in order to give shelter to Man."[167] His idea of sheltering involved not merely "protect[ing] from the rain, but much worse than the rain, from dehumanization. An architecture that dehumanizes is no longer architecture."[168] For Fisac the early period of modernism and abstraction had been an era of the "liquidation" of man, a period of "ghostly rationalism" that would be historically superseded by the re-humanization of art and architecture.[169] In a radio interview, Fisac further called for humanism in architecture claiming that "architecture was in evolution, an evolution toward man, where architecture ought to … put the latest technical and natural advances to the service of man."[170]

In rhetoric that was close to Escrivá's, Fisac denounced the dehumanizing evolution of modernity and called for a new direction, a new *camino*. "Now it is necessary for a new era to commence," he wrote, "it is necessary to clear the fields and march along a new pathway. This

166 Ibid, 388.

167 "Contra la Deshumanizacion de la Arquitectura," as reported in "Cultura," *Arriba*, April 11, 1951, unpaginated. In Archivo Fisac.

168 Ibid. Other reported lectures by Fisac, which invariably touched on the humanization of architecture, included "Una manera de ver el arte," *El Correo Gallego*, February 26, 1949, FF; "Carta a un arquitecto español sobre Arquitectura abstracta, " *Correo Literario*, November 15, 1953, FF; "Fisac y la humanizacion de la arquitectura," FF 451; "La Arquitectura parte del hombre," *Construccion*, 1956, FF 400;

169 Fisac, "Carta a un arquitecto español sobre Arquitectura abstracta."

170 Declaraciones en la radio, publicadas como "El arte abstracto, camino de iniciacion de una nueva pintura, "FF

pathway, a human, simple, and humble pathway, will lead us to the reconstruction of man."[171] As Fisac wrote in "Orientaciones y desorientaciones," the foremost means of reconstructing Man was God: "When evil dehumanizes, the Good and the Truth must humanize; to return to the Gospel is to return to man, to a divine humanism."[172] For Fisac, humanism was tantamount to spirituality, and more specifically, to Opus Dei's version of Catholicism.

For Fisac, the historical moment was ripe for Catholicism to take command not only of architecture but also, and most urgently, of society and modernization process. And do so at a global scale. Setting the stage to what would become a crucial idea on the cultural politics of the regime in the following decade, and I will return to this in chapter three, for Fisac it was time for Catholicism to fill in the void left by the "materialist theories" of Communism and Protestantism, once they had proven failure to deliver on their liberatory promises.[173] With its inherent "Catholic sentiment," Fisac wrote about Spain as a hotbed from which to launch the humanizing campaign that could bring about a solution to the global crisis of faith.

But the mode of Spanish Catholicism was not quite perfected, as both Fisac and Escrivá saw it. With regards to art and architecture, the historicist, folkloric, and pastiche tendencies served as aesthetic evidence of the Church's meandering reaction to the crisis of faith, and of the superficial role to which religious life was being relegated even in Spanish society. The pompous and rhetorical tone of religious events and sacred architecture disclosed a superficial and confused understanding of religion, what Fisac referred to as the incongruence of simultaneously observing Lent and celebrating Carnival. Here, ornament became the material analogue to Spain's laxity of faith, as Fisac likened the masks worn at Carnival to the neoclassical ornament on church façades.[174]

---

171 Ibid.

172 Fisac, 'Orientaciones y esorientaciones…" 386. He later edited this piece as "Problemas de la Arquitectura Religiosa Actual" *Arquitectura* 1-4 (1959): 3-8.

173 Fisac, 'Orientaciones y esorientaciones…." 389.

174 Ibid, 383.

Put differently, for Fisac, contemporary Catholicism was not spiritual or orthodox enough. To take on its historical role of "reconstructing" man and redeeming the world, Catholicism should strip itself, both in term of its values and its forms. Fisac called for a purer Church in rather dramatic terms: "in the Catholic world also, everything that is false falls, the dry and rotten branches fall; all the piety, all the whining, every empty pious book, it all falls. Thank God! All that is left, face to face, is Truth versus Lie, materialism versus the Gospel."[175] This reverberated in Camón Aznar's calls to expurgate architecture, but was most clearly indebted to Opus Dei's asceticism. In the same lecture in which he called for the reconstruction of Man, Fisac highlighted medieval Christianity as the most appropriate historical reference, since the challenge of the day was, as it had been for St. Francis of Assisi, to purge the world of materialist values and their aesthetic products, to clean it of "incest and dirt." Fisac, like Escrivá, considered the Gospel and the ritual of the mass to be the central aspects of the Catholic religion and deemed to be expressed in such a way in church design. Extending the message well beyond issues of design, Fisac wrote, "the pagan world has tarnished nature with sensualism and lust. The Christian can no longer look at it. Therefore we need centuries of asceticism, so as to clean through penitence so much dirt."[176]

The ways in which Fisac spoke of ornament and material truthfulness, about following the program (in this case, the program of the mass), about cleansing the forms, and about adopting the technical means of the times, brought him all too close to the rationalist rhetoric he otherwise despised as empty materialism. For Fisac, modernist forms had been invented and held certain value. It was simply that they had not yet been perfected: "True abstract art awaits its premiere." These empty forms could be refined and redeemed—like the world itself—by returning to them a sense of humanism. As he put it:

175 Ibid, 389

176 Fisac, "El mundo necesita arte abstracto."

> Confronted with the dehumanization of architecture and the other arts, the Catholic artist must bring them to life and imbue them with spiritual content.… the grandeur of the modern church will arise from the honest contrast between the abstraction of beauty and the concreteness of man, without theatricality.[177]

While revealing his influence of Ortega y Gasset in decrying the dehumanization of the arts, by the "concreteness of man" Fisac was referring to religion in the sense given by Escrivá, as he relentlessly called for architecture, as a cultural whole, to take on a Christian tone. Designing new religious architecture was not simply a matter of adapting modernist forms and technological means to the layout of a church. The point was to imbue modernism itself with spiritual content, to "Christianize abstraction," as he also put it.[178]

That was precisely what Fisac intended in the Church of the Holy Spirit, when he filled up the rationalist vessel provided by the liberal and secular auditorium with the light of God. Only by permeating modernist buildings with spirituality could the "new architecture" contribute to fulfilling the purpose of religion. In turn, modernist architecture could thereby regain its connection to humanity and its role in serving Man. The d'Orsian reciprocity Fisac saw between religious and architectural claims—between spirituality and form—was arguably hasty, but nonetheless unambiguous. For Fisac, the role of a church, as a building, was not simply to provide a container in which the religious rite occurs; through its form and materiality, it was also meant to "help the faithful connect with God," turning into the very physical instrument of religion.[179]

For Fisac, art and architecture ought to be perceived at a sensorial level, as background to life, and not as objects of ornamental spectacle or intellectual perception. As was the case with Marco and Camón Aznar, this assumed a phenomenological approach, focused on the "feeling" of

177 Fisac, "Orientaciones y desorientaciones…." 386.

178 Fisac, "Problemas de la Arquitectura religiosa actual," 6. See also his critique of functionalist urbanism, as in Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse. "It is not humanist and not the form that an urbanism of the Christian tradition should take." *Alerta*, August 8, 1954 in FF.

179 Fisac, "Orientaciones y desorientaciones…." 386.

architecture. To define architecture in these terms implied for Fisac to condemn intellectual claims of architecture and reject what he defined as the "rationalist hypertrophy" he saw as rampant in modernist cultural discourse.[180] For Fisac, art and architecture revealed "human content" in their very formal qualities and only when experienced firsthand and not when intellectualized or explained. The rejection of language in lieu of building for experience must be interpreted as his way of calling upon architects to work "silently and efficiently," as Escrivá had put it. One additional point essential to Fisac touched Escrivá's aspirations at their core: the parallel between religious and professional callings and the premise that one's work was a crucial means for evangelization. For Fisac, the primordial vehicle to ensure that an otherwise dehumanized abstract architecture would achieve "that something else," was the architect: a good Catholic architect. Only a designer who was able to feel, live, and work like a good Christian could imbue modernist forms with spirituality—or could consecrate modernism, so to speak. No theory or design strategy could provide architectural forms with "that something else": "You get it by believing."[181]

Several of Fisac's articles and interviews dealt with the "professional morality" of the architect, whom he urged to work in a Catholic spirit and with humility.[182] A humble architect would create humble and simple architecture. As d'Ors also argued, faith was certain to assure as much. Fisac called for a self-effacing attitude, an ethic of the work well done, and a sense of humility in order to counter the "individual arrogance" associated with the "dehumanized" architecture of pure functionalism.[183] Echoing Escrivá's urge to work and live according to ascetic values so as to identify God in the world, Fisac aimed to define a new pathway for modern art and architecture:

180 Fisac, "El mundo necesita arte abstarcto,"on Phenomenoloby and Catholicism, see Jorge Otero-Pailos's research on Jean Labatut in *Architecture's Historical Turn. Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minesotta Press, 2010) esp.78-80.

181 Fisac, "Orientaciones y desorientaciones…," 388.

182 Miguel Fisac, "La moral professional del arquitecto," *Revista Guia*, August 1952, FF.

183 Interview with Miguel Fisac, *Alerta*, August 5, 1954.

> We need to commence, but to commence with humility. Let us forget subjective exhibitionism and literary speculations, fame, and all of that. We need a group of true artists, with a true vocation, ready to isolate themselves in their own world in order to extract the Beauty hidden in the leaves of that tree, in that stone, or in that landscape.… I know that art and architecture can express other human content to reach their most perfect expression: that is the case with sacred art. But not today, today we need penitence. We need for the public to learn to experience the work of art for pure aesthetic pleasure. And we also need the intellectuals, critics, and men of letters who are lacking in poetry to disappear—they are rotten from mere inaction. All of this leads me to think that the world is in need of humble purification. The world needs twenty-five years of abstract art.[184]

In this, Fisac was calling to reinvent abstraction along the lines of humility, penitence and asceticism; his phenomenological conception of architecture related to a disdain for intellectual discourse in favor of building.

Fisac's own intellectual discourse was however ubiquitous, and it held center stage in discussions of architecture from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s. At this time, and especially following the success of the Church of the Holy Spirit, Fisac received many other commissions for religious buildings where he refined his strategy of the lyrical altar by means of lighting **[Fig.1.46-48]**. These included two churches for the Dominicans, one in Madrid with a Saarinen-like skylight above the altar and one in Valladolid to which I will return in chapter three, and a church in Vitoria I will discuss in chapter four. While gaining a reputation as designer of modernisg churces, Fisac was deeply invested in developing an intellectual discourse and a new theory of modernism. He soon occupied the position of "reformer" and was received as the one architect leading the renewal of Spanish architecture.[185] When the Church of the Holy Spirit was first published in the architectural media, alongside Fisac's essay "Lo clasico y lo Español" in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* in June 1948, it was preceded by a "Preamble" by the journal's editors. In it, they announced their intention to reorient the journal, and Spanish architecture more broadly. Leading into the presentation of

184 Fisac, "Carta a un arquitecto español…"

185 As often portrayed in the coverage of his work at the time, see for instance "Quién es Quién" *ABC*, January 18, 1958, 7.

Fisac's work, they wrote: "We aim to create a new and positive interest. Our efforts will not be in vain if they show us the way to a better and more modern architecture." [186]

1.6 San Isidro Cathedral, 1952, and the New Monumentality

It is at the level of theory, and as Fisac's ideas were informed by and attempted to conform the cultural discourse of Opus Dei, that we must begin to trace our way back—or rather forward to the Camino Chapel with which I began this chapter. That the editorial board of RNA chose the Church of the Holy Spirit and Fisac's essay as the stepping-stones for their shift toward a Spanish version of modern architecture was a testimony to the predominance religious architecture, and Fisac's discourse, had in disciplinary discussions.[187] While a continuing debate on the relationship between abstraction and religion took many forms and occupied many different venues in the following years, one momentous event occurred early in 1952, with the architectural competition for the San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid. Launched by the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (ICH, Institute of Hispanic Culture) for the Primera Bienal Hispanoamericana de Arte (First Hispano-American Art Biennale), the competition called for the contemporary version of a cathedral, which would be shown in the international exhibition that took place in Madrid between October 1951 and February 1952.[188] While the jury could not agree on a winning entry, Carlos de Miguel dedicated one of his Sesiones Críticas to the design by Rafael Aburto and Francisco Cabrero, a somewhat futuristic project was composed of a gigantic semi-pyramidal volume and a slender bell tower **[Fig.1.49]**.

186 "Preámbulo," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VIII-78 (1948), 197.

187 Ibid.

188 "Concurso de ideas para la construcción de una basílica hispano-americana a nuestra Señora de la Merced en la prolongación de la Castellana," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 92 (1949): 349. 349; The Instituto de Cultura Hispanica (ICH) was the government institution founded in 1946 to manage cultural relationship between Spain and the Latin American states. I will return to the cultural politics around Hispanism in Chapter three. The I Bienal Hispanoamericana de Arte in 1951 was a significant event for the regime, when abstract art and works of modernist tendencies began to be mobilized for purposes of international propaganda. The architecture section was perceived as a disappointment in this regard, since the projects there shown largely followed the historicist and monumental tendencies of the previous decade. The event has been throroughly researcged by Migule Cabañas Bravo, *La política artística del Franquismo: el hito de la Bienal Hispano-Americana del Arte* (Madrid: CSIC, 1996)

In the Sesión on the Cathedral, several of the attendees noted how the interior of the main volume epitomized the experience of religious fulfillment in a spectacular way, "á la Etienne Boullée," with a triangular plan and section leading upward to the altar at its apex **[Fig.1.50]**.[189] There, underneath an oculus in the roof that was the only source of light, hung a cross of colossal dimensions. The main structure was composed of a series of ascending and narrowing arches, while the bell tower was a self-supporting tubular steel structure. Both structures were left exposed, with no ornaments on the outside other than a fine small cross atop the cathedral. Cabrero and Aburto claimed that their combination of naked structure and monumental interior merged the "transcendentalism" essential to a cathedral with the "utilitarian logic" proper to the new era. [190] The project followed to the letter the call to make the altar the focal point of the design and to create an interior that provided for religious exaltation, ideas that Fisac had been proposing for a number of years. However, Cabrero and Aburto's design also worked on a monumental scale—an issue not addressed by Fisac—effectively turning the *parti* of the Valle de los Caídos inside out.

It was left to the young architect Javier Sáenz de Oiza to comment more extensively on the project, as de Miguel invited him to give the keynote to the 1952 Sesión dedicated to the San Isidro Cathedral project.[191] Oiza had emerged as an influential name regarding religious buildings, specifically large-scale cathedrals, after recently winning two competitions: the Cathedral of Nuestra Señora de la Merced in Madrid in 1949 (with Fisac coming in second with a scaled-up version of the Church of the Holy Spirit); and the expansion of the Basilica de Aranzazu, in the Basque Country in

189 Rafael Cabrero and Rafael de Aburto, "Catedral en Madrid," *Revista Nacionalde Arquitectura* XII-123 (1952): 1-8. Also in line with Luis Moya's utopian projects of the late 1930s, especially "Sueño arquitectonico para una exaltción nacional," *Vertice* 1942; published in Carlos Sambricio, et al. *Arquitecturas para despues de una Guerra*, 23.

190 Cabrero and Aburto, "Catedral en Madrid," 1. For a critical assessment of the priejct see Iñaki Bergara, *Rafael Aburto, arquitecto. La otra modernidad* (Madrid: Colección Caja de Arquitectos, 2005), 188-197.

191 Javier Sáenz de Oiza, "Proyeto de Catedral en Madrid," lecture and questions for Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XII-123 (1952): 36-51

1950 **[Fig.1.51]**.[192] In his keynote Oiza did not elaborate on his own projects, but rather he articulated a critique of the San Isidro Cathedral competition.

To do so, he folded Fisac's discourse into an original interpretation of technology and monumentality that effectively foreshadowed the design for the Camino Chapel two years later. Every Sesion Critica opened with an image of the Vitruvian Man, a male body inscribed within a gridded square as described in Book III of Vitruvius's *De Architectura*. Oiza used this image to frame an attack on the "dehumanizing" ethos of contemporary culture, targeting specifically the "age of the machine and of capital." As he put it: "Our civilization, industrial and mechanistic, has set its rules. Man, brutalized, has become a slave of the machine and culture is driven down by it."[193] The terms of Oiza's critique of modernization followed his first-hand knowledge of US architectural culture, having spent time in the United States between 1947 and 1949. While Oiza became the prime connoisseur and advocate in Spain of the building technologies and mechanical services he saw in the United States, he also drew upon debates in American architectural culture to mount a critique of the shortcomings of modernization. A likely reader of Siegfried Giedion's *Mechanization Takes Command*, which he would have encountered when it was first published in 1948 as he was then in the US, Oiza's focused on the process of mechanization rather than the aesthetics of modern architecture. As in Giedion's interpretation of US modernism, he called for architects to "humanize" technology. But Oiza's argument was not based on "equipoise" between the built and the "organic"

192 The former was never built, and the two designs were discussed in the previous Sesión Critica in 1951, a meeting dictated by the feeling of "disorientation" among architects in what pertained to modernist religious architecture. There, Oiza had already echoed Fisac in denouncing how the Church "reflected an evident spiritual backlash through its constructions, see "Las Basilicas de Aranzazu y de La Merced," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 114 (1951): 39. Both buildings were stone buildings rather traditional in plan, but with clean lines in their facades intent on incorporating abstract works of artists like Jorge Oteiza, Eduardo Chillida, and Lucio Muñoz in association with architect Luis Laorga. Fernandez Cobián, El Espacio Sagrado, 329-400. For an overview of Oiza's work, see Javier Saenz Guerra, et al., *Francisco Javier Saenz de Oiza* (Madrid: Ediciones Pronaos, 1996) and *Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza 1947-1988*. (Madrid: El Croquis, 2002).

193 Sáenz de Oiza, "Proyeto de Catedral en Madrid," 36.

dimensions for man, or on a stronger connection between man and the natural environment.[194] Rather, for Oiza, the means of countering the dehumanization of the modernization process was "to return to God."[195] This return to God ought to occur both in terms of typology, as Oiza urged a focus on churches as a prime architectural problem, and of self-discipline. Echoing Fisac's call to arms, Oiza went as far as demanding that the architect should act like a priest. In his words:

> We must return to understanding architecture in terms of ministerial service, and the architect as a priest.… We must understand the profession as a hard and difficult commitment, a humble priesthood, not giving in to all those false gods, but totally dedicated to the good God. Only in this way, with humility, abnegation, and complete dedication, will it be possible to channel the religious architecture we seek.[196]

Oiza went on to present images of industrial structures, such as a brick refrigeration tower and a concrete dam, as the most direct manifestation of the times—and in this he followed Giedion to the letter **[Fig.1.52]**. Impressed by the formal and structural potential of these naked, anonymous constructions, Oiza asked: "Is it not possible to fill in those clean forms provided by new technologies—at the forefront of all spheres of knowledge—with spiritual content?" For Oiza it was "time to tackle the new language" provided by the latest aesthetic and technological trends and to dedicate it "to the highest venture." The challenge then was to equip these structures with a "transcendental sense."[197]

On this occasion, the question of "transcendental sense" (Fisac's "that something else") was explicitly discussed in terms of monumentality. Oiza focused his response to Cabrero and Aburto's project on the way in which they attempted to place naked functionalism in the service of religious expression. As Camón Aznar had defined monumentalism for the Church of the Holy Spirit, for Oiza monumentality in religious architecture should refer to the potential to communicate a specific

194 Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command, a Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948), 721.

195 Sáenz de Oiza, "Proyeto de Catedral en Madrid," 44.

196 Ibid, 36.

197 Ibid, 44.

message or feeling, and not size. The issue was of the essence when it came to designing a cathedral, but was also problematic in the face of modernist and functionalist architecture. For Oiza the solution Cabrero and Aburto worked with in the San Isidro Cathedral was archaic. For all of their futuristic imagery and their almost-complete rejection of traditional religious symbols, they did not, in Oiza's view, offer "anything new to the problem." Their structure was after all based on the arch, the most ancient of structural solutions as Oiza saw it, while they understood monumentality in terms of "gigantic scale."[198]

Possibly aware of the terms of the discussion over the New Monumentality, called for by Giedion, Sert, and Fernand Léger in 1943 and taken up by the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the Architectural Review in 1948, Oiza proposed that the forms and techniques of the "industrial, mechanistic architecture of our times" ought to be permeated with a new sense of monumentality, one where "it is not size that gives an architectural form its permanent character, no. It is that breath of intimate beauty that incites all authentic works of art."[199] The one promising element in their San Isidro Cathedral project, in Oiza's view, was the bell tower. Likening it to no other than Tatlin's 1919 *Monument to the Third International* and to high-tension electrical tower **[Fig.1.53]**, he praised the ways in which Cabrero and Aburto had been able to give quintessential structures of the mechanical a religious meaning. Oiza then freely mobilzed images and forms from the repertoire of international architectural modernism, and the design of the Camino Chapel more evidently drew from Mies van der Rohe and as was openly stated in the competition boards. Oiza certainly looked to learn from and interpret international architecture, and the evolution of modernist church building in Spain relates to contemporary developments elsewhere in Europe and

198 Ibid, 42.
199 Ibid, 43.

the United States.[200] But, what is most interesting here is to understand how acutely aware Oiza was of the spiritual ambitions of many of the most canonical of avant-gardes projects, from those of the Soviet constructivists to certainly Mies.

As well as Miesian modernism, it was the image he used in 1952 of the electrical tower—along with the modernizing ambitions it expressed—that Oiza picked up two years later for his design of the Camino Chapel. The choice was strategic. As he explained in his presentation of the Camino Chapel that February evening in 1955—the meeting with which I began this chapter—the chapel was an attempt to consecrate the high-tension electrical tower both physically and programmatically. Bringing together the technological modernization summoned by the tower and its structure and aesthetics with an aspiration for a religious modernity, Oiza defined the chapel as a "transformer of religious energy that receives from high above a renewed testimony to our faith."[201] That is, he presented the Camino Chapel as an object where the most pioneering, rational, and naked of structural solutions were bestowed with the highest symbolic value. This was not only a response to the challenge he had set himself two years earlier. Wittingly or not, Oiza was also taking on Fisac's discourse, and extending it from ideas about style and form into the realm of technology proper. In doing so, he was in fact fulfilling the aspirations set out by Albareda in the context of the CSIC.

---

200 Cobián, *El Espacio Sagrado*, dedicates a chapter to relationships of influence and modernist religious architecture beyond Spain, which is outside of the scope of this dissertation. The most significant thread of reference for Oiza, and generally for the ideas and forms of architectural modernism that developed in Spain during Franquismo was Mies van der Rohe. A thorough critical analysis of the role played by Mies in the development of Spanihs architecture is still to be written. This study would need to go beyond comparative analysis of forms and languages that might consider Spanish projects as derivatives of a Miesian precedent and, perhaps, consider instead how Fisac's explicit agenda for a consecrated modernism and the ways in which Miesian architeture readily fit this agenda in Oiza's variation of it, throws light into Mies' own secularity project; that is, into how Mies already championed a form of consecrated modernism in rather tacit ways. This project, in turn, would continue to disestabilize the notion that modernism and secularism at large, and is the history of architecture more specifically, are conditions altogether void of religious values, a project this dissertation aims to contribute to as noted in its Conclusion. The religiousness of Mies' discourse was crucially unearthed by Neumeyer in The Arteless Word (see footnote 172). Again, beyond formal analysis, the connection with Mies and Spanish architecture culture should begin by a comparative interpretation of Guardini's ideas on modernization and the inmanence of spirituality in wordly events and even objects, ideas that were as relevant for Mies as for the theological formation of Opus Dei, especially as promoted by Eugeni d'Ors and one of his sons Alvaro d'Ors. Guardini's works were translated into Spanish and often reviewd in *Arbor.*

201 Ibid.,34.

According to Fisac's own account of the Church of the Holy Spirit, the design had not quite satisfactorily responded to the challenge of providing a new architecture, and specifically a new religious architecture. But it had set the terms of the discussion and raised the problem of how to Christianize modernist forms, new building technologies, and the architectural profession itself.

The project for the Camino Chapel did provide a convincing answer to these questions. This was possibly the reason why it was sanctioned with the National Architecture Prize and received with enthusiasm among architects on that evening in February 1955. While the Camino Chapel certainly lacked the traditional markers of Catholicism, it gave form to the new Catholicism arising in Spanish culture and to which Fisac gave a crucial voice. In all of its semantic indeterminacy and its breakthrough aesthetics, the Camino Chapel was in fact a product of Fisac's consecrated modernism. It was, in other words, and a monument to Opus Dei's ethics of modernization. This connection, the relationship between the Camino Chapel, the architectural discourse that more broadly produced it and celebrated it in 1954 and Opus Dei theology is anything but explicit. And that was precisely the point. For all the worldly dimension of Opus Dei, the apparent disconnection between culture and religion—between the means and the ends—was in fact essential to the movement. In his writings and projects of the time, Fisac never referred to his relationship with Opus Dei, and after he left the movement in the mid-1950s he eradicated it from later accounts of his career. Yet the CSIC and Escrivá formed the institutional and intellectual armature within which Fisac articulated his theoretical narrative on abstraction through which he looked to resolve what he saw as the historical impasse of spirituality. And it was this endeavor that Oiza picked up on and developed in his 1952 talk, and to which Oiza, Oteiza and Romany gave a succesful image to with the Camino Chapel.

Whether they did so wittingly or not is subject to a different analysis. But the fact is that Oiza was not an exception. Only the Camino Chapel was perhpas the most lyrical and innovative of designs to reveal how an emerging new form of religiosity, as Fisac channeled it, was forging an

architectural imagination, one that determined a value system and a set of concepts around functionalism, abstraction, and also technology in so far as they fulfilled a spiritual purpose. As we shall see, this new Catholic imagination permeated architects' narratives and designs as much as religious buildings. More critically, this modernizing and religiouss imagination would reach outward, as d'Ors advocated right at the inception of Franquismo, so to redefine the political, cultural, and governmental strategies of the regime. The ways in which buildings—non-religious buildings—continued to take part of this process will be the subject of the following chapters.

Fig.1.1: Collage, competition board. Chapel in the Camino de Santiago, 1954, by Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Jose Luis Romany and Jorge Oteiza.

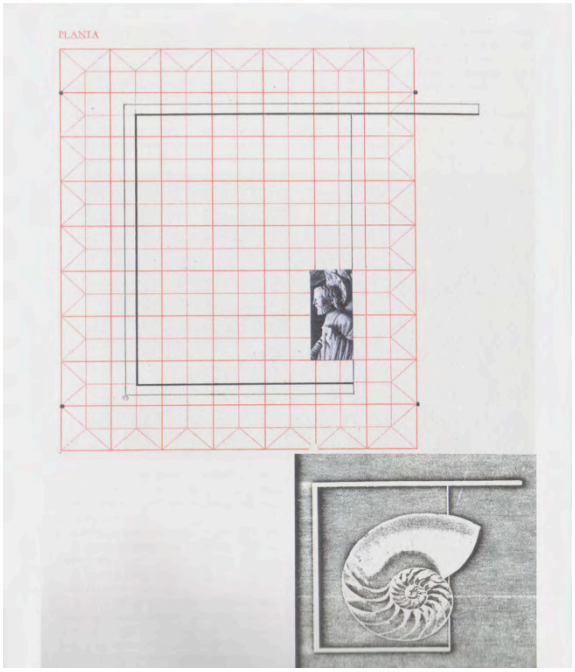


Fig.1.2: Plan and montage, competition board. Chapel in the Camino de Santiago, 1954, by Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Jose Luis Romany and Jorge Oteiza.

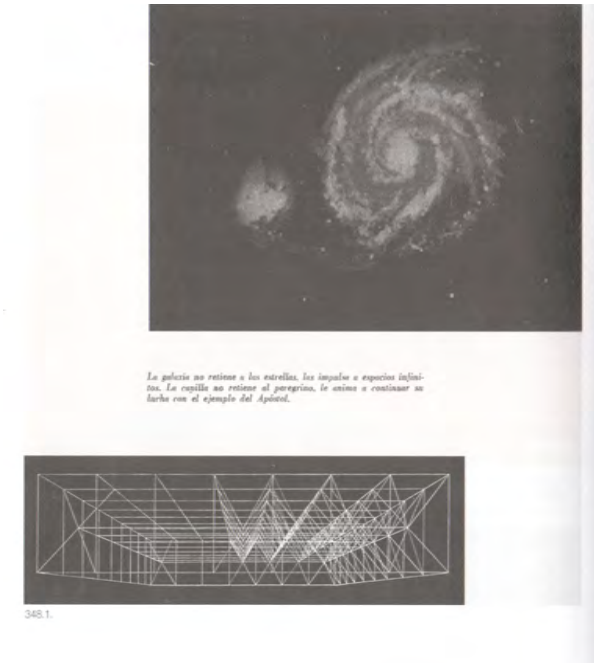


Fig.1.3: Perspective and montage, competition board. Chapel in the Camino de Santiago, by 1954. Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Jose Luis Romany and Jorge Oteiza.

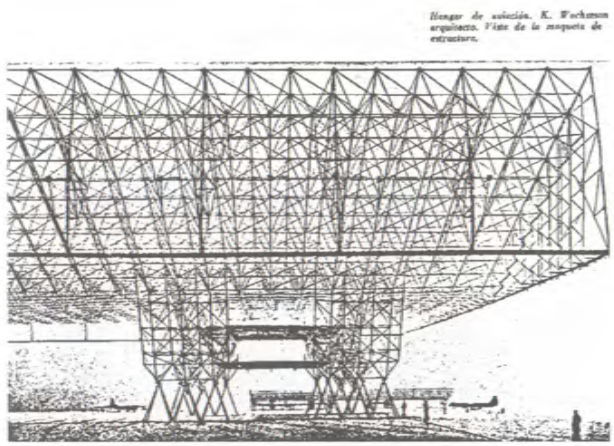


Fig.1.4: Airplane hangar by Konrad Wachsman, image in competition board. Camino de Santiago, 1954, by Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Jose Luis Romany and Jorge Oteiza.

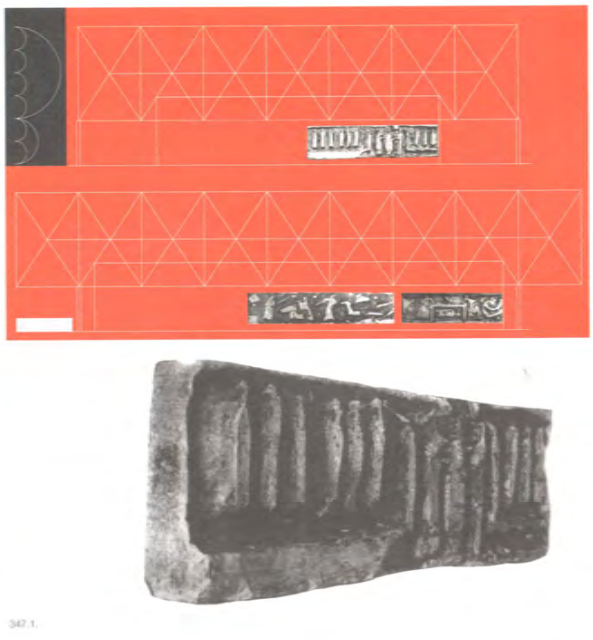


Fig.1.5: Elevations and montage, competition board. Chapel in the Camino de Santiago, 1954, by Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Jose Luis Romany and Jorge Oteiza

.

Fig.1.6: Front façade of Almudena Cathedral, 1944-1996, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia.

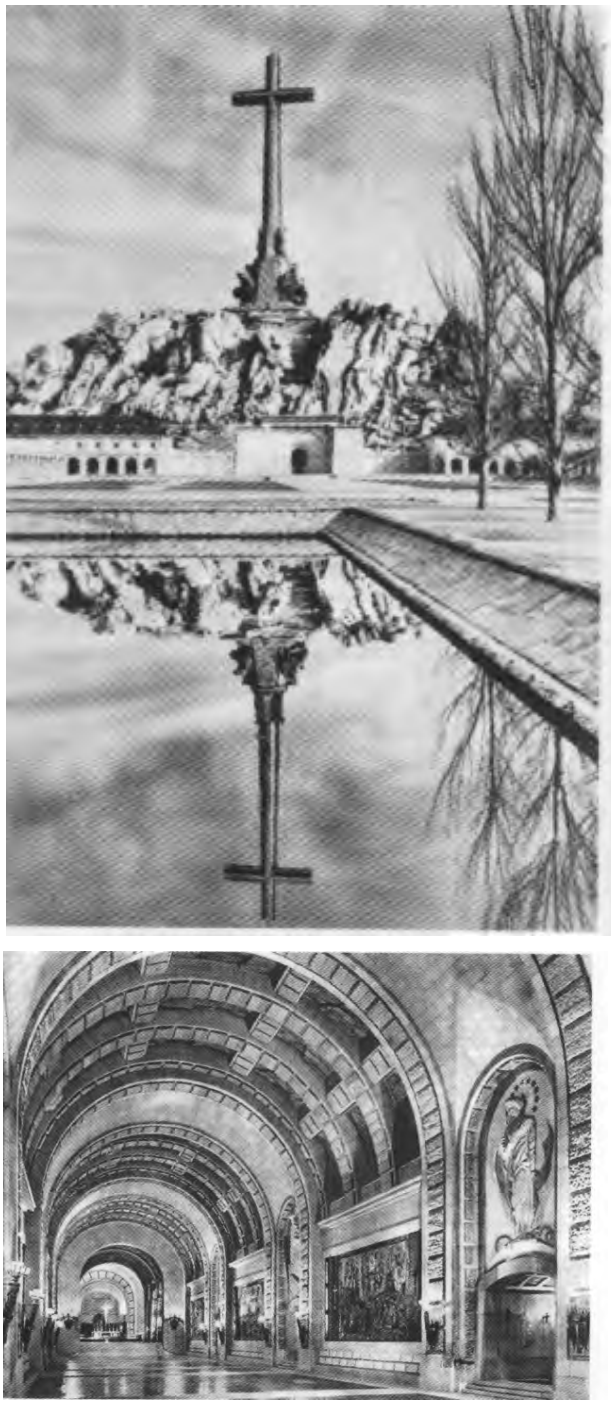


Fig.1.7: Exterior perspective from central courtyard and interior perspective of Basilica, El Valle de los Caidos, San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid, 1940-1959, by Diego Méndez and Pedro Muguruza.

Fig.1.8: Poster of the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939, by Pere Pruna.

Fig.1.9: Interior view. International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939.

Fig.1.10: Interior view, access to the presbytery room on the right, by Santiago Marco. International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939.

Fig.1.11: Catalogue cover. International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939, by Pere Pruna.

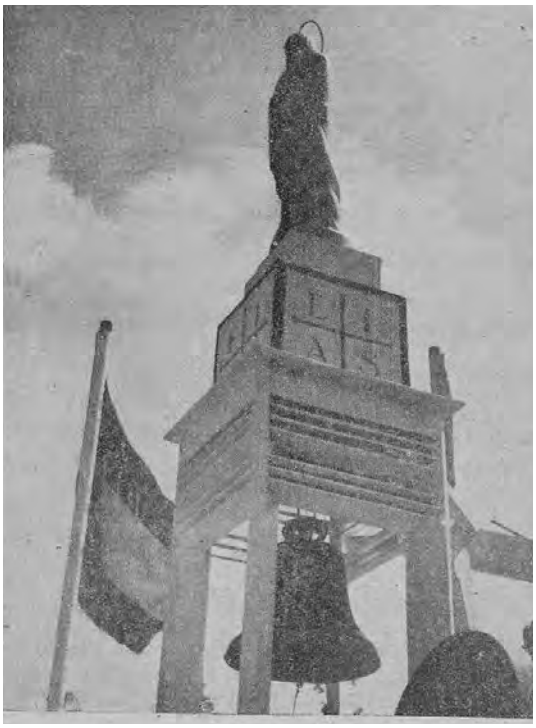


Fig.1.12: Campanile. International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939, by Santiago Marco

Fig.1.12: Campanile. International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939, by Santiago Marco

Held for Copyright

Fig.1.14: “Alegoría de Franco y la Cruzada,” 1949, Arturo Reque Meruvia.
.

Held for Copyright

Fig.1.15: “Crucifixition,” 1938, Georges Rouault.
.
.

Fig.1.16: Axonometric, india ink on tracing paper. Notre-Dame du Phare, progetto per Friburgo, 1931, by Alberto Sartoris.

Fig.1.17: Exterior view. Church in Lourtier, Switzeland, 1935, by Alberto Sartoris

Fig.1.18: Exterior perspective, front façade. Extension project for church in Carmaux, 1938-43, by Auguste Perret.

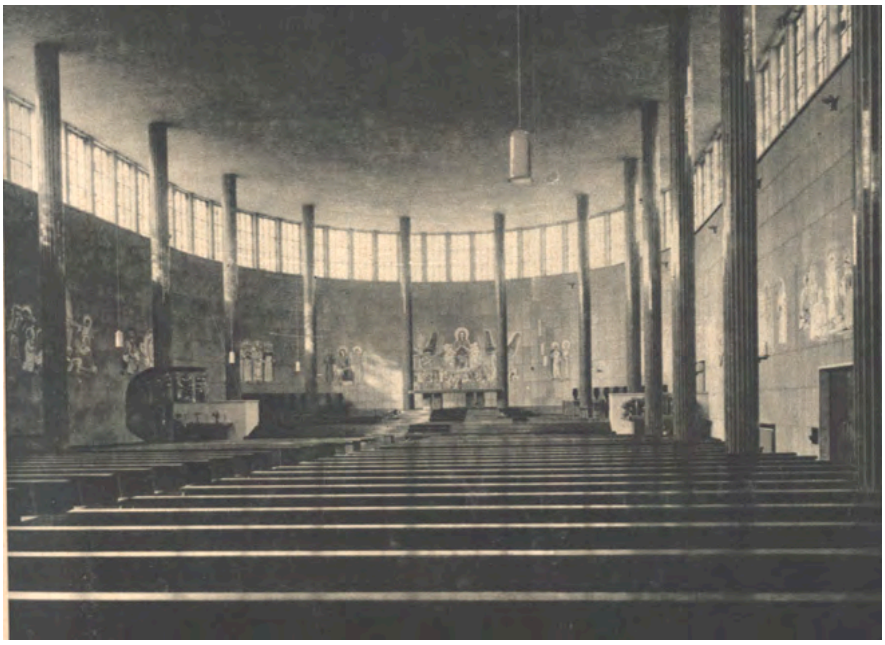


Fig.1.19: Interior view. Church of Saint Charles Borromeo, Lucerne, by Fritz Merger.

Fig.1.20: Interior view. Church in Vances, by Paul Bellot.

.

Fig.1.21: Exterior view. Villa Capra, "La Rotonda," 1570, by Andrea Palladio. Picture in Eugeni d'Ors Archives.

Fig.1.22: Cover, *Las Ideas y las formas* (left); *Teoría de los estilos y espejo de la arquitectura* (right) by Eugeni d'Ors.

Fig.1.23: Cover, *L'Art Sacré* 3*,* March 1937. With exterior view of Marienkirche, Berne, 1942, by Fernand Dumas. Image included in International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939.

.

Sacristie de la chapelle. — Santiago Marco, arch.

Une exposition internationale d'art sacré en Espagne

L'EXPOSITION internationale d'art sacré qui vient d'avoir lieu à Vitoria, capitale religieuse du pays basque espagnol, mérite à plus d'un titre de retenir l'attention du public français. Il faut d'abord souligner ce fait que la première manifestation artistique organisée en Espagne depuis la fin de la guerre civile est consacrée à préparer matériellement et spirituellement la grande œuvre de la reconstitution des sanctuaires détruits. Mais la vraie valeur de l'exposition de Vitoria c'est de faire partie d'un vaste système d'éducation, de reconstruction et de culture. Elle est la première partie, la condition première d'un cycle de manifestations collectives qui vont se succéder sur les thèmes du Temple, puis du Foyer, puis de la Cité, et dont la réalisation dans les principales villes doit orienter toute la vie artistique de l'Espagne nouvelle. Dessein magnifique de hiérarchie et d'ordonnance dans lequel on reconnaît bien la pensée du grand philosophe Eugenio d'Ors, aujourd'hui Directeur des Beaux-Arts de l'Espagne.

Si l'exposition de Vitoria est l'une des plus importantes qui aient été réalisées en ces dernières années, elle le doit certainement à l'immédiate nécessité de ses buts, à l'unité de pensée, à la certitude qui l'ont inspirée. Dans son appel initial, Eugenio d'Ors prenait de véritables engagements, en même temps qu'il précisait une doctrine:

« L'œuvre de reconstruction, écrivait-il, pourrait nou conduire demain à des torts presque équivalents, si elle éta conduite loin de l'assistance vigilante d'un double esprit d dignité esthétique et de pureté liturgique; si elle restait aban donnée à ce monde mou des bonnes intentions dont on d l'enfer pavé. La menace de corruption connaît ici deux source contre lesquelles vont lutter les dispositions régulatrices d notre exposition et, si nous y réussissons, son contenu et s leçon exemplaire. Il y a d'un côté, et non moins dangereu pour l'idéal de beauté que pour la piété authentique, la pr duction en série industrialisée, amie des matériaux d'imitatio et des stylisations mécaniques; la camelote qui a valu, à point de vue, une si triste renommée à certains sanctuaires à certains quartiers de certaines villes où cette sorte de con merce a trouvé son bazar.

« Il y a aussi — à l'autre extrémité pour ainsi dire — la vanité professionnelle de certains artistes, lesquels, par sui d'une notion anachronique de la fonction sociale de l'a tombent dans l'affectation d'originalité à outrance de ce qu'i appellent une personnalité indépendante.

« Rien de mieux que la rigueur liturgique pour préserv les objets matériels consacrés à la dévotion et au culte de l'

Fig.1.24: Review article, *L'Art Sacré,* August 1939. With interior view of altar room in the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939

Fig.1.25: Exterior view. Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, 1943, by Miguel Fisac.

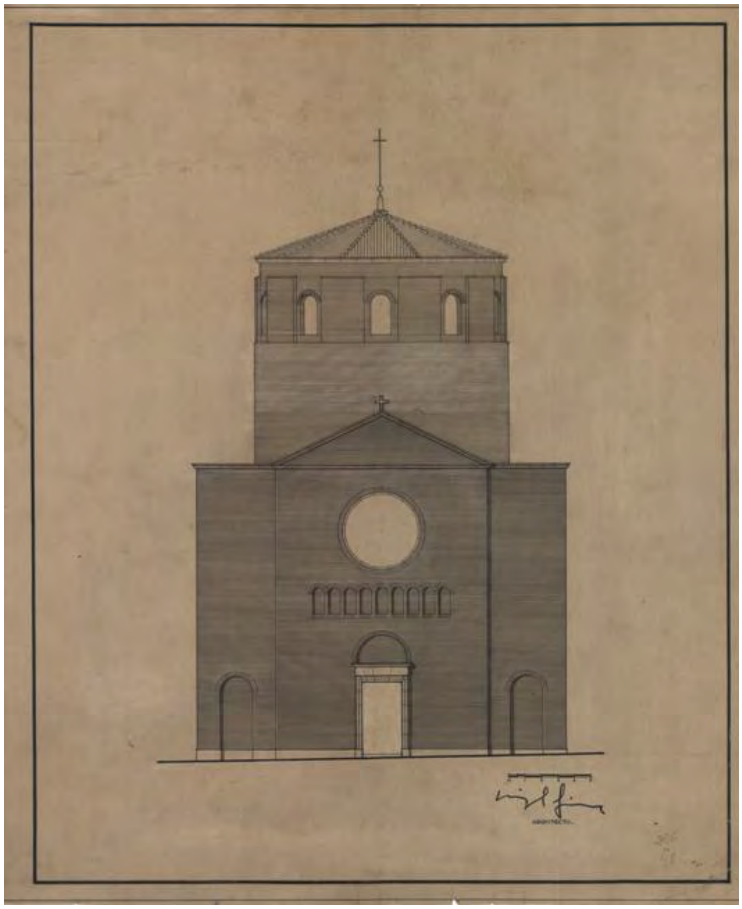


Fig.1.26: Elevation, 1942. Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

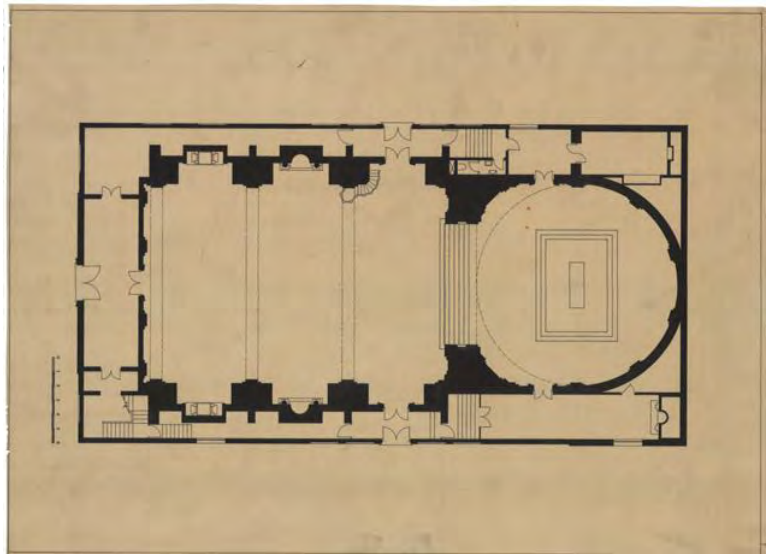


Fig.1.27: Plan, 1942. Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

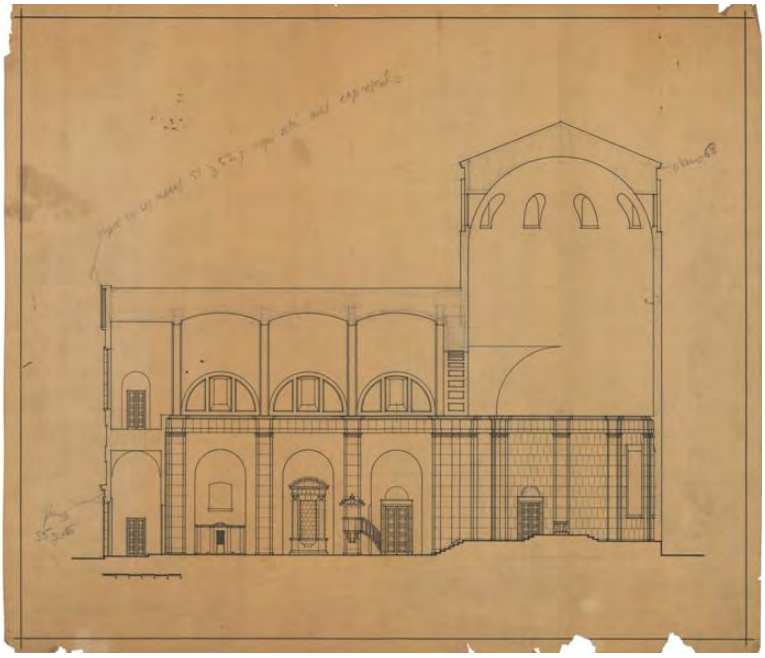


Fig.1.28: Section, 1942. Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

Fig.1.29: Interior view, toward the altar. Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, 1943, by Miguel Fisac.

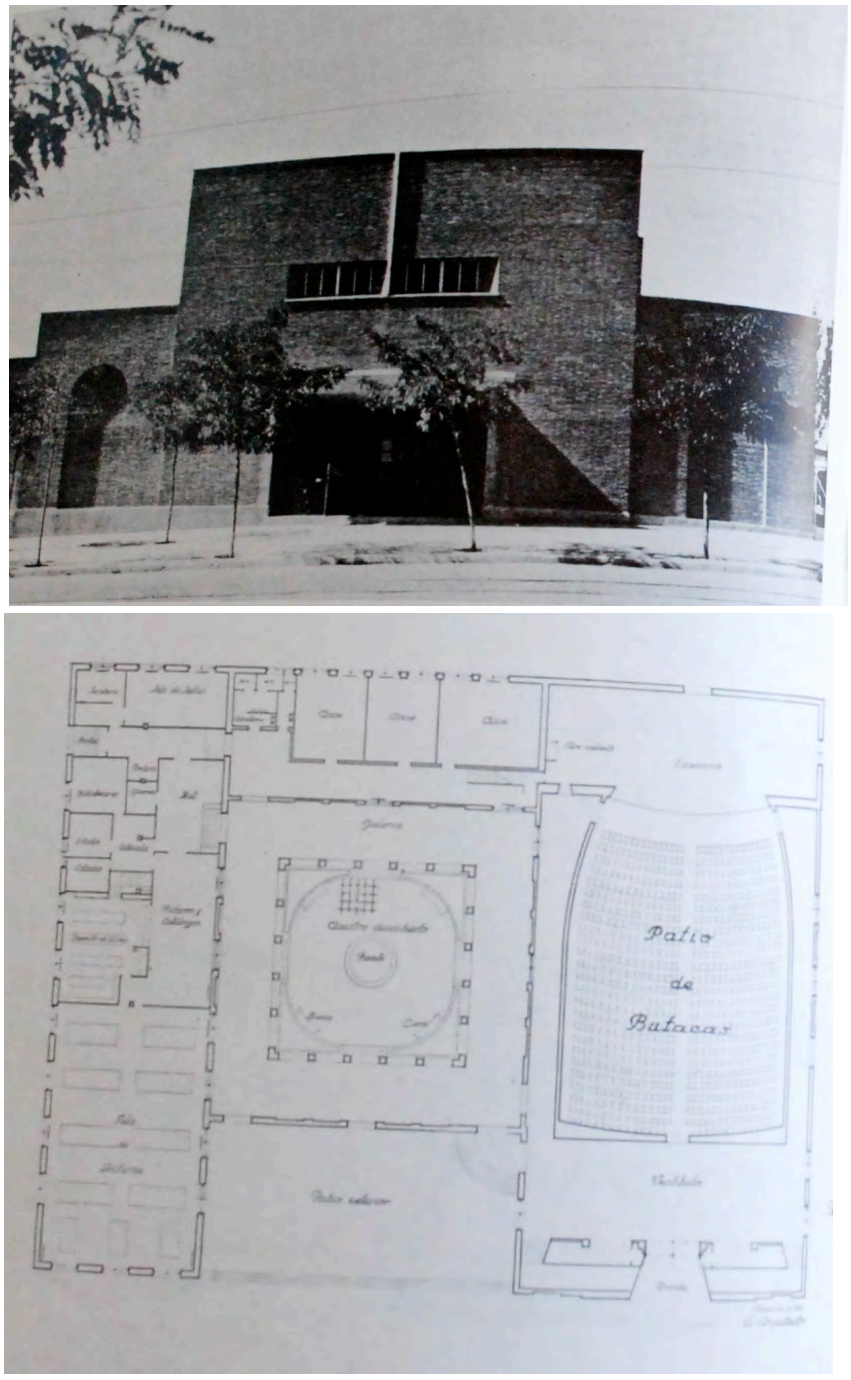


Fig.1.30: Front view (above) and plan (below). Auditorium for the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza, ILE, Madrid, 1933, by Martín Dominguez and Carlos Arniches.

La ciencia española levantará un templo al Espíritu Santo

EN LO QUE FUE SEDE DEL FUNESTO RACIONALISMO, ESPAÑA EXALTARA LA FUENTE DE LA VERDADERA SABIDURIA

La autoridad eclesiástica acaba de aprobar el proyecto

Perspectiva de la fachada lateral del nuevo tem plo consagrado al Espíritu Santo, según proyecto del arquitecto don Miguel Fisac.

La autoridad eclesiástica acaba de aprobar el proyecto. El ministerio de Educación Nacional ha acordado la construcción en los altos del antiguo Hipódromo de la capilla del Espíritu Santo para el Consejo Superior de Investigacio-

Se aprovecharán los muros exteriores del Auditórium en su altura total, si bien el situado al este, que da a la calle de Serrano, sufrirá ligeras modificaciones en la puerta principal, respetándose los dos cuerpos laterales retranquea-

1.372.862,40, quede convertido en feliz realidad en un plazo máximo de diez meses.

No terminará, Dios mediante, el año que ahora comienza sin que en aquellos parajes, purificados con la sangre y los dolores de

Fig.1.31: *Ya*, January 2, 1943, with elevation of Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

Fig.1.32: Detail, front façade of Central Building for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, 1943 by Miguel Fisac and Ricardo Fernández Villaspin.

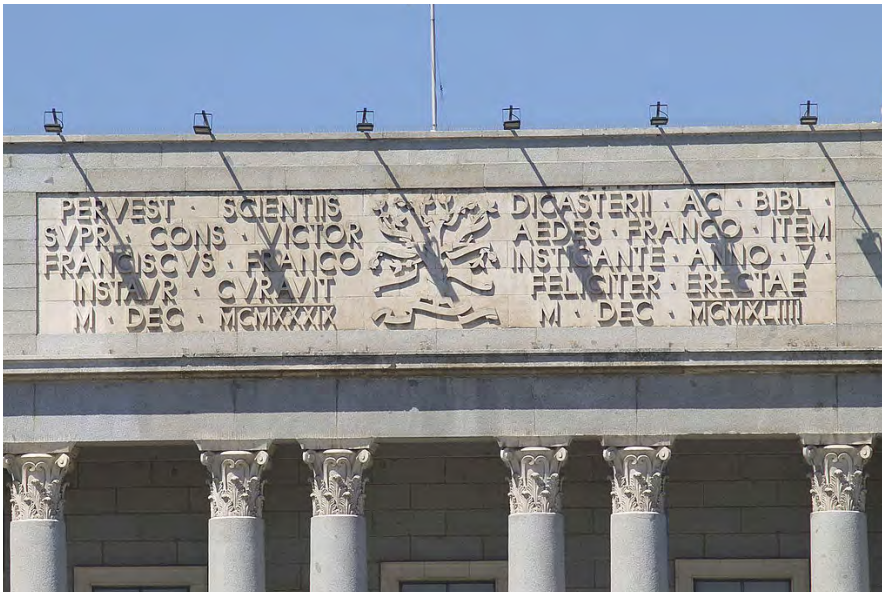


Fig.1.33: General view of the campus for the National Research Council, CSIC, with the Entry Portico to the right and the Chapel of the Holy Spirit to the left, in the back, both designs by Miguel Fisac.
.

Fig.1.34: Photograph of the group travelling across the Pirineos: Pedro Casciaro, Francisco Botella, Miguel Fisac, Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer, José María Albareda, Juan Jiménez Vargas, Tomás Alvira, Manuel Sáinz de los Terreros

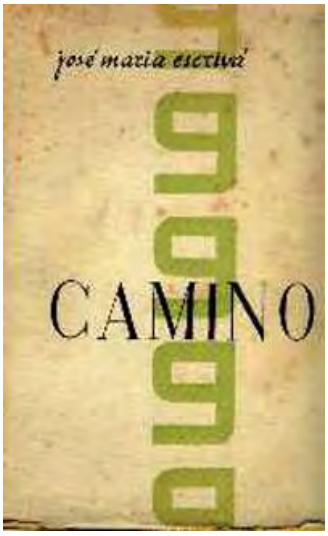


Fig.1.35: Cover, *El Camino*, by Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer, designed by Miguel Fisac.

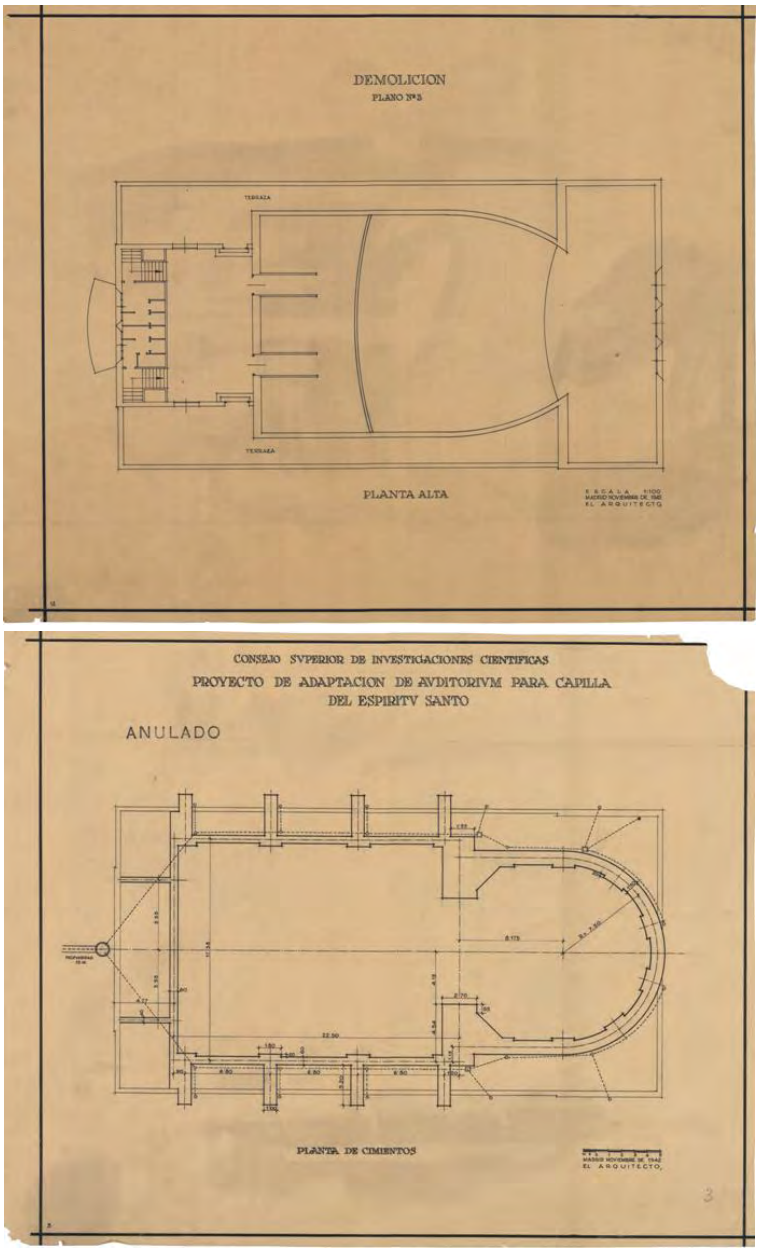


Fig.1.36: Demolition plan (above) and preliminary foundation plans marked “Anulled” (below), 1942, Chapel of the Holy Spirit for the National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

.

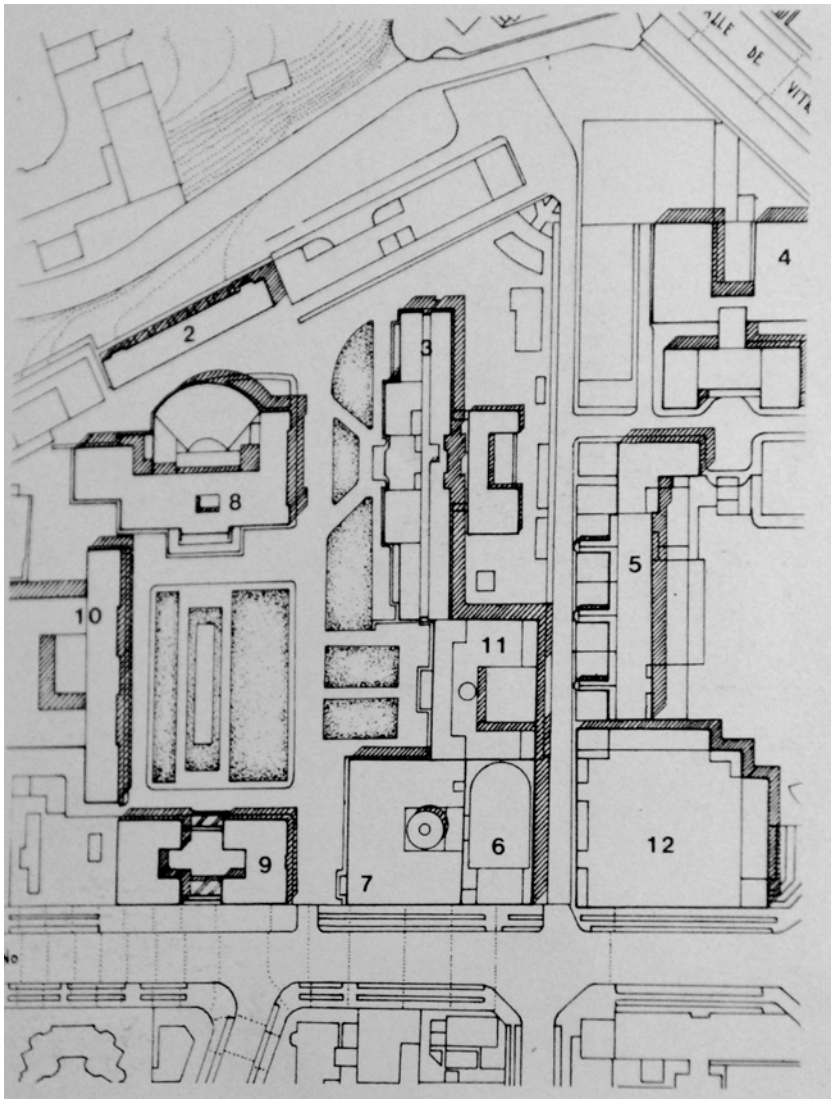


Fig.1.37: Campus Plan, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid. Number 6 is the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, number 8 is the Central Building; number 9 is the Entrance Portico Building, all designed by Miguel Fisac.

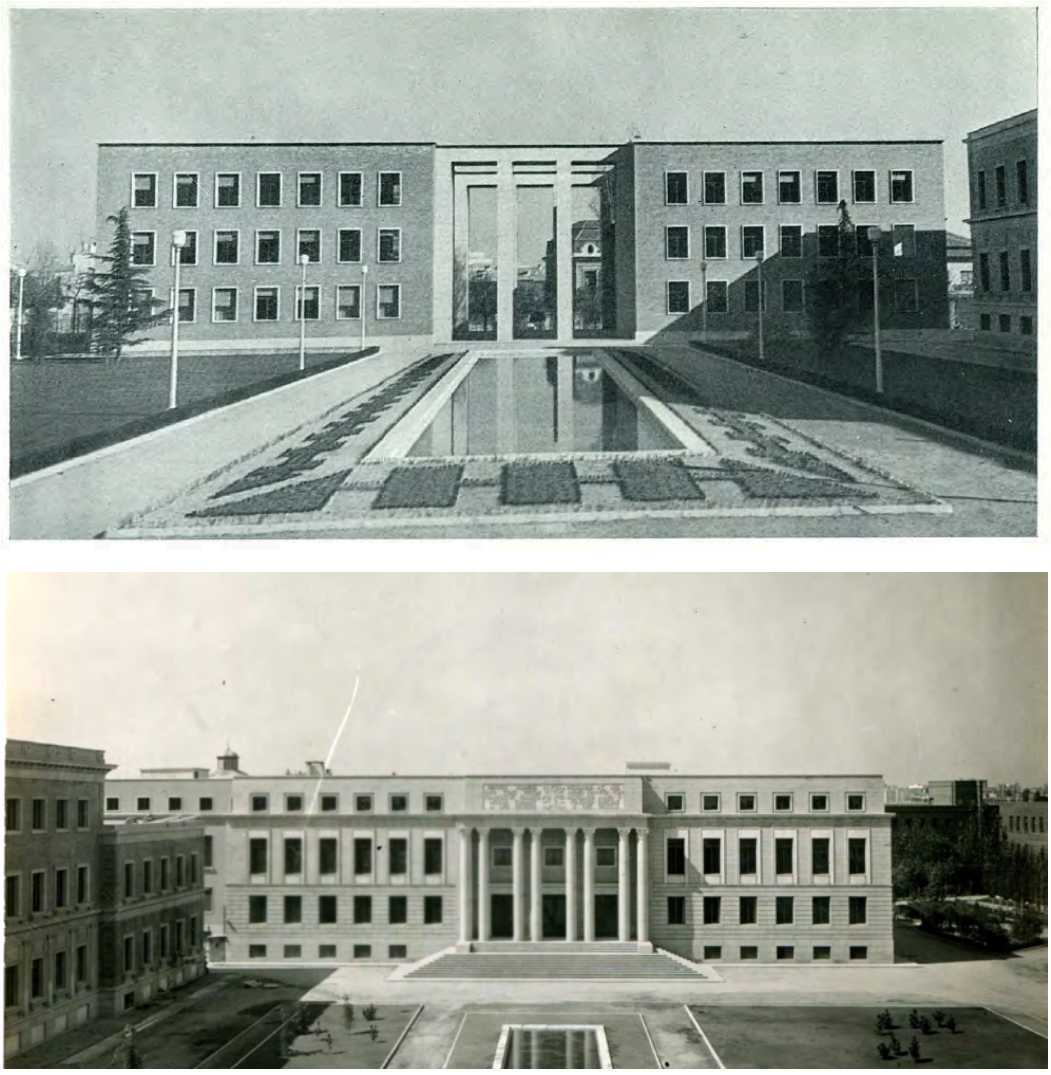


Fig.1.38: Central Portico building (above),Central Building (below) National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, 1943, by Miguel Fisac.

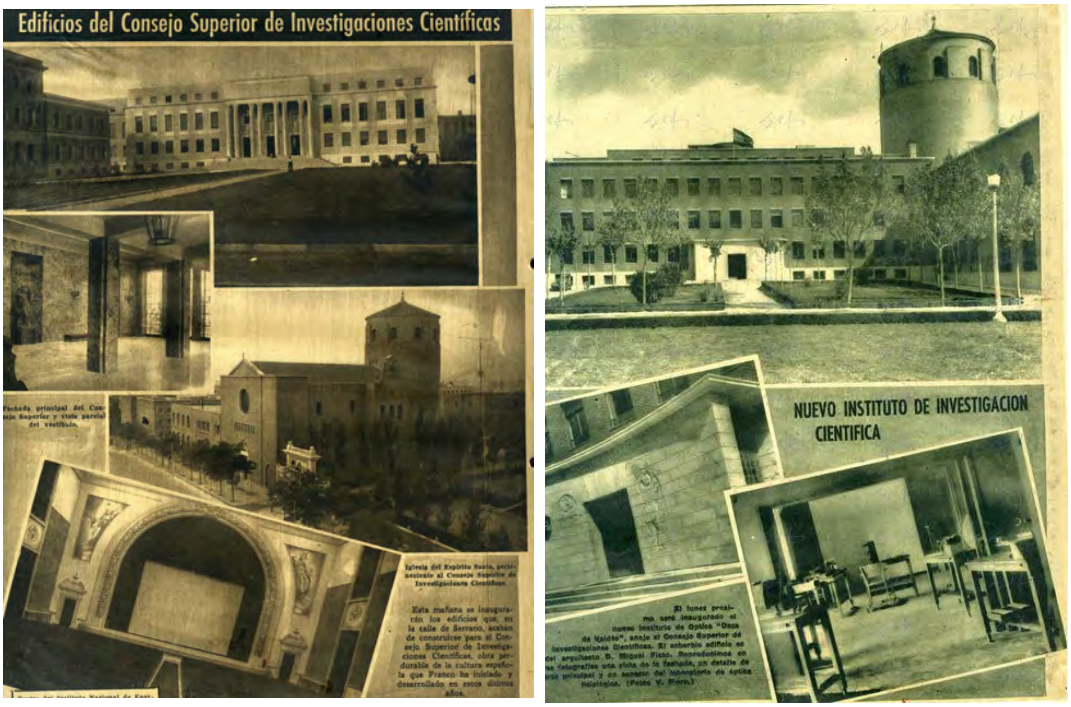


Fig.1.39: Central Building, 1943, and Daza Valdés Institute for Optical Studies, 1946-1950, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac. As published in *ABC.*

.

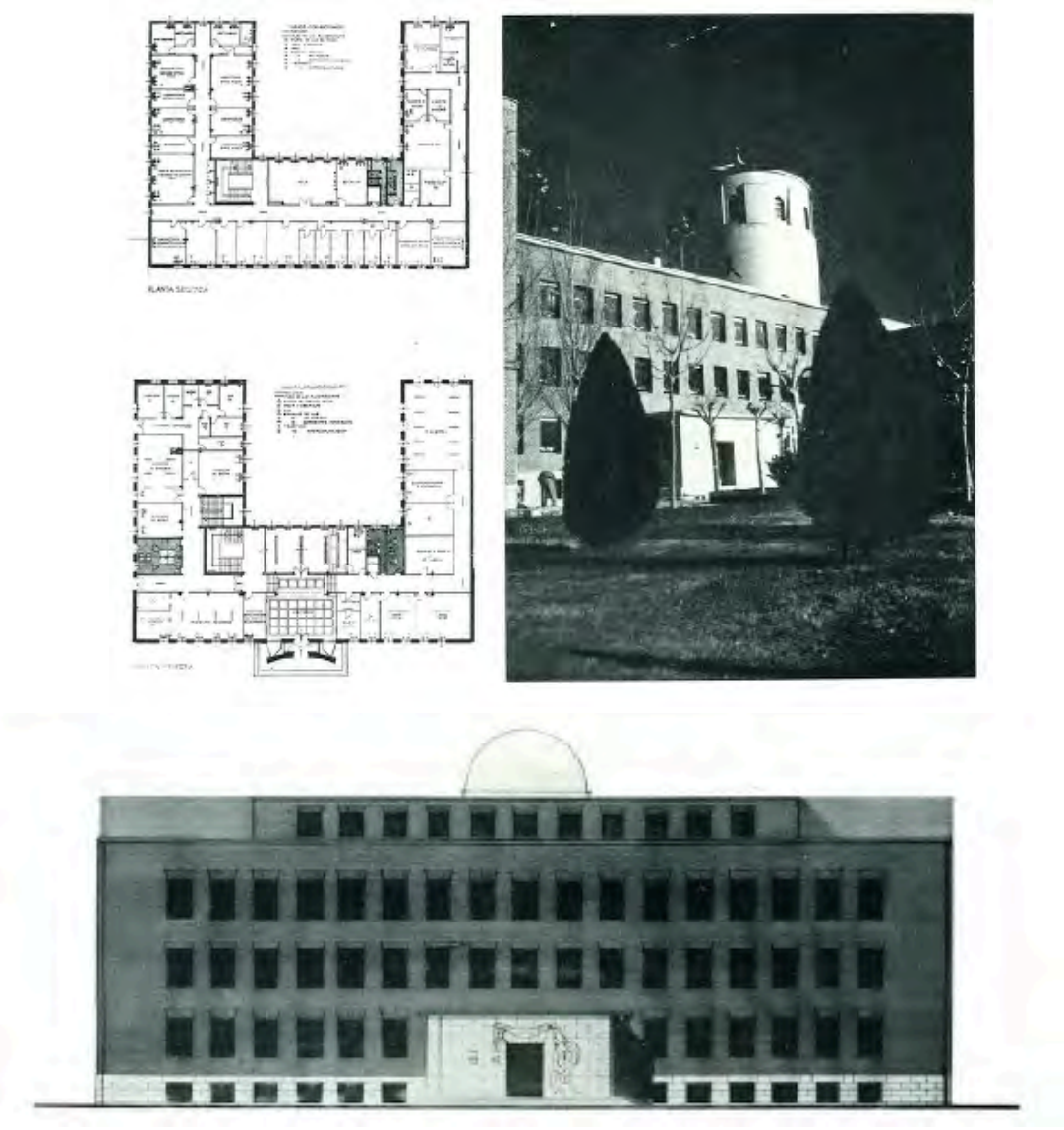


Fig.1.40: Elevation, classroom and interior staircase. Daza Valdes Institute for Optical Studies, 1946-1950, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

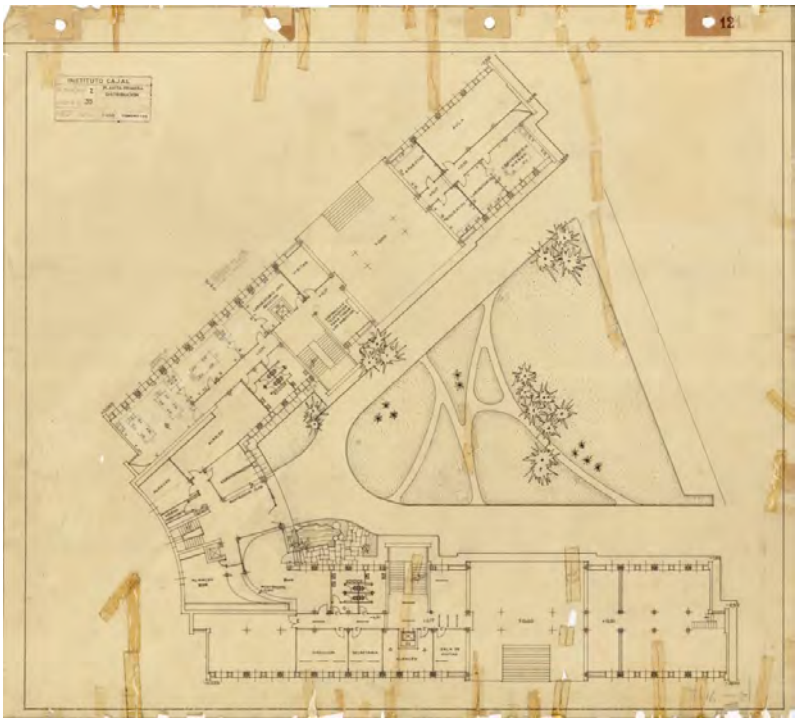


Fig.1.41: Plan, view of interior staircase and side façade. Ramón y Cajal Center for Biology Studies, 1951-1956, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac.

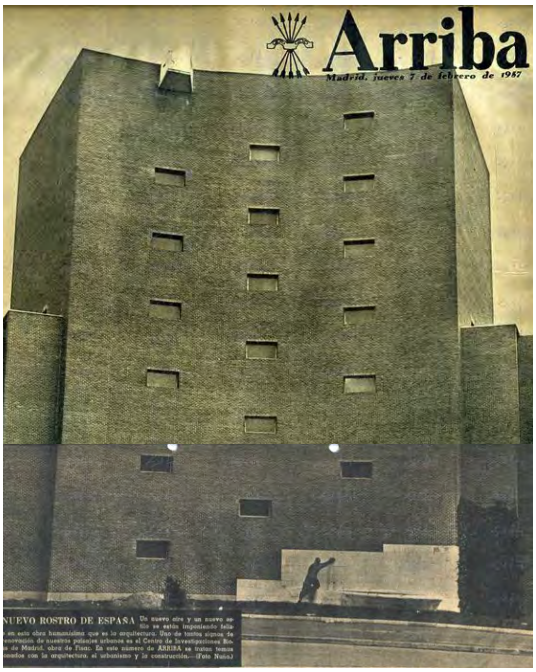
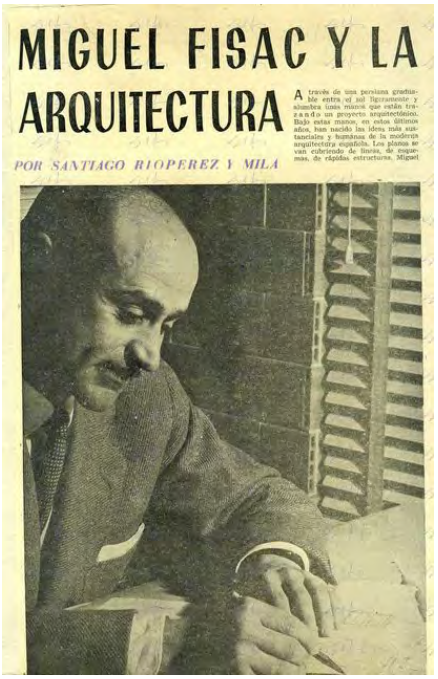


Fig.1.42: Front view (left) and building under construction (right). Ramón y Cajal Center for Biology Studies, 1951-1956, National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid, by Miguel Fisac. As published in *Arriba*, February 7, 1957.

.

Fig.1.43: Picture of the official inauguration of National Research Council, CSIC, Madrid on October 12, 1946. Center in the image is Francisco Franco on military clothes, to his right is Miguel Fisac in civil clothes and to his left Ministry of Education José Ibañez Martín. As published on *ABC*, October 13, 1946.



MIGUEL FISAC Y LA ARQUITECTURA

A través de una persona gratísima entra el sol ligeramente y alumbra unas manos que están trazando un proyecto arquitectónico. Bajo estas manos, en estos últimos años, han nacido las ideas más sustanciales y humanas de la moderna arquitectura española. Los planos se van cubriendo de líneas, de esquemas, de rápidas estructuras. Miguel

POR SANTIAGO RIOPEREZ Y MILA

LA ARQUITECTURA PA

Debe construirse de acuerdo con el ambi
que haya ciudades de más de

Entrevista con Miguel Fisac, el arquitecto esp

EL arquitecto es la persona destinada a hacer el molde de la sociedad, de acuerdo con la idiosincrasia de los pueblos. Es decir, va a conformar a la sociedad desde un punto de vista plástico.

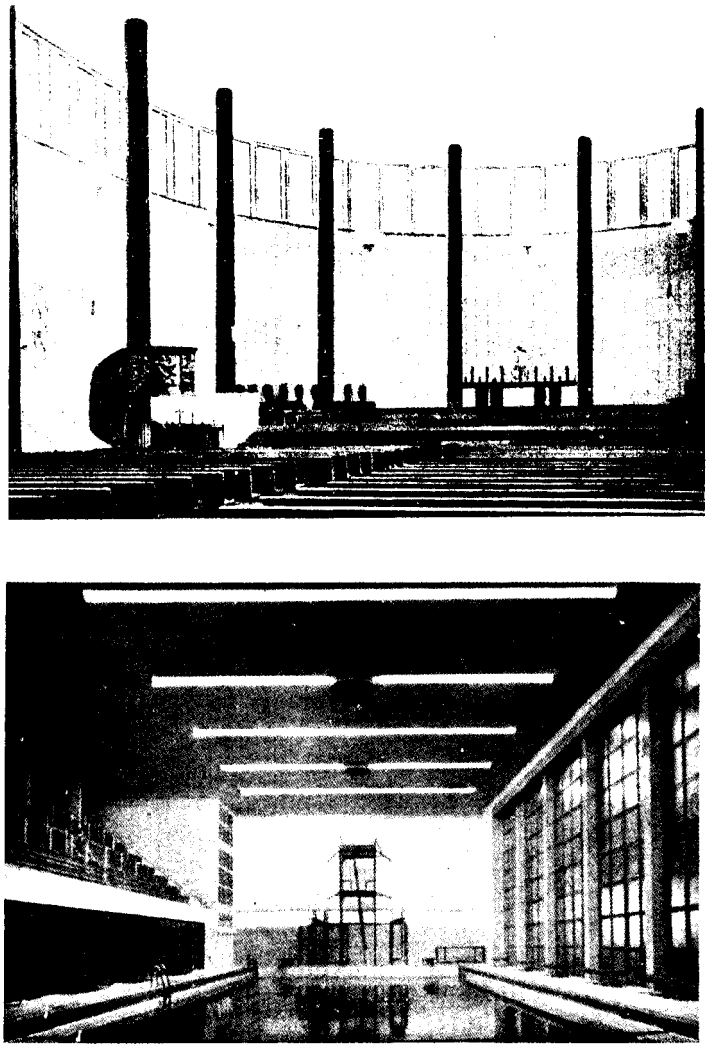
Con estas palabras, Miguel Fisac define su postura respecto a la arquitectura y su estrecha relación con el hombre.

Miguel Fisac es un arquitecto de reconocido prestigio en el ambiente profesional, nacional y extranjero. El exponente de sus méritos son las numerosas obras que llevan su firma y que le han valido gran cantidad de premios. Por todos, citaremos el que obtuvo el pasado año: La Medalla de Oro en la Exposición Internacional de Arte Sacro celebrada en Viena, por su Iglesia de los P.P. Capuchinos de Valladolid. Ha escrito gran cantidad de artículos y libros. Acaba de realizar un viaje por todo el mundo y conoce todos los estilos, las más modernas tendencias y los hombres más sobresalientes del

Miguel Fisac

Fig.1.44: Images of Miguel Fisac as public figure. Press clippings of interviews on matters of architecture published in local and national journals (above) and a picture of Miguel Fisac lecturing at *La Estila,* Santiago de Compostela, February, 1949 (below).

.



Detalle de la iglesia católica de San Carlos en Lucerna
Piscina en Estocolmo

Fig.1.45: Illustration in "Orientaciones y desorientaciones en la arquitectura religiosa" *Arbor* 12:39 (1949), above is the Church of Saint Charles Borromeo, Lucerne, by Fritz Merger, which was shown in the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, Vitoria, 1939. Below, the interior of a swimming pool in Stockholm, as captioned by Fisac.

.

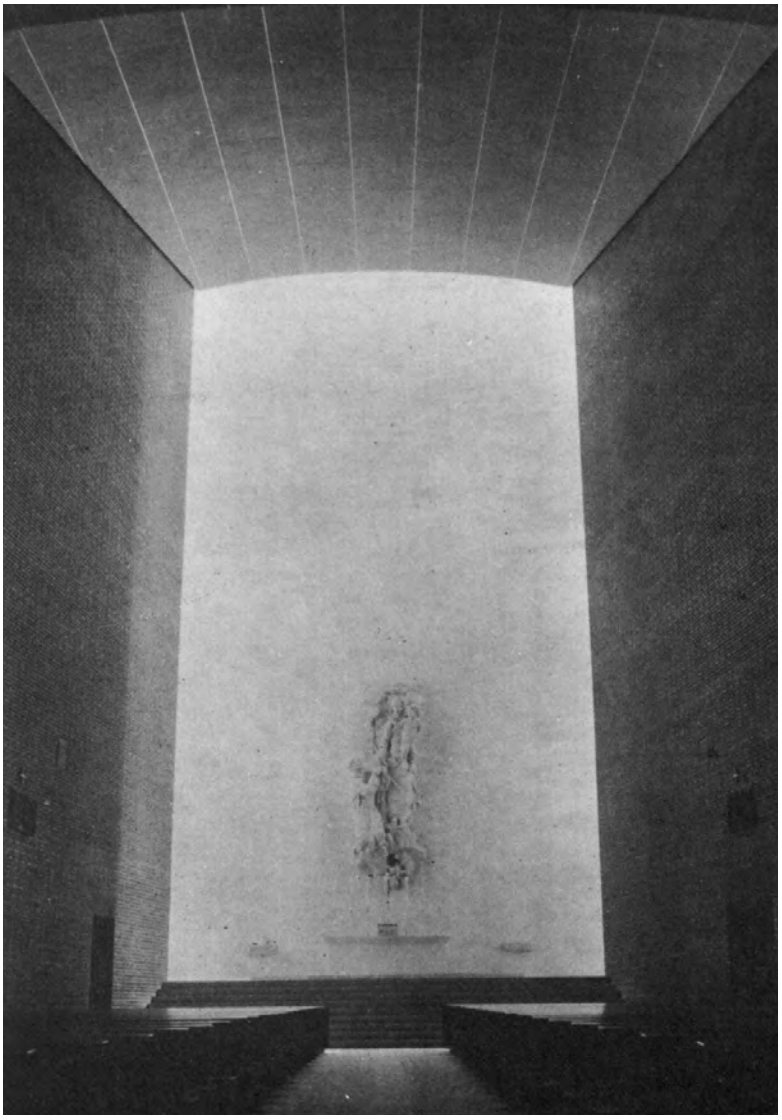


Fig.1.46: Interior view, towards the altar. Church for the Dominican Fathers, Valladolid, 1952, by Miguel Fisac with sculptures of Jorge Oteiza.

.

Fig.1.47: Interior view, towards the altar. Church for the Dominican Fathers, Alcobendas, Madrid, 1955.

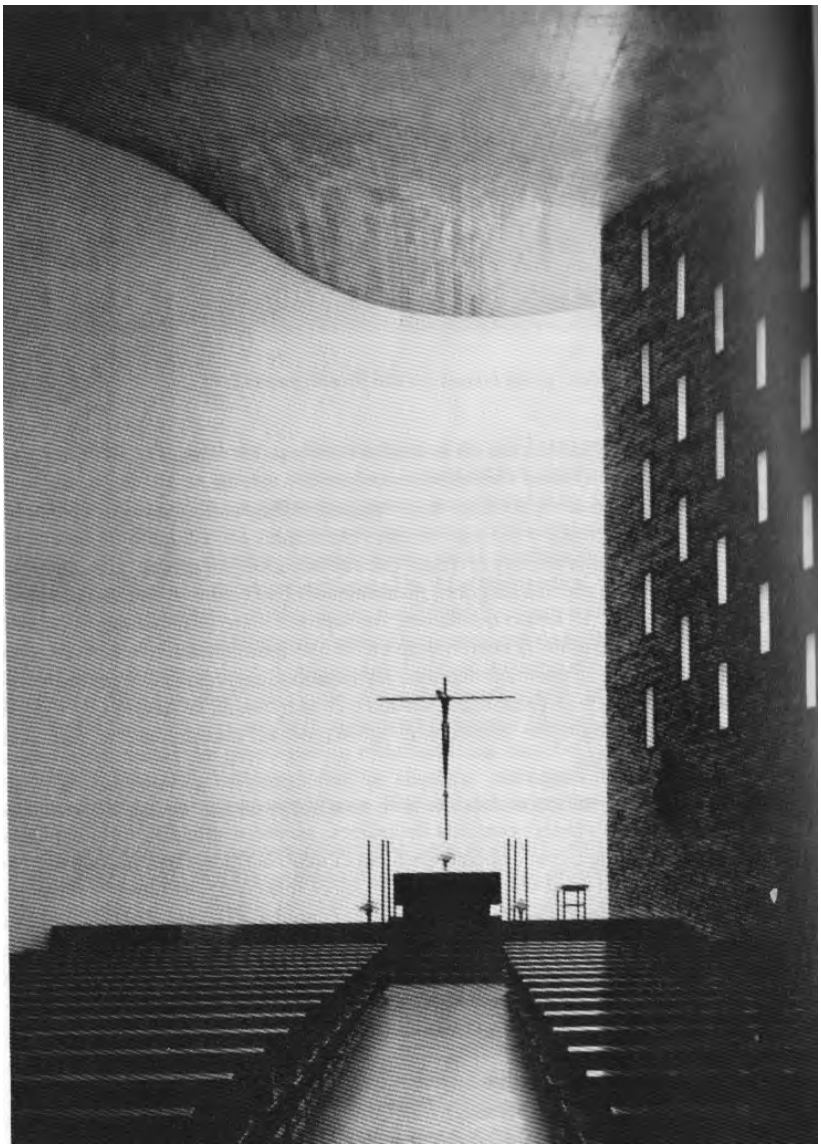
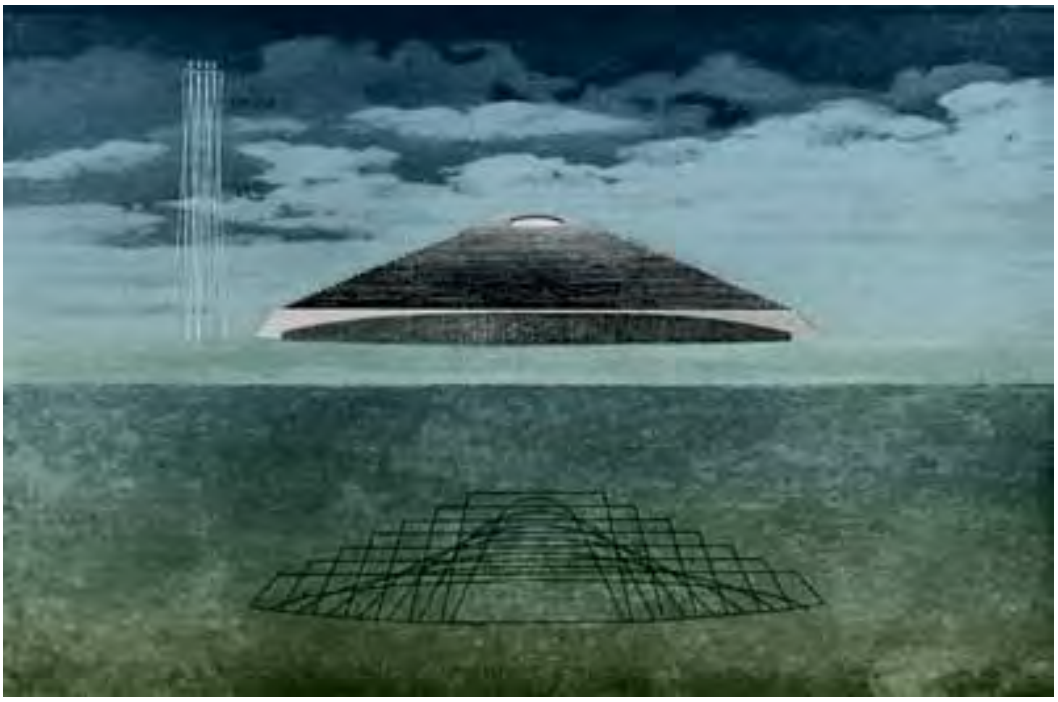
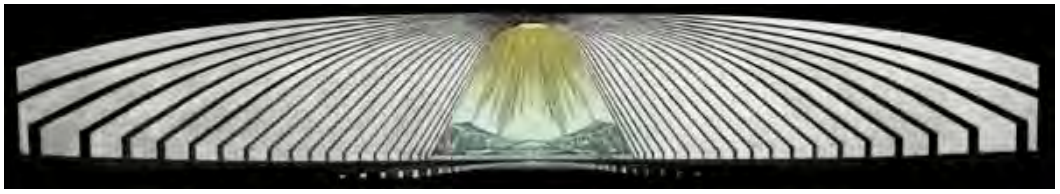


Fig.1.48: Interior view, towards the altar. Concepción Church, Vitoria, 1958.
.

Fig.1.49: Watercolor, exterior drawing, competition board. San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid, 1952, by Rafael Aburto and Francisco Cabrero.

.





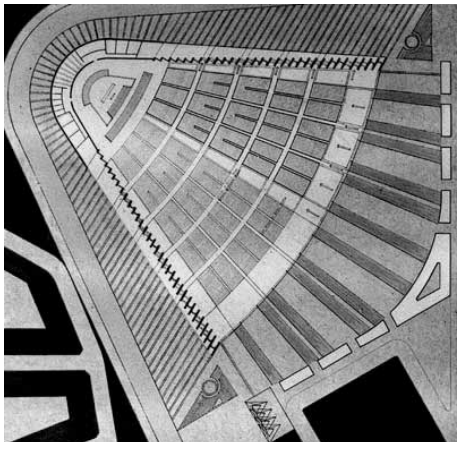


Fig.1.50: Interior drawings and model, competition boards. San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid, 1952, by Rafael Aburto and Francisco Cabrero.

.

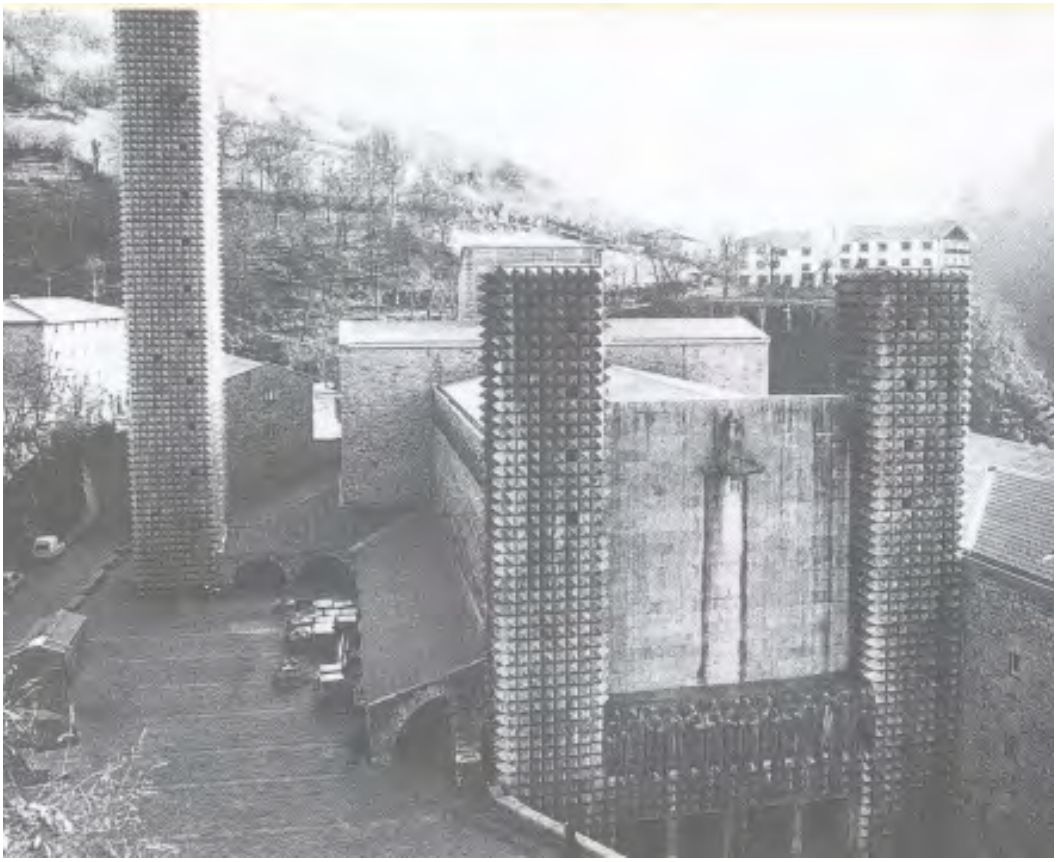


Fig.1.51: Exterior view. Basilica for the Virgin of Aranzazu, Oñate, Guipúzcoa, 1950-55, by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza and Luis Laorga, with scupltors Jorge Oteiza and Eduardo Chillida and painter Lucio Muñoz.

¿Se pueden negar las posibilida
des plásticas de la arquitectur
industrial? Sus formas desnudas
¿no pueden llegar a una pur
emoción estética? Esta parece se
la respuesta concreta de la cate
dral de Cabrera y Aburto.

Por esto, insisto, digo que destaca. Más a modo del templo griego, realzando viva y valientemente sobre el paisaje, que enraizándose a él como cualquier solución medieval, como lo hace una planta sobre el terreno en que se levanta.

La estructura es limpia, simple, desnuda, un tanto intranquila y un tanto dinámica, dentro de lo que podría llamarse por alguien moderna arquitectura. Es el propósito de sus autores, que buscan una nueva emoción de formas, ya que no de materiales, puesto que el tradicional ladrillo y la tradicional piedra serán dominantes.

La solución se compone de dos partes netamente diferenciadas: la nave o santuario y el campanil. El primero es de formas puras dentro de la arquitectura maquinista; el segundo es aún más escueto y funcional. Pero uno y otro, nave y campanil, dentro de esa filiación marcadamente maquinista, resueltos con un no exento sentido de monumentalidad, con una no discutible belleza, como corresponde a la obra de dos ilustres artistas.

El santuario es, repetimos, una estructura limpia y desnuda, tal vez demasiado limpia, demasiado desnuda, demasiado descarnada. Forma un volumen único, indiviso, inmenso, en forma que podríamos calificar—perdonar el adjetivo—de «porción de queso». Una forma unitaria y simple que, dentro de su pretendida unidad, lucha por jerarquizar sus partes: la nave—fieles—y el santuario—Ara—con un buscado movimiento ascendente, dinámico, de avance hacia el altar mayor. Quiere tener la sencillez de una pirámide o de un trazado basilical, aunque tal vez para alguno sólo se quede en eso: en una porción de queso. No es una forma simple, elemental, ni es tampoco una unidad integrada por sumación de elementos simples, no. Es, en esencia y por esencia, una forma compuesta, un número complejo (a+bi) frente al número racional del lenguaje matemático.

La estructura desnuda lo es un tanto arbitrariamente como estructura, otro tanto arbitrariamente como desnuda; mas estructura y desnudez resueltas con una honestidad, con una casi franciscana devoción y una no discutible grandeza y monumentalidad.

No han buscado los autores una arquitectura de aquellas que gozan del fácil favor del público, y así lo reconocen espontáneamente en su Memoria. Habría de ser más recargada, más decorada, más rebuscada, que

Fig.1.52: Photographs of refrigeration tower (below right), concrete hangar and damn (left) as shown by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza in his keynote for the Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura on the San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid. As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 123, March 1952, pp. 40-41.

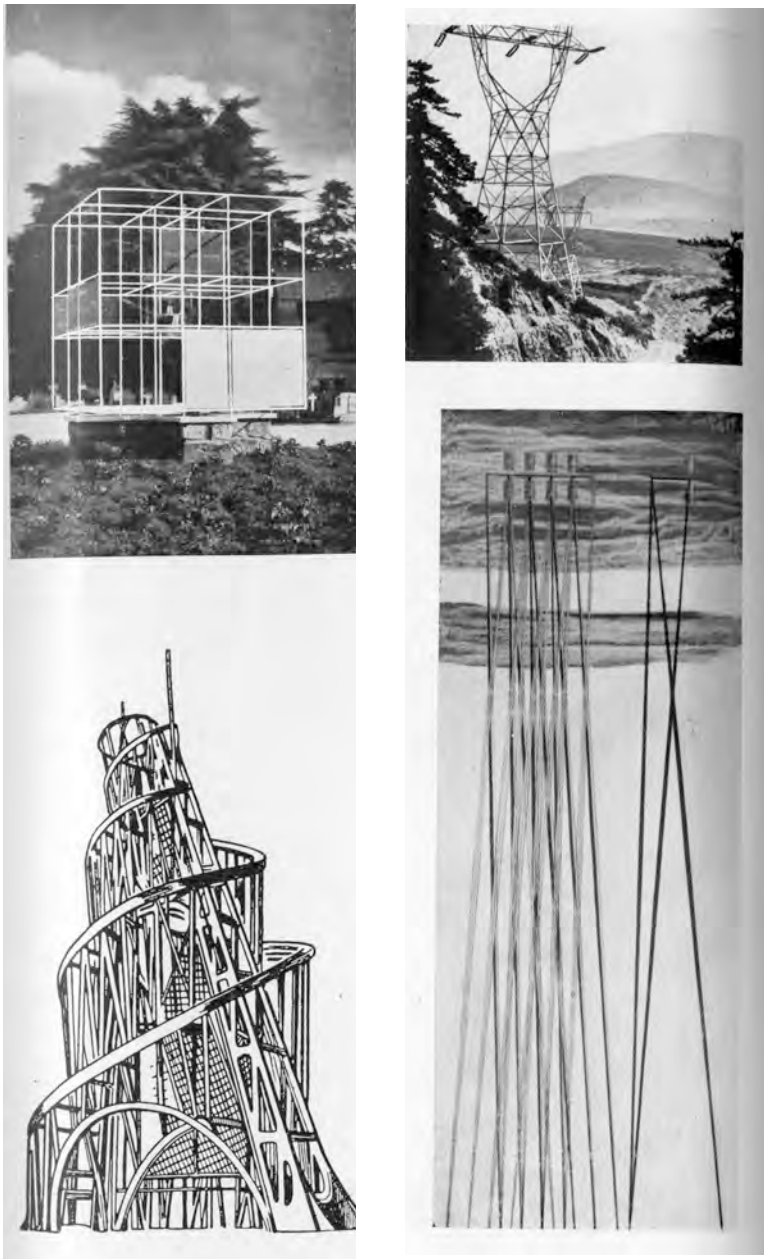


Fig.1.53: Photographs of War Memorial by Max Bill (above left), Monument to the Third International by Vladimir Tatlin (below left) and high-tension electrical tower (above right) as shown by Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza in his keynote for the Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura on the San Isidro Cathedral in Madrid, to compare with the campanile (below right). As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 123, March 1952, pp.45-46.

Chapter 2

Civil Government Building in Tarragona, 1956-67, and the Politics of Abstraction

2.1 The Invisible Palace

The building that most resolutely embraced abstraction during the Franquista regime was in fact not an ecclesiastic but a civic building. The Gobierno Civil (Civil Government Building) in Tarragona, the capital city in the province in Catalonia, was designed in the last months of 1956, opened in 1964, and would eventually become the "*tour de force* of poetic abstraction" in Spanish architecture **[Fig.2.1]**.[1] Housing the regional offices of the central government, the Gobierno Civil combined bureacratic services for the public with the offices, reception areas and private residences for the Governor and his General Secretary. Built as the cornerstone of an urban extension northeast of the city center, the Gobierno Civil was part of the development of "Modern Tarragona" and focus of a new urban hub on the Plaza Imperial Tarraco.[2] Despite the mixed-program and official character of the building, the impression as one arrives at Plaza Tarraco from the old city is that of an enigmatic object, a pristine and hermetic cube that hovers above the street. Without evident hierarchy in its composition, the front façade lacks a monumental entrance and windows. Instead, a series of deep

1 William Curtis, "Harmonic, hierarchical and noble: de la Sota's Civil Government building in Tarragona," in *Alejandro de La Sota: The Architecture of Imperfection* (London: Architectural Association, 1997), 18.

2 "Ordenanza para el edificio destinado a Gobierno Civil en Tarragona,"typewriiten document from the Dirección General de Arquitectura (hereafter DGA), March 8, 1955. In Archivo Alejandro de la Sota, Fundación Alejandro de la Sota, Madrid (hereafter Archivo Sota)

floor-height voids punctuate the façade on each floor: on the first and third floors, the gap crosses the cube from side to side; on the second and fourth floors, smaller square openings are set on the central axis, while the rectangular openings on the fifth and sixth floors are slightly off-center. Clad in light-brown marble, the openings appear as carvings to a stone cube, an impression emphasized by the way in which the stone turns inwards and without a frame in the corners.[3] The windows in the side façades are, in contrast, framed in thin steel so to level glass and stone in the same plane. As the stone that clads the façade is polished, the building reads ambiguously as both a heavy and floating stone block and a subtle continuous skin with varying degrees of transparency and glare. Only as one comes closer to the building, a slim piloti structure reveals itself slightly set back and only visible, ever so subtly, in the opening of the first and third floors **[Fig.2.2]**. Marking its function, only a rectangular emblem and the letters "GOBIERNO CIVIL" in thin copper rest on the left bottom corner of the front façade.

The building, by the architect Alejandro de la Sota, was revered long after it was erected for its "high level of abstraction" and "subtle modernism."[4] For Kenneth Frampton, this was the result of Sota's ambiguous approach to the tectonic system, or, more specifically, to his deceptive approach to materiality and structure.[5] For instance, as little as the buildings reveals its structure, this is not steel but a concrete post and lintel system with brick infill. Most significant is the illusory treatment of the stone. The cubic proportions of the building, at least from the front, the hermetic front façade, and the consistent wrapping of the stone around the corners recall a monolithic and heavy object. And

3 As argued by Kenneth Frampton in "Alejandro de la Sota" in *Estudios de Historia del Arte en honor de Tomás Llorens*, ed. by Valeriano Bozal, et al (Madrid: Machado Libros, 2007), 308.

4 Frampton, "Alejandro de la Sota," 305; Curtis, "Harmonic, hierarchical, noble," 18.

5 Frampton, "Alejandro de la Sota," 308. For Frampton's conception of the tectonic in terms of the relationship between structural sytem, construction methods, site and more broadly culture and as these relationships are made manifest in the building see Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture* (Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1995), 1-26. For Frampton, Spanish architecture practice is crucial referent for "tectonic consistency," and mostly in the footsptes of de la Sota. Tellignly, Frampton uses a sketch by de la Sota, of the Maravillas Gymnaiusm, for the cover of his book on Tectonic Culture. However, Frampton also admits how de la Sota's reliance on but deceptive revelation of the structural systems make his architecture an uneasy fit for Frampton's theory, as he explains in page 367-368.

yet, in the way it opens at the entrance, it is perceived as hovering. The variances in the openings evoke the opposing ideas of the building being a solid carved-out object or a skin-like curtain.[6] For architect Josep Llinás, the building is in this manner a testament to Sota's masterful play with material and construction techniques, whereas architectural historian William Curtis has similarly highlighted Sota's abilities with construction and material as lending the building "material sublimation" and "poetic abstraction."[7]

Interestingly, Curtis suggests a relation between Sota's techniques of abstraction and an "spiritual core."[8] Curtis never elaborates on this connection or explains his use of the term spirituality but it is fair to speculate on the Gobierno Civil as giving form to many of the aspirations articulated in the debates on abstraction and Catholicism discussed in the previous chapter, no less by following Sota's own statements. An active participant in these and authored of various churches designs, to which I will return in a later chapter, Sota had been a convinced supporter of the Camino Chapel, remarking on the "exquisite purge" of the design and the constraint in the treatment of the materials.[9] In a lecture in the summer of that same year, given at the invitation of Fisac, Sota had echoed his ascetic call for architecture, defining it "as the art of exquisite spirituality, the art of abstraction."[10] Accordingly, Sota's Tarragona Building could very well be analyzed as canonical of the contemporary summons to transcend modern technology and materiality for higher spiritual purposes.

For all the resonances of the building with contemporary debates, the building however went largely unnoticed at the time of its construction and its favorable reception was long in the

---

7 Josep Llinás, "Arquitectura sin trabajo, " in *Alejandro de la Sota*, ed. by Iñaki Abalos et al., (Madrid: Fundacion Caja de Arquitectos, 2009), 11; Curtis, "Harmonic, hierarchical, noble," 18.

8 William J. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (New York: Phaidon, 1996), 487

9 Alejandro de la Sota,"Una capilla en el camino de Santiago", *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 161 (1955)

10 Alejandro de la Sota, "Conferencia en La Estila" in Alejandro de la Sota and Moises Puente, *Alejandro de la Sota: Escritos, Conversaciones, Conferencias* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2002), 142.

making. Unlike the Camino Chapel and San Isidro Cathedral, never built projects that were nevertheless much discussed, architects rarely spoke about the Tarragona Gobierno Civil, at least not publically. The *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (RNA) published drawings of the initial design in May 1957, along with the brief description and sketched drawings that were submitted to the design competition for which the building originated **[Fig.2.3]**.[11] The publication lacked, however, additional commentary or larger discussion of the project. This continued to be the case when images of the building first appeared in the specialized media, seventeen years later.[12] A couple of years later, Sola-Morales briefly mentioned it in the essay for the Venice Biennale catalogue discussed in the introduction, as epitome of a poetic and refined thread of Spanish modernism.

The building only began to receive critical attention in 1981 when photographs of it appeared in *Arquitectura* (the heir to *RNA*) alongside brief essays by Antón Capitel and Antonio López Peláez.[13] The commentaries by these authors were not only cryptic, mainly focused on stressing the heightened formalism and abstract nature of the building, but they also came twenty five years after its design and seventeen years after its completion. The reasons for the hold back in the literature might have had something to do with the reception of Sota's building already at the time it was erected, when it was overlooked as much in the general press as in the architectural journals. A local paper, *Diario Español*, mentioned it twice. First, when the design was made public in February 1957 and without any images, and a second time in a review on September 24, 1969, five years after the Gobierno Civil building began to be used. Under the title, "Homage to Walter Gropius," the article unmistakably recognized the ways in which the building brought "the purest of rationalisms" to the

11 *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 185 (1957):1-9.

12 Monographs in *Nueva Forma*, 1981 and *Quaderns*, 1982

13 Antón Capitel, "Algunas ideas en torno a la obra de Alejandro de la Sota", *Arquitectura* 233 (1981):17-23. For an account of the scant literary assessments of the building see Ana Belen de la Isla, "El Gobierno Civil de Tarragona: un edifico en imagenes" in *Los años 50. La arquitectura y su compromiso con la historia. Actas,* ed. by Jose Manuel Pozo (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2000), 251-255.

region.[14] The article however also noted the enigmatic nature of its "grey and blind" façade, perhaps suggesting the hermetic appearance of the Gobierno Civil made it indecipherable to the reviewer, illegible to the point of becoming virtually invisible to architects and the general media alike.

More importantly, the government also seemed to ignore it. An event in the summer of 1967 speaks to this point. On June 7, Franco visited Tarragona, his fifth trip to the Catalan city since 1939 and the first after the Gobierno Civil had started functioning. The visit, broadcast nationally by the National News Company No-Do, included the kind of mass spectacle that was customary on Franco's trips across the country: a theatrical arrival, in this case by boat; a welcoming by the military and political hierarchy of the region; a tour across the city in an open car saluting the hailing crowds; a mass religious service at the Cathedral; and a final tribute from the balcony of a distinguished public building **[Fig.2.4]**. From there, the multitude hailed Franco once again, witnessed popular dances and collectively sang the hymn of the regime, "Cara al sol" (Face to the Sun).[15]

In Franco's previous visits to Tarragona, this final spectacle was performed from the regal balcony of the Town Hall, an eighteenth century Palazzo located in the old city-center with windows and a balcony suitably framed with classic orders **[Fig.2.5]**.[16] But in the summer of 1967, Franco's car headed northwest toward the area of the city's expansion and the Plaza Imperial Tarraco. Once there, the car drove past the new Gobierno Civil building and stopped right across the street. But rather than entering Sota's building, Franco walked into the building opposite to it, the Jefatura Nacional del Movimiento **[Fig.2.6]**. It was from the first floor balcony of the Jefatura that Franco addressed the crowds that afternoon. Although the Gobierno Civil had been wrapped up with

14 "Nuevo Gobierno Civil," *Diario de Tarragona*, s/f; "Fachada: El Gobierno Civil. Homenaje a Walter Gropius," *Diario Español*, September 24, 1969.

15 *No-Do*, June 12, 1967, num.1275B. A coverage of the event was also published in "Visita del Jefe del Estado a Tarragona," *ABC,* June 7, 1967, 65.

16 Franco had previously visited Tarragona in at least four occasions, in 1949, 1952, 1957 and 1963, as reported by *ABC and* No-Do.

blazons and flags for the occasion, in such a momentous event, it was altogether deprived of its ultimate official purpose—that of representing the Franquista State in the region.

Sota later argued that the Governor simply did not like the building, that he found it too dull.[17] The building certainly provided a different image from the classicist backdrop of Franco's previous visit, and more broadly from the monumental historicism that was expected of official architecture. Then again, the building where Franco delivered his speech on that 1967 summer afternoon was anything but historicist either. Six stories high, like the Gobierno Civil, the Jefatura was a slim rectangular volume with a curtain wall of sorts, with most of the building wrapped by floor to ceiling aluminum windows **[Fig.2.7]**. To the side of each façade, building-height stone-clad walls provided an elementarist-like composition. As was noted in the No-Do coverage of Franco's visit, the Jefatura thus manifested modernity and "airiness."[18] The choice of such a background for Franco's final speech was certainly not accidental, for the message by 1967 was that of the country's modernization. Spain was then in the midst of *desarrollismo*—the country's version of the European postwar affluence and rapid material modernization that resulted from the new market-oriented economic policies at the close of the 1950s and renewed international alliances. Tellingly, the main purpose of Franco's trip to Tarragona was the inauguration of two chemical plants, constructed by the North American industry Dow Chemicals and whose facilities and production scope served, for

17 In conversation with Sota's son, Enrique de la Sota with the author, May 25, 2012. See also Sota's own accountof an encounter with the Minister of Gobernacion, as reported by Santiago Barge Ferreiros, *La Restauración del Patrimonio Arquitectonico Moderno. Analisis y Crítica de las Intervenciones en el Gobierno Civil de Tarragona* (Phd Diss., Universidad Politecnica de Catalunya, 2014), 87.

18 *No-Do*, June 12, 1967, num.1275B. Unlike the Gobierno Civil, the entrance on the center of the main façade was slightly raised by a flight of stairs surmounted by a small balcony cut into the window pattern. The buildings held services related to the Movimiento, acting as Falange headquarters and housing services related to media and propaganda and offices for Falange unions. In Tarragona, it held offices of the fascist local journal "Diario Español," and for party groups such as Women's Section, the Youth Front, The Ex-Combatants Organization, the Old Guard, and the Sport Delegation. I have not been able to identify the architect who designed this building.

purposes of the regime and as broadcast by No-Do **[Fig.2.8]**, as a "testament to the industrial and economic development" of the country.[19]

Unread by architects and bypassed by the regime's propaganda, the Gobierno Civil seemed unfit to sustain the ethos of the State, even if this ethos was to certain extent progressive. As already noted, architects and historians eventually happened upon the building and praised it as eminently forward-looking. Still, a key to its interpretation continued to be the indifference toward it at the time it was designed. The first reviewers of the building pointed to the enigmatic character of the façade, its "silence," and the supposedly "utopian dimension" of its formal abstraction.[20] Unclear as to what such a utopian inclination might imply, architectural critics Sara Mota and Antón Capitel positioned the building and its invisibility within the realm of Sota's thinking and personal design process, in disregard for the social and political context in which it was built. Sota himself had proposed the notion of "indifference" as central to the design. In conversation with Curtis, he noted that it was lack of interest of government officials and the media in the building's appearance *and* the lack of interest on the part of the architect—himself—toward the precepts of the State that had made it possible.[21] For how could one otherwise explain this "unusual" object in its context and

19 "Visita del Jefe del Estado a Tarragona," *ABC*, June 7, 1967, 66. The chemical plans were testament to the bet on technological development on the part of the government and to the economic-military agreements with the US that made this possible. The largest of the two factories was a collaborative enterprise with the US company DOW Chemicals, which produced the polyetilene with which the second factory, the state company Industrias Químicas Asociadas, manufactured various products and gear. On the day of Franco's visit, the official opening of the factories, they were properly blessed by the Cardinal of the region. The political history of chemistry industries during and after World War II is a fascinating one for the ways in which it brought together technological progress, inconceivable death, ideologies, State agendas and private capital. See for instance Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben* (London: The Free Press, 1978). The Spanish Civil War was not a chemical war in the lethal ways in which World War II was, but the development of an industry in the 1950s, and of a network of nuclear energy plants later on, was of the essence for the technological and economic modernization pursued by the technocrat government and its alliance with the US, as discussed in chapter three of this dissertations. For an argument on the politics of scientific developemnt see Steven Shapin, and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) and Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, trans. A. Sheridan and J. Law. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998)

20 For a detailed review of the literature on the building see Barge Ferreiros, *Analisis y Crítica de las Intervenciones en el Gobierno Civil de Tarragona*, 96.

21 William Curtis interview with Sota, as Curtis notes in "Harmonic, hierarchical and noble."

time? How would it be possible, if not by an overlooked chance, that such refined aesthetics would be placed in the service of the Franquista regime?

Working on the assumption of the building's exceptional character, interpretations of the Gobierno Civil have continued to establish a necessary relationship between its "laconic and bald" aesthetics and the official disregard for it.[22] As a result, the building has invariably been interpreted as a product of Sota's idiosyncratic formal explorations with form and materials, and as a trademark of his distinct approach to rationalism and stripped-down design.[23] This line of thought—considering the abstraction of the Tarragona Gobierno Civil in terms of the author's formal exploration—connects Sota with the concurrent development of abstraction in the visual arts, articulated in Spain at the time in terms of Informalismo and Constructivismo.[24] In addition to discussions of abstraction in the realm of religious art, abstraction was heavily debated in numerous venues and events that included, among others, the founding of the Escuela de Altamira in 1948 under the leadership of Mathias Goeritz; the First Biennial of Hispanoamerican Art in 1951; beginning in 1952, the exhibitions and events around the Museum of Contemporary Art under the tenure of architect Jose Luis Fernández del Amo; the Santander Congress on Abstract Art that del Amo organized in 1953; the opening of the Sala Negra in 1957; and the various exhibits across the country that led to the founding of groups like El Paso, Equipo 57, and Grupo Parpalló. In these, artists, critics, and architects revived the production of abstract art and architecture in Spain and strenuously debated related questions on the visual impact and media specificity of abstract art; the potential for individual

22 This was the general line of interpretation of Sota's work in the 1980s. See for instance "La Tenaz modestia del pionero," *El Independiente*, July 11, 1987; "La belleza calva, " *El Pais*, March 3, 1990.

23 Orsina Simona Pierini, Alejandro de la Sota. *Dalla materia all'astrazione* (Maggioli Editore, 2010)

24 The literature on abstraction in the arts in Spain is vast. For a more recent critical account see Paula Barreiro-López, *La abstracción geométrica en España, 1957-1969* (Madrid: CSIC, 2009). For an a account of the relationship between abstraction in the visual arts and architecture, see Gabriel Ruiz-Cabrero, ed. *L'Arquitectura i l'art dels anys 50 a Madrid* (Barcelona: Fundacio Caixa d'Estalvis y Pensions, 1996)

explorations; the implications of the loss of figuration; and the symbolic value, or lack thereof, of abstract art.

Sota was an active participant in these events. He was, for instance, closely involved with Fernando del Amo and designed for him an exhibit room for the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1955.[25] His design for the Gobierno Civil most clearly related to the sculptures of Eduardo Chillida and his explorations with void and mass. The connection was not merely formal and Sota was explicit in threading a rather philosophical connection with Chillida's art. In December of 1956, in the midst of drawing the Gobierno Civil, Sota published a brief essay titled "Chillida" in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. In it, Sota called for following the artist's example in architecture and articulated his own definition of architectural abstraction. For Sota abstraction was less a question of image than one of process: the process of "expurgation" that led to material "sublimation." Echoing Fisac's rhetoric of asceticism, for Sota the process of abstraction required "relinquishing objects, materials, and ideas of everything superfluous" in order to reach "the borderline of [their] existence […] what remains is the pure essence of the thing itself, the noble part which abides in every sort of object."[26] Following form this text, the façade of the Gobierno Civil could very well be interpretd as the formal counterpart to Sota's definition of abstraction and a result of his exploration of the phenomenal possibilities of materials. Spanish architect Josep Llinás has done as much, arguing that it was through the various transfigurations and "subversions" of material—and specifically as stone as it seems heavy and light, thick and thin, hermetic and transparent—that Sota took architecture to its limit in Tarragona.[27]

25 José Luis Fernández del Amo. *Palabra y Obra: Escritos reunidos* (Madrid: COAM, 1995), 38.

26 Alejandro de la Sota, "Chillida," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 180 (1956); op.cit de la Sota and Puente,. *Escritos, conversaciones, conferencias*, 34.

27 Josep Llinás, "Arquitectura sin trabajo," 12.

This narrative, whereby "essence" is the product of formal and material manipulation, presumes abstraction as the renunciation of any symbolic and representational value of the object outside of itself. Abstraction is, in this sense, understood as the disavowal of signification, which put more emphasis on the argument of the building's indifference *vis-à-vis* historical, physical and sociological context. And so, when the building is framed in terms of refusal—refusal of excess, of historicist references, of symbolic presence—the regime and the building continue to slip off each other. And yet, the building was quintessential State architecture. Home to the central government in the region, the building did in fact represent Franquismo in the province of Tarragona and, most poignantly, provided a space for government administration. Commissioned by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Sota's design was selected from among fourteen others after a competition was launched in the summer of 1956. Despite Sota's later account of the Governor's dislike of the building and other reactions against the design on the part of top officials, Tarragona Governor José Gonzalez-Sama had been member of the competition jury. And Sota was named winner unanimously.[28] As part of the symbolic armature of the State and a functioning object of its governing system, the connections between the building, the process of abstraction that it performed, and Franquismo cannot be ignored. The questions then must be asked: *In all of its invisibility, what government did this building perform? And what does its articulation of abstraction reveal about the changing mechanisms of the Franquista State?*

The political meaning of the building has not entirely escaped discussion in the literature, but it certainly remains elusive. Curtis and Miguel Angel Baldellou, for instance, have noted how the building provided an interpretation of the Palazzo, or public palace, as a building type that houses governmental functions. It would follow that the building gave a distinct form to the relationship

28 Sota also explained how the Ministry of the Interior had come to the defense of the building during construction, if only on the basis of its legitimacy after winning the competition, which, again, Sota had won unanimously in the first place.

between the State and the Spanish society. But Curtis's and Baldellou's readings of Sota's design as either an "abstraction" or an "inversion" of the type provide little insight into the ways in which these strategies might have specifically related to the governmental structures of Franquismo.[29] Frampton has gone a step further in suggesting that the building is a "dematerialized representation of power," a provocation to think further about the political dimensions of Sota's "subversion" of stone—traditionally, the quintessential material for the metaphorical representation of power.[30] The readings of Sota's work remain, however, largely bound to the architect's drawing and thinking space, focused on understanding the much-revered "Sotian method" and his persona.[31]

Typically lost in the formalist and individualist debates on abstraction is the way in which abstraction has historically worked as a means of political and governmental dynamics; that abstraction is also a political strategy. This chapter aims to reveal just that, in the context of Franquismo, by drawing new relationships between abstraction in the aesthetic realm and abstraction in realms that are political and sociological. Scholars have variously argued for the ways in which, throughout the twentieth century, techniques of abstraction in the arts have related to sociopolitical projects—be these of the left or the right (though mostly of the left), and be these of sociopolitical revolution, reform, or maintenance of the status-quo. One thinks of the attack on the art world itself launched by the historical avant-gardes, as famously argued for by Peter Bürger; the mobilization of cubism for the purposes of left propaganda represented by Picasso's *Guernica*; the very "invention" of abstraction as a "language of revolution," as Maria Gough puts it, in the Soviet context; and the aestheticization of politics on the right denounced by Walter Benjamin and best developed by Leni Riefenstahl's abstraction of the masses in Nazi propaganda film. The collision of

29 Miguel Angel Baldellou, *Alejandro de la Sota* (Madrid: *Gobernación de Urbanismo,* Vivienda e Infraestructiras, 2006), 128; Curtis, "Harmonic, hierarchical and noble," 21.

30 Frampton, "Alejandro de la Sota," 307.

31 Iñaki Abalos, "Alejandro de la Sota: the construction of an architect," in *The Architecture of Imperfection*, 53-61.

abstract art and architecture with totalitarian and holistic forms of politics took on different ramifications in the second half of the twentieth century. For Serge Guilbaut, in his seminal study on the politics of abstract expressionism, abstraction became the language of the individual and in this, an instrument of capitalist ideology.[32] Mark Godfrey has interpreted the very same works that Guilbaut uses in his argument to argue for abstraction as allegorizing the "unrepresentability" of the Holocaust.[33] These episodes only confirm the flexibility of abstraction when it comes to providing meaning—especially political meaning—and the paradoxes of abstract art's relationship to ideology in the early and mid-twentieth century.

While cautious of ideas of necessity in the relationship between aesthetics and ideology, here I will argue for a direct relationship between abstraction in architecture and in Franquismo. In Spain, the relationship between aesthetic and political abstration was not to be found in an ideological project of individual freedom, as was the case for Guilbaut's argument in the context of postwar North America. Rather, in Spain abstraction related to the very configuration of the State and its governmental apparatus; an apparatus —that of a dictatorship—that never ceased to dedicate itself to the total control of society. Abstraction, I will here argue, was a new form of mediation between the government and the Spanish society, a mediation based on the ostensible distance of the body politic from the politics of the State. The Gobierno Civil de Tarragona stood as the "tour de force" as aesthetic abstraction in architecture, but it more critically produced the political and social abstractions that in turn determined the technocratic stage of the Franquista regime. While Sota's cryptic facade loosened the building from a clear formal, historical or programmatic referent, it also effected a distancing of the governing apparatus of the State from the

32 Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983)

33 Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2007), 12. Godfrey takes on architecture as well, such as Louis Kahn's Holocauts Memorial project in the late 1960s and Peter Eisenman's Berlin memorial, and argues for architecture as a particularly fit medium for his argument on abstraction and memory.

State ideology. It depolitized the government, so to speak. This severing was of course one of appearance, and it was of the essence both for Opus Dei elites to gain political power and for the depoliticization of society that they in turn promoted. It was in this way that abstraction, or the dissociation of the signifier from the signified and the folding of the former into its own languages and media, extended from aesthetics to political and societal realms.

Political abstraction aimed at a new political subjectivity both within the government, in the form of the technocrat or non-ideological expert, and outside of it, in the form of the passive or non-political masses. In both instances, the aim was to depolitize Franquismo at the level of rhetoric. This was a particularly striking and paradoxical move for a regime that had gained its power through a Civil War, that is, through an eminently ideological conflict that continued to sustain its legitimacy for almost four decades. The story of the conception of the Government Civil in Tarragona will reveal how the divide between State ideology and State government opened gradually and was strongly advanced through architecture. For if buildings were to provide the physical infrastructure necessary for the emerging administration, then architects tested ideas, types, programs, forms and technologies through which to provide for these, looked at ways to eradicate the traditional signifiers of political power and bring in instead those of efficiency and technical progress. The success of the Tarragona Gobierno Civil lied, as we shall see, in allowing all of this while also giving an image to political abstraction itself. Put differently, it was not that the building was abstract, but that it represented the abstraction sought after by the State.

My argument is related to but also distinct from Max Weber's definition of abstraction in society as the process that is determined by and endlessly determines bureaucratic rationalization. The onset of this process in the public administration certainly defined Franquismo in the 1950s, as Opus Dei cadres entered the government and brought to it aspirations of bureaucratic and economic rationalization. Casanova stages his argument of the political impact of Opus Dei precisely by linking

it with Weber's identification of this process as the kernel of modernization; only in Spain this merged with Escrivá de Balaguer's Catholic orthodoxy and not the Protestant ethic properly speaking.[34] Whether one takes Casanova's translation of Weber's theory on the relationship between a religious "spirit" and capitalist development at face value or not, historically, the process of the modernization of the Spanish State and economy did accompany the rise of Opus Dei.[35] In the previous chapter, I set forth the ways in which Opus Dei acquired ground in cultural and academic realms, and how a discourse on architectural modernity developed alongside this. This chapter will deal with the subsequent insertion of Opus Dei members, and by extension of their ever-proselytizing campaign and their particular model of reactionary modernism, within the government and the political infrastructure of the regime.

Beginning in 1951 and all through the decade, changes in the Franquista cabinet comprised a gradual demotion of Falange and military members in lieu of new cadres who came into the government with no apparent political alliance. As mainly "technicians," a number of lawyers, economists, and other professionals offered expertise in the realms of economics, administration, and law that the regime was so badly in need of. This was a dual process of defascistization and technocratization, so to speak, through which the regime responded as much to the redefinition of Spanish Catholicism discussed in the previous chapter as to the to the shifting international scenario after World War II and internal political developments. Most of the new State men belonged to Opus Dei, having collaborated in various ways with Albareda at CSIC. Without a formal or coherent definition of political ideology—and this was often made explicit— those who entered the government nevertheless formed, as Casanova has showed, a "coherent political group with an overall end in common, that of the rationalization of the Spanish economy through internal

34 Casanova, *The Opus Dei ethics and the Modernization of Spain*, 420-426.

35 This historical overlap is the starting point of Casanova's thesis. José Casanova, "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain," *Social Sciences Information* 22, 1 (1983), 27.

liberalization, the integration of the Spanish economy in the capitalist world economy, and the rationalization of the Spanish Administration."[36] In so doing, they led to a new model of the State that has been invariably defined as technocratic, and more specifically, a Catholic technocracy that allowed for the economic growth and industrial development Franco boasted of on that July afternoon of 1967 in Tarragona.[37]

It was the lawyer Laureano López Rodó who most effectively orchestrated the regime's shift from its fascist origins to a Catholic technocracy, through a series of structural and legislative reforms of the government. López Rodó's administrative reform was certainly less apparent and publicized than the material and technological progress that followed in the 1960s, but it was its institutional precondition. A prominent Opus Dei member, he performed a particular interjection of Escrivá de Balaguer's Catholicism with Franquista policies and modes of social control, or with the modus operandi of State control that Foucault conceived in terms of "governmentality."[38] It was in the intersection performed by López Rodó of religion with the Franquista modes of government—with the "hows" and the nature of its mediation with Spanish society and the formation of a new political subjectivity—where I explore the formation of abstraction. Abstraction in Franquista Spain was determined not only by the unremitting rationalization of bureaucracy and economic development indentified by Weber, but also, and possibly most effectively in the case of Spain, by the deceptive severance of such a process from political ideology and by the image of such a divide.

In what follows, I intend to reveal how buildings articulated the abstraction of politics that defined the regime's transition toward technocracy along these terms. I will begin by positioning civic architecture within the ideological projections of the regime in its early years, and then trace a shift

36 Casanova, *The Opus Dei ethics and the Modernization of Spain*,

37 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 450.

38 Taken up for the purposes of architectural analysis in Aggregate, *Governing by Design. Architecture, Economy and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittburgh Pres, 2012), viii.

amongst architects and State officials alike in the valuing of style from the language of historicism toward concerns of function, efficiency, and the language of abstraction. As we will see, design competitions were ardently mobilized in order to call upon architects to imagine new building forms and images for civic buildings. In doing so, architects redefined the organization, materiality, technologies and language of the regime's governmental infrastructure. Toward the end of the chapter, I will come back to López Rodó's ideas on government in order to reveal how these competitions helped advance and formalize the legal institutionalization of the administration he implemented.

The transition toward technocracy I here relate to the process of political abstraction was carried out not only on eminently political levels, but also social and technological ones, as well as, through the aesthetic figuration of the displacement between government and society. Buildings, I here argue, were crucial to the process. For just as ideas, forms and techniques related to functionalism, efficiency, the rationalization of construction methods, and the use—if only through allusion—of steel and glass began to take over civic architecture, so did López Rodó's new administration take hold along similar lines. As we shall see, the Tarragona Gobierno Civil building was less as an individual detour into formal abstraction than a step in a collective process that gave architectural form to the new Franquista administration. While the glass façade of the Jefatura was chosen as backdrop of Franco's salute in order to promote *desarrollismo*, it was in fact the Gobierno Civil across the street that best embodied the advent of Franquista Catholic Technocracy at this point in time **[Fig.2.9]**.

2.2 State in Stone: El Escorial and the Style Debate, 1938-1951

Buildings and city planning were identified as key instruments for the political and ideological development of the Franquista State from its inception. I have already discussed how churches were

framed as prime objects for moral and spiritual reconstruction right after the war. More broadly, the discipline of architecture and many building typologies were likewise determined to be essential to advancing the regime's agenda.[39] In the 1940s, architecture was positioned as a "privileged vehicle of ideology," mobilized to demonstrate the power of the winning side, and to communicate and commemorate its moral and social values.[40] More urgently, buildings ought to provide the actual physical frame from where to perform governmental functions. In early Franquismo, the political credit given to architecture was in tune with the role it played in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and more broadly with the fascist conception of propaganda whereby buildings, monuments, and city plans were not only seen as setting ideology in stone but were also considered as able to build ideology and the State *per se*. The purpose was, as Zira Box has put it, to "petrify" ideology.[41]

In considering the rapport of architecture and politics during Franquismo, and the ways in which this relationship was fashioned after Germany and Italy, it is important to understand the role of the Spanish fascist party—Falange—and shed some light into the characteristics of Franco's government. Franquismo was under all accounts an authoritarian regime in which every form of political, social, cultural, and social development was thought of as subservient to the State and to Franco. Under the overarching denomination of *Caudillo*, Franco united the figures of Chief of State, President and head of the Government, head of the Military, as well as head of Falange.[42] Unlike in Italy and Germany, in Spain it was not the original leader of the party who led the takeover of the

39 Angel Llorente, *Arte e ideological en el franquismo*, 1939-1951 (Madrid: Machados Libros, 1995), 67. Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*, 120

40 Eric Hobsbawm, "Proleg" in Dawn Ades, Tim Benton, et al., eds., *Arts i Poder. L"eruropa dels dictadors, 1930-1945* (Barcelona; Diputacion Provinciald e Barcelona, 1996), 11-1

41 Box, *España. Año Cero*, 2, where she follows the argument by Emilio Gentile, *Fascismo di pietra* (Roma:Laterza, 2007) and Deyan Sudjic, *La arquitectura del poder* (Barcelona, Ariel, 2007). Following the early assessments of the immediate postwar period in the mid 1970s, as seen in the Introduction.

42 As noted in the introduction, whether Franquismo can be considered a totralitarina regime and thus comparacble to Gaemrnay and Italy has been much debated in the scholarhip. Falange operated under the denomination FET and JONS, as it merged the original Phalanx party, founded by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera in 1933, with other traditionalist and trade union parties. Primo de Rivera's polemical death during the war, while in captivity in the Republican side, left the path open for Franco's leadership in the Nationalist cause.

State. The coup d'etat of July 18, 1936 was a military one, though it had the support of Falange, which Franco would later co-opt after the death of its leader Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, pronouncing himself Head of its National Council and merging his and the party's cause, in what was known as the *Movimiento*.

Falange was crucial to Franco's coming to power and was the sole political organization during Franquismo, but Franco's hegemony was far from reliant on either Falange or his own persona alone. The most significant characteristic of Franco's mode of governing was how he maintained and continuously balanced the coalition of reactionary forces. It has been repeatedly argued that the success of the dictatorship in terms of its core ideological pillar—survival—owed to the subtle ways in which Franco managed the political capital of the military, the monarchists, and various Catholic forces as well as the Falangists. Falange remained however in command in Franco's early government, when for instance loyalty to the "26 Principles of the Movement" was compulsory for anyone looking to work for the State. If the Church supplied Franquismo's moral basis and mass support and the military secured of course its power of force, Falange provided rhetoric and ideological basis founded on social welfare and anti communist model of union organizations. Moreover, Falange staffed the government significantly and also aligned the regime internationally with Germany and Italy.[43]

Architecture was no exception when it came to the association with fascism. Architects close to or working within the nascent government soon began to subject the discipline to institutional structures and discourses associated with core fascist ideals, such as the need to define a national style of neo-imperial aspirations and the emphasis on housing as an architectural means of social service. As early as February 1938, the architect and prominent Falange party member Pedro

43 Mainly through the figure of Ramón Serrano-Suñer, a supporter of the Third Reich and Franco's brother-in-law who occupied the posts of Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the regime's early years. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 431

Muguruza summoned two hundred architects in Burgos to begin a reorganization of the discipline and draft plans for postwar reconstruction.[44] The first official institution for this purpose was founded that year, the National Service for Devastated Regions (Servicio Nacional de Regiones Devastadas, NSDR). In June 1939, soon after the end of the war, Muguruza called for the First National Assembly of Architects in Madrid. There, it was established that architecture ought to work for both the physical reconstruction of the country and the moral and ideological construction of the new State.[45] Among the participants, ardent Third-Reich supporter and then Minister of the Interior Ramón Serrano-Suñer charged architects with the "enormous task" of providing both "imperial hopes and style" and devise an architecture of the State.[46]

Soon thereafter, Franco founded the Directorate General of Architecture (Dirección General de Arquitectura, DGA) with Muguruza as Director. The DGA and the NSDR, which was refounded as a Directorate General (DGRD) in 1940, were the two main institutions for the governmental "control of architecture." [47] Depending on the Minister of the Interior, together they aimed to centralize the profession and lead reconstruction efforts. The latter mostly managed rural developments across the country, and the DGA more broadly oversaw housing in urban expansions, city planning for capital cities, war memorials, and the development of civic and public buildings.[48] Most of the works and

44 It took place in Burgos, the city north of Spain that was then capital city of the Nationals.

45 *Textos de las Sesiones celebradas en el Teatro Español de Marid por la Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos los dias 26, 27, 28 y 29 de Junio de 1939* (Madrid: Servicios Tecnicos de las FET y JONS, 1939) The transcripts of the meeting were also published along with initial precepts for the direction or architecture and urbanism in the report *General Ideas on the National Plan for Order and Reconstruction.*

46 The quote, symbolic of the various ideas put forth in the 1st Architects' Assembly is from Victor d'Ors, the architect son of Eugeni d'Ors who was an ardent Falangist and outspoken in the meetings and in the official apparatus of archtiectyre thereafter. He was Dean of the School of Architecture in Madrid. See for instance "Reconstruccion tras la Victoria," *Arriba,* December 2, 1939; op cit, Zira Box , "El cuerpo de la nación. Arquitectura, urbanismo y capitalidad en el primer Francuqimso," *Estudios Políticos* 155 (2012): 153.

47 Cirici, *La Estética del Franquismo*, 120.

48 For these various purposes, it was subdivided into services such as Urbanism, directed by very influential Pedro Bigador, the Experimental Center for Architecture, and the Buildings Section. The section on Urbanism was directed by the very influential Pedro Bidagor; the so-called Experimental Center for Architecture dealt mainly with material studies and was directed by Mariano Serrano. The DGA edited the journals *Boletín de la Dirección General de Architecture* (BDGA), which specifically promoted the works of the Directorate, and the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, which had a broader cultural scope as is traced throughout this dissertation. The NSDR coordinated palns such as the popular Plan de Poblados Dirigidos

ideas developed in these services were initially framed under the umbrella of Falange, to which many of the architects involved in these institutions belonged. The relevance of housing in the regime's early decade speaks to this point, and I will return to housing in detail in chapter four, as housing provision was essential to the regime's welfare project, no least at the level of propaganda in the media **[Fig.2.10]**, and was framed so as to carry on Falange's preferred model of power, the top-to-bottom trade unions known as *Sindicatos Verticales*.

Along with Falange, other ministries and government institutions formed organizations intended to commission and design architectural and urban projects. Servicios Técnicos de Falange (Technical Services of Falange), which had been operating since 1938 under Muguruza's leadership and morphed into the Obra Sindical del Hogar y la Arquitectura (Union Project for the Home and Architecture, OSHA) in 1941. Dependent first on Falange and later on the overpowering Sindicatos, or State Union, its main purpose was to promote social housing, and its work was eventually channeled through the magazine *Hogar y Arquitectura*, edited by Carlos Flores. Junta de Reconstruccion de Madrid (JRC, Council for the Reconstruction of Madrid) was founded after the announcement of Madrid as capital city in 1939 and had as its media outlet the journal *Gran Madrid*. Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (INV, National Institute for Housing) was founded under the Labor Ministry and directed by Federico Mayo until it morphed into the Ministry of Housing in 1956 under Falange leader and architect José Luis Arrese. Instituto Nacional de Colonización (National Institute for Colonization*,* INC*)* was founded in 1941 to manage the infrastructural development and land use of rural areas, including the design of new villages.

(Plan for the Control of Villages), and other low-cost housing projects on the outskirts of cities. It had as its media outlet the journal *Reconstrucción*. The literature of these services is vast. See for instance, *Arquitectura en Regiones Devastadas*, (Madrid: Mopu, 1987), catalogue to exhibition of the same name; Vicente Javier Mas Torrecillas, A*rquitectura Social y Estado entre 1937 y 1957: La Direccion General de Regiones Devastadas* (PhDiss, UNED 2008); and the literature already cited in the introduction.

Chapter four will return to some of these institutions, but the point here is to grasp how broad the official framework was with regard to architecture, to what extend the Directorate General of Architecture was charged with overseeing it, and how buildings were explicitly framed as instruments of politics.[49] Its founding law, signed by Franco in September 23, 1939, set forth the role of the discipline in unequivocally political terms and revealed the regime's totalitarian aspirations with regard to all building activity by instituting the DGA as the country's "superior institutions" in matters of architecture.[50] Transcribed on the opening page of the first number of *RNA*, the law defined architecture as a "prime field of technique" and key means to give form to the "material life of the country in accordance with new principles."[51] It subjected all architects and professionals in the building industry working for the public sector to the DGA, and set its goal as that of taking control and "give national order to architecture."[52]

The emphasis on the "representational importance [of architecture] as an expression of the strength and mission of the State," as put in the DGA founding law, also followed on from the importance of aesthetics in fascism.[53] The concern for the image value of architecture was mainly targeted at official buildings and memorials and folded into the quest for a distinct Franquista style. Fittingly, Italian architecture was covered in the early years of Revista *Nacional de Arquitectura,* with an article dedicated to the construction of EUR 42 and a piece by Marcello Piaccentini in 1941 **[Fig.2.11]**, and Spanish architects travelling to Italy with a certain regularity.[54] The longing for a properly national style was often stated to be "imperial," totalitarian and eternal and informed the

49 The people, ideas, and projects involved in them all were very much connected. Muguruza, for instance, directed both the DGA and the Sección Técnica de Falange until the latter became the OSHA in 1941.

50 *BOE*, September 23 1939; Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*, 120-22.

51 *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 1-1(1941): 1. Transcribed in Urrutia Nuñez, *Arquitectura española contemporánea. Documentos, escritos, testimonios inéditos* (Madrid: COAM, 2002), 235.

52 Ibid, 236

53 Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*, 121.

54 "EUR 42," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 1-4 (1941): 51-53; Marcello Piacentini, "Vision de Roma Futura," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 1-8 (1941): 1-6.

rhetoric of the yearly Architects' Assemblies as well as countless articles published in disciplinary publications and the general press alike. Written by architects such as Muguruza, Luis Moya, Victor d'Ors, and Angel Alvarez, and cultural critics such as Camón Aznar and Luis Felipe Vivanco, among many others the literature resulted, both at the time and in later historical reassessments of the period, in a ubiquitous "discourse on style."[55] The goal was to collectively define an identifiable and coherent image for official architecture, an image that followed not individual explorations into style and techniques, but rather a unitarian logic—that of the dictatorship. The article "On the creation of architectonic styles," for instance, clearly aligned the ambitions of dictator and architects, for "of any purpose of a Caudillo, none is as ambitious as that of creating the style of the times in the realm of architecture."[56]As Muguruza wrote in 1941, architects ought to follow and express the "logic of a personal dictatorship, extended to all the fields of a nation, with the creative force of a superior being who drives it."[57] Franco himself presided over the Third National Architects' Assembly, held on June 30, 1941 **[Fig.2.12]**.

This earnest quest for a style was not merely grounded on a search for a coherent and grandiose architectural language, one that could pair the bombastic rhetoric of the victorious government. On the part of the architects at least, the debate was also based on a genuine belief that the image architecture provided for bore a sociopolitical objective, an aim wherein the forms of architecture paralleled and produced those of culture, and most significantly the "spirit of those who inhabit it." [58]Put differently, the fixation on style assumed the potential of architecture's image to produce political and moral subjectivity—and thus a social order. As well as d'Ors' pervading ideas on the role of art and architecture as instruments of culture- and State-building, a crucial referent for

55 Angel Llorente and Julián Díaz Sanchez, *La crítica de arte en España, 1939-1975* (Madrid: Istmo, 2004)
56 Manuel Augusto García, "Sobre la creación de estilos arquitectónicos," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 18-19 (1943):4
57 Cirici, *La estetica del Franquismo*, 123
58 Augusto García, "Sobre la creación de estilos arquitectónicos," 4.

the specifics on style was literary critic Ernesto Giménez Caballero, and the ideas he had promoted before the war. An important figure in introducing fascism in the late 1920s, Giménez Caballero was driven by the idea of an emerging Latin Catholic Empire and was a regular commentator on architecture. At first through a series of essays published in *La Gaceta Literaria*, which he edited, and later in his 1935 book *Arte y Estado*, Giménez Caballero proclaimed the structural role of the arts in bringing about an imperial and national fascist State. Amongst the arts, Giménez Caballero established the preeminence of architecture and defended a sober and monumental classicism as the style that ought to fulfill this task.[59]

Unlike d'Ors, Giménez Caballero founded his defense of the classical on a harsh critique of architectural rationalism and the avant-gardes, a critique he developed after having enthusiastically promoted the "new architecture—functional, hygienist, technical" in the 1920s. This ideological trajectory followed his travelling across Europe and embracing fascism upon arriving in Rome in 1928.[60] For Giménez Caballero, the disillusion he felt about the "new architecture" was not only a personal reaction, but also the recognition of an historical "failed revolution." In their doomed development, the "individual and liberal" aspirations of the avant-gardes had declined into an "art for the masses, oriental and bolshevist."[61] In acknowledging this much and calling for an alternative new, so to speak, a new national architecture, Giménez Caballero was not alone. As he wrote:

> Just when the world appeared to be conquered by the Esprit Nouveau of the new architecture; just when the world was about to become a sea of nautical and rationalist houses; just when humanity had become resigned to living in an architecture for tuberculosis, houses-as-hospitals, and rooms-as-operating rooms; when the rigid law of rational functionalism was about to rule over the architectonic globe, and man was about to stand naked on the innumerable terraces…When the "new architecture" articulated by the … Judaic, socialist, and pedagogic spirit of 1917 was close to its full emergence… Alas! In Germany, the very nest of the Gropiuses, the Mieses, the Stuttgarts and Dessaus, it gets shut

59 Cirici, *La estetica del Franquismo*, 56.

60 Carlos Ramos, *Construyendo la modernidad: Escritura y arquitectura en el Madrid moderno* (Lleida: Universidad de Lleida, 2010)

61 Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Arte y Estado* [1935] (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2009), 121.

> down! And Hitler's Government proclaims such architecture as anti-national, non-traditional and bolshevist![62]

With the collapse of rationalism, the time came for a renewed art and architecture "put to the service of the reality of a harmonious State," a State he foresaw as fascist, imperial, and universal.[63] For Giménez Caballero, not only had Germany and also Italy turned against rationalism for its anti-humanist, maechanistic, mathematical, and "rigorously intellectual" nature.[64] Most significantly, Le Corbusier had also realized its failure. Or so Giménez Caballero imagined as he wrote about Le Corbusier's awakening to fascism after visiting Rome and encountering the architecture of Italy's imperial past.[65] This had at least been his experience. In Rome, Giménez Caballero went through an "ideological-aesthetic epiphany" that led him to both fascism and architectural nationalism.[66] For it was in Rome that one could best understand the importance of "order, hierarchy, and dignity" in buildings as well as the ways in which architecture was the "essential art of Empire."[67] Through the example of Rome, Giménez Caballero argued for an inherent relationship between architecture and the hegemony of the State. "To structure, to build, to order," he wrote, "are the verbs of the State. Architectonic verbs. Every resurrection of the State in history means a resuscitation of architecture. State supremacy. Architectural supremacy."[68]

If Rome was a repository of architectural works that served as a point of departure for the resuscitation of State power in Italian fascism, it was clear to Giménez Caballero that Spaniards ought to look less to a city as reference than to a building. This was San Lorenzo de El Escorial, the sixteenth century royal palace and monastery built for King Phillip II by architect Juan de Herrera on the

62 Ibid, 139.
63 Ramos, *Construyendo la modernidad,* 131.
64 Ramos, *Construyendo la modernidad,* 139.
65 What Alexander Cirici noted as Giménez Caballero's "hope for a fascist Le Corbusier," in Cirici, *La estetica del Franquismo*, 63.
66 Ramos, *Construyendo la modernidad*, 133.
67 Giménez Caballero, *Arte y Estado*, 149-50.
68 Ibid.

outskirts of Madrid. Erected at the height of the Spanish empire and the Counter-reformation, El Escorial was for Giménez Caballero the quintessential monument to Spain's political hegemony, and the best example of "State made into stone."[69] Monumental in size and famously austere on the outside, El Escorial was a rectangular volume of 200 by 161 meters divided into a three-by-two grid **[Fig.2.13]**. The central section at its far end was occupied in full by a basilica topped with a ninety-five meter high dome. The remaining five sections of the grid, surrounding the basilica, were composed of five floor high courtyard buildings that housed a monastery and the palace.[70] Seventy-meter high square towers at each corner of the complex determined the volumetric composition. Built in granite and with black slate pitched roof, to the outside El Escorial was defined by a regular pattern of vertical windows. A built-in full-height classic front marked the main entrance on the west façade.

For Giménez Caballero, El Escorial constructed in this way the "essence" of the Spanish empire and was the best physical link between the imperial past and fascist future.[71] In Herrera's building, he found "the hierarchical, static, trans-temporal, and totalitarian ideal of the future fascist State" to which Spain should aspire. El Escorial was both the "stone warrior" in the fight for the Spanish Catholic fascist cause and a "static engine" that showed how "architecture is state." [72] Looking to disengage the building from any link to rationalism and modernism, which critics had done, Giménez Caballero called for a sensorial conception of the arts. For architecture to serve its eminently political purpose, architects ought to leave behind notions of reason and "the mathematical reality of life" and instead consider how their work in terms of construing the

69 Giménez Caballero, *Arte y Estado*, 149-50.

70 The Palace occupied one section of the grid, to the left of the Church and with the King's most private rooms overlooking the main altar of the Church.

71 Giménez Caballero, *Arte y Estado*, 149-50.

72 Nil Santiañe-Tió, *Topographies of Fascism. Habitus, Space and Writting in Twentieth Century Spain* (Toronto: university of Toronto Press, 2013), 340. For a detailed account on the ways in which El Escorial was also referent for other intellectuals such as Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, to whom Giménez-Caballero directly responded, see Ramos, *Construyendo la modernidad*, 142-143.

"shadows, phenomena, and appearances" of life. With this, he made the connection between a phenomenological conception of architecture as the "Art of the State."

After the war, architects within the official apparatus rapidly embraced Giménez Caballero's theories. In December 1940, for instance, the journal *Reconstrucción* published the essay "Orientaciones de Arquitectura en Madrid," in which Luis Moya called on his colleagues to "learn from" El Escorial, using Herrera's composition techniques for "guidance" in order to attain a "truly imperial architecture, like that of ancient Rome."[73] Two years later, Muguruza opened an exhibition to show how the Directorate General of Architecture was providing the physical infrastructure for the new regime and managing to follow the stylistic directives of Giménez Caballero, especially with regard to civic buildings. The show was set in the Crystal Palace of Madrid's Retiro Park, and included a variety of housing projects for new villages but also civic and institutional buildings. Muguruza selected several of his own designs, such as the Valle de los Caidos and the expansions for the Prado Museum and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[74] The latter, shown with a model **[Fig.2.14]**, was an addition to the seventeenth century palazzo Santa Cruz Palace and was designed to mimic the original with a brick and granite courtyard building topped with pitched slate roofs, square towers in the corners, and a classical portico for the entrance. In this way, Muguruza preserved the rhetoric of Spanish classicism and, by completing the scheme of four towers, invoked the volumetric composition of El Escorial.[75]

The exhibition also included models for two Civil Government buildings in the cities of Pamplona and Las Palmas.[76] The Pamplona building was under construction at the outbreak of the war in 1936, following a design in bare brick. In 1939, the DGA took over construction and the

73 Op.cit in Moleón, *La Arquitectura oficial,* 12.

74 Works published in a special issue of *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura,* 10-11 (1942)

75 Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*, 121,125.

76 "La exposición de Reconstrucción de España" *Reconstrucción* 3 (1940), 12; "Exposición de Regiones Devastadas en Bilbao" *Reconstrucción* 14 (1941) 28-29; "La exposición de la reconstrucción en España," *Reconstrucción* 56 (1945): 237-252.

architects Jose Alzugaray and Luis Moya re-adapted the design to fit the new stylistic precepts. They added granite to the base and corners, a three-arch portico to the entrance, a two-floor high classic colonnade to the first floor balcony, a triangular front, and a slate pitched roof **[Fig.2.15]**.[77] The model for the Gobierno Civil in Las Palmas, by Eduardo Laforet, Manuel Valcorrea, and Antonio de Mesa, similarly showed a volume punctuated by an array of vertical windows and a three-bodied front portico **[Fig.2.16]**. The building was designed entirely in stone with arches framing the first floor balconies and a freestanding classic colonnade marking the entrance. In Las Palmas the roof was flat, however, and the façade was topped with a stone cornice with a relief of the Franquista emblem on its center.

The recourse to a straight cornice was not strictly Neo-Escurialense, as the style promoted by Giménez Caballero would eventually be known. But the flat roofline was still consistent with the fascist precepts of the Directorate General of Architecture. These were also put forward through another exhibition that opened simultaneously with, and across the street from, the DGA exhibition. On May 6′ 1942, Franco inaugurated both the DGA exhibition and the show "Modern German Architecture," which was open until May 26 in the Velazquez Palace in Retiro Park and later travelled to Barcelona.[78] The show was an international travelling exhibition sponsored by the German Ministries of Propaganda and the Exterior that served, in Spain at least, to showcase the "grandiose and profound sense of architecture" of the Third Reich.[79] The exhibition included highly elaborated models and large black and white photograps of significant Nazi projects, mostly by Albert Speer and

77 The architect of the first design was Javier Fernandez Golfin, who died during the war. The show exhibited a model of the design and construction finished in 1946, as reported to the Direccion General de Arquitectura. Documentation on Civil Government Nationla Plan, on Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, (AGA from here thereafter). A story of the construction of the Gobierno Civil in Plamplona in Joseba Asiron Saez , "España. Año Cero," *Noticias de Navarra*, November 3, 2013.

78 Josep Maria Garcia-Fuentes, "Neue deutsche baukunst / nueva arquitectura alemana" en Lisboa, Madrid y Barcelona, 1941-1942. Sobre la exposición, sus resonancias, y el viaje de Albert Speer a España," in *Viajes en la transición de la arquitectura española hacia la modernidad. Actas*, ed. by Jose Manuel Pozo (Pamplona, Ediciones T6), 387-396.

79 "'S.E El Jefe del Estado inauguro ayer la Gran Exposición de Arquitectura Moderna Alemana y la de trabajos de la Direccion General de Arquitectura," *ABC*, May 7, 1942, cover page and popular Journal *Foto.*

Paul Ludwig Troost, such as the Kunsthaus in Munich, the various public spaces in Nuremberg, the Berlin Chancellery, and the 1937 German Pavilion **[Fig.2.17]**. In this way, it was a display of the strict lines, monumental colonnades, and the bare classical orders that became a signature of the Third Reich, though it also included replicas of furniture and object designs from Hitler's personal offices. As it was put in the press at the time, the point was to understand how these were all "expressions of the Fuhrer's firm architectonic ideal" and by extension, works of political ideology.[80] To make the point, the catalogue of the exhibition opened with a picture of Hitler and Speer leaning over a drawing board **[Fig.2.18]**.[81]

While concurrent, the two shows were not meant to draw a comparison between the architectural productions of the two regimes. The gap between Germany's and Spain's scope of production and industrial means escape no one's notice. But the shows certainly aligned the aims toward architecture in the Third Reich with those of the DGA, establishing buildings as crucial instruments in the construction of a fascist and imperial state and in determining monumental classicism as the style proper for such a goal. As noted in the article that announced the two shows: "Germany and Italy today give enormous importance to architecture. In Spain also … there is an ambition that arises from the same political conception."[82]

Following these exhibitions, two architectural objects best furthered the on-going debate on Franquista style. One was in the form of a theory in the book, *Ensayo sobre las directrices de un estilo Imperial* written by architect Diego Reina and published in 1944. In this book, Reina provided an analysis of the architecture in terms of "the plastic expression of imperial styles."[83] For Reina, imperial styles included those that ought to serve as models for Franquismo, most particularly the

80 *ABC*, May 7, 1942, cover page
81 Albert Speer, coord, *Arquitectura Moderna Alemana,* catalogue of the exhibition in Spanish (1942), 2.
82 *ABC*, May 7, 1942, cover page
83 Diego de Reina, *Directrices Arquitectónicas de un Estilo Imperial* (Madrid: Ediciones Verdad, 1944), 10.

austere classicism of Nazi Germany, but also others that ought to serve as counterexamples **[Fig.2.19]**. Reina despised the rationalist phase of Fascist Italy as anti-nationalist, and he likewise condemned the modern architecture coming from the Soviet Union and the United States, where political values and modes of government were as despicable as their aesthetics. Locking in the Dorsian reciprocity of regimes of power and architectural forms, Reina called for a distinct, "current and Spanish interpretation of classicism."[84] He translated this into specific guidelines such as the recourse to "extraordinary sobriety," a profusion of straight lines, the quest for "noble" compositions based on central axiality and a tripartite façade (with base, central body, and cornice), and finally, the obsessive repetition of windows, which he specified should always be of the same dimensions.[85]

The second object was a building: the Air Force Ministry designed by Luis Gutiérrez Soto in 1943 and finished in 1954 in the Plaza Moncloa, in Madrid. A commission of the Directorate General of Architecture, the design of the Air Force Ministry underwent a series of transformations that traced the development on the style debate. The initial project of 1943 was, as described by Alexander Cirici, "one of the most faithful testimonies of the impact of Nazi architecture at the time," with a free-standing and bare Doric colonnade on the front, a severe stone horizontal cornice, and the open-wings emblem of aviation on top **[Fig.2.20]**.[86] After 1945, Gutiérrez Soto changed the design to adapt it to Reina's call for a national neo-classicism, and literally gave form to Giménez Caballeros's celebration of Herrera. As built, the Ministry cited El Escorial both in its typology and its aesthetics. A six-story rectangular building with two courtyards, Gutiérrez Soto designed taller square towers in each corner and substituted the horizontal cornice with black slate deep-pitched roofs **[Fig.2.21]**. Built in a concrete post-and-lintel structure with brick in-fill, the façade was clad with red brick, and granite for the base and corners **[Fig.2.22]**. A significant element was the "Honor Front," a

84 Reina, *Directrices Arquitectónicas*, 137.
85 Reina, *Directrices Arquitectónicas*, 138.
86 Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*,128-129.

full-height classical portico of four columns attached to the façade at its main entrance topped with the typical Neo-Escurialense front.[87] As in El Escorial and following Reina's precepts, a dense grid of vertical windows determined the façades, with the fenestrations stone-framed and separated 3.4 meters between window axes.

Alejandro de la Sota was hardly oblivious to this project or to the architectural apparatus of the regime and the debate on style and civic architecture. In the summer of 1942, a year after graduation, he had joined the Instituto Nacional de Colonización, a work I will return to in chapter four. He most likely visited the two DGA shows and he acquired the catalogue "Modern German Architecture," which he kept in his library. In 1945 he took a study trip to El Escorial, carefully photographing the building. Later, he sketched the Air Force Ministry during construction. His site study of the building illustrated the issue of *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* that published the Sesión Crítica that Carlos de Miguel dedicated to Soto's building, published in April 1951 **[Fig.2.23]**. Held among Soto, Miguel Fisac, Carlos de Miguel, Luis Moya, the historian and architect Fernando Chueca-Goitia, and Francisco Saénz de Oiza, the discussion in that meeting made it clear how well Soto's choices—the slate roof, the symmetry, the classical portico, the courtyard building—represented the collective zest for a Franquista style following the precepts that many within the DGA had so eagerly defended.

This discussion also revealed the degree to which the turn to national classicism was being questioned, especially for the purposes of a program with a certain modernizing ring to it. As Chueca put it in his detailed commentary to the project: "The historicist costume of the slate roof and these classic columns … hurt the expressive character of the building. Let us not forget that this is a Ministry of the Air Force, an extremely novel tool that in and by itself provokes ideas of progress and

87 Soto later claimed that he had designed this in conversation with German architect Paul Bonatz when he was in Madrid for the 1942 exhibition. "Responses. Sesión Critica de Arquitectua. Ministerio del Aire en Madrid," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XI-112 (1951), 42.

future."[88] Chueca's necessary relationship between image and program assumed a notion of architectural character whereby forms speak of, and construct the very characteristics of culture.[89] Chueca's comment led to an intriguing interpretation of the Air Force Ministry on the part of Sota. One of the drawings published in *RNA* were two small perspective volumetrics set side-by-side and with an airplane descending diagonally toward one of the buildings. The plane was both a marker of the building's program and a quintaessential signature of modernization in an architect's drawings. The sketch on the left showed the Air Ministry as built, with the towers, pointed roofs, and front; the one on the right stripped the building of its "historicist costume" and showed a simple orthogonal composition with vertical lines formed by stripped windows.

The photographs of Sota's trip to El Escorial, kept in his archives, speak of a similar ambition **[Fig.2.24]**. In one of them, for example, he framed the main façade of El Escorial diagonally, breaking the hierarchical horizontality of the monument in the search for a different dynamic in the composition. With these, Sota was drawing Chueca's concerns, namely, that of modernizing civic architecture by means of what Sota later defined as abstraction, that is, by means of cleaning the rhetoric and identifying the essence of the building. In looking for new and more abstract ways of learning from El Escorial, Sota was not alone. By 1954, the year Gutiérrez Soto's building was finished, the literal references to El Escorial were openly discredited. Giménez Caballero was one to criticize Gutiérrez Soto for having "limited" the design to copying the monument and "not having considered the new sensibilities of our times." [90] Giménez Caballero called for work that would rather "interpret" El Escorial through "allusions." Whatever this meant, the fact is that the campaign for a Spanish fascist style in terms of sixteenth century historicism had run its course. In the scholarship,

88 Fernando Chueca Goitia, "Keynote," in " Sesión Critica de Arquitectua. Ministerio del Aire en Madrid," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XI-112 (1951), 37.

89 I shall return to Chueca's version of d'Ors's Morphology of Culture in the next chapter.

90 Op cit. Carlos Ramos, *Construyendo la modernidad*, 143.

the swift disrepute of El Escorial has served to prove a dead end in the aesthetic project of Franquismo, suggesting the inability of architects to articulate a fascist style.[91] As was noted in the Introduction, critics eventually interpreted this as the inability of the regime to convincingly put forward a coherent ideology, where the "failure" of a coherent fascist style assumed the failure of Franquismo itself in ideological terms.

2.3 State in Control: Civil Government Building Plan, 1942-1953

I will however look at the work of the Directorate General of Architecture through another, less discussed but more ubiquitous project of civic architecture to identify a different trajectory in the politics of architecture and of its image; a trajectory wherein one can trace less the failure of the architecture of Franquismo—or of the Franquista project— than a redirection of the "discourse on style" away from classicism and toward the techniques of abstraction. This was the Civil Government National Buildings Plan, a multi-year project that occupied much of the DGA's production.[92] The aesthetic and discursive trajectory drawn in this plan signals this shift in the politics of architecture, and reveals how abstraction became inherent both to the civic architecture of Franquismo and to Franquismo itself. In the process, the conviction that buildings act as instruments of State building and that architectural form carries character—did not lose force.

The Plan was first made public in the DGA exhibition in 1942, with the inclusion of the Civil Government buildings for Las Palmas and Pamplona mentioned above. The Plan was a continuation of a program started by the last government of the Republic. After the Salmon Law of 1935, which promoted construction in housing and civic buildings for the purposes of reducing unemployment,

91 As noted in the introduction was the case of Carlos Sambricio in *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*.

92 I have found no reference to this building plan in the scholarship. The information of the plan is in Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares (hereafter AGA), signature: (04)078.000_ EBA41/0_26/15915_Ministerio de la Gobernacion-Ministerio de Vivienda_DG Regiones Devastadas-Dg Arquitectura y Urbanismo_ Expedientes de Obras de Gobiernos Civiles (EBA)

the Republic had begun construction of several civic buildings across the country that included several Civil Government buildings. The Salmon Law had favored not only a "modernizing" approach to the design of new buildings, but also the fragmentation of public programs so that several administrative and official functions could merge under one roof.[93] The objective of the DGA Plan was to "remedy" this fragmentation, which resulted in the "representation of the Central Government" in the provinces having "consistently suffered the consequences of a categorically inferior official home" in comparison to other civic functions.[94] The Plan thus aimed at "unifying the diverse conditions" of the Civil Government buildings across the country, giving each and every one of the fifty provinces a singular edifice for the Civil Government. Ultimately, these buildings bore the task of being in "harmony" with one another, and more importantly, "with the decency and the dignity that the representation of the Government in the provinces demands."[95]

For this purpose, first it was necessary to undertake research on the existing facilities from across the country. The first records of the Plan produced in November of 1941 by the Buildings Section of the DGA, list the Gobierno Civil facilities in all of the provinces. A series of handwritten and thoroughly revised charts detailed whether the Gobierno Civil of a particular province occupied a building in itself or joined other administrative functions; whether the building was State owned or rented; and whether it was in good condition or in need of renovation or new construction.[96] The majority of the Gobierno Civiles occupied rented buildings and many shared them with other institutions. In seven of the fifty provinces, the Gobierno Civil shared space with the local branch of Finance, known as the Delegación de Hacienda (Finance Headquarters), and in many others it shared

93 Carlos Sambrcio and Raquel Muñoz, "La Ley Salmon de 1935 y el Madrid de la Segunda República," *Ilustración de Madrid* 9 (2008), 32. "Ley del Paro," July 25th 1935, popularly referred to as Salmon Law for its proponent, Ministry of Labor during those years of the II Republic Federico Salmon.

94 *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 10 (1942), 31.

95 Luis de Villanueva, "Mejora de los Edificios destinados a Gobiernos Civiles," May 22, 1947, in AGA, signature: (04)078.000_EBA43/0_26/15918

96 "Estado Actual de los Gobiernos Civiles" November 25, 1941, in AGA, signature: (04)078.000_EBA43/0_26/15918

its space with the City Hall or the Falange party quarters. The merger of official functions occurred not only in historical buildings but also in most of the new civic buildings then under construction. Some Gobiernos Civiles even had their functions fragmented into different buildings throughout the city.

This infrastructural fragmentation of the Gobiernos Civiles resulted, in the eyes of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the "complete lack of a representative condition" for the State, which ultimately lacked an identifiable image and the physical space to function across the country.[97] With the Plan, the DGA looked to mitigate the deficiency in space for government. The preliminary studies for the Plan ranked each of the fifty capital cities according to the conditions of their Gobierno Civil facilities. There, it was deemed that all of the provincial capital cities required some reform or extension to their building; only six cities had "admissible" buildings; the majority of the cities, 23 in total, had "inadmissible" buildings "in urgent need of substitution;" while the other 21 had "inadmissible" buildings, but with "lesser urgency for substitution."[98] This collection of data was followed by a construction plan that began by finishing up the buildings already under construction at the outbreak of the war. When this was the case, as in Pamplona, it was considered essential to "readjust" the design in order to conform it to the "new programmatic necessities and the architectonic criteria of the DGA." As described above, this criterion related to the classic stone revetment, the battery of vertical windows, and the arcaded or classic entrance portico. Despite the clear imposition of architectural language in official buildings, stylistic dictates were not made explicit by the DGA when it came to defining the Plan. The report noted these buildings were key to exercising the "representational and governing" functions of the State's authority, but for the most part put the emphasis on the latter.

97 Untitled typewritten document, Ministerio de la Gobernacion, DGA, June 1946, s/f, with reference to the Salmon Law. AGA,signature (04)078.000_EBA43/0_26/15918.

98 "Clasificacion de los Edificios al hacerse cargo la Direccion Gral de Arquitectua," January 1949, AGA, signature: (04)078.000_EBA43/0_26/15918.

The role that these buildings played in the governing apparatus of Franquismo was hardly overstated. The basic governmental structure of the regime was that of central authoritarian power and peripheral administration. And the Civil Government was the institution in charge of providing the policing infrastructure for the authority of the State throughout the country. Until the late 1950s, the government lacked a clear executive coordination and institutional form, other than Franco's presiding over cabinet meetings. His balancing of political families was established on an ad hoc basis, and the ways in which the various factions of the government and the Ministries were administered and related to each other remained loosely defined. In the absence of a stronger legal framework, the Ministry of the Interior held central power. Its tasks were mainly those of "maintaining law and order, controlling the police, supervising local administration, and a variety of functions affecting the country's economic and social development."[99] Historian Raymond Carr has noted how in Franco's early State of force, power was exerted through military and police repression, censorship, and also administrative control. The latter amounted to intimidation through the administration itself, as in the control over documents such as driver's or construction licenses, passports, and professional permits. As is the case in every authoritarian regime, this was a very effective form of social control, if latent and less drastic than violence.[100]

It was precisely the Civil Government whose task it was to administer and police society at the local level. With the National Plan then, the DGA looked to furnish the institution accordingly, and provide for the built apparatus from which Governors could exercise their authority. For this purpose, it was deemed essential that the buildings be developed in a "harmonious" and "unifying" manner, and that the Civil Governments conformed a coherent building network. The DGA thus established a series of design and program guidelines that were aimed at defining anew the typology

99 Casanova, *The Ethics of Opus Dei and the Modernization of Spain*, 295.
100 Raymond Carr, *Modern Spain*, 1875-1980 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 46.

of the Civil Government building, what were termed the type's "theoretical characteristics."[101] These were divided into four: Program, Character, Location, and Composition. The first and most significant of the four sections was Program, which the report called for reducing to the "specific" services of the Government, namely, those that implemented administrative and policing functions. The program was limited to five areas: offices for administrative public functions; space for the police precinct; offices and reception spaces for the Governor and Secretary General; housing for both, as well as for subordinates and the occasional official guest; and parking and other building services.

The point of stripping the building to its programmatic essentials related to the need for institutional autonomy. The report noted that establishing relationships with any other service or business in the region might curtail the Governor's authority, which the building should therefore facilitate.[102] The section on character emphasized this call for autonomy. There, it was noted that buildings ought to project their "inherent representational value," as the space where the "maximum authority of the region both resides and is effected." But the local administration should also clearly establish how the "nature and responsibility of its actions demands maximum independence for the spaces destined to its services."[103] The report was not very clear on how autonomy ought to be defined other than by choosing sites that allowed for free-standing structures. Also, the building should be located "in the most dignifying area of the city."[104] The section on Composition recommended that the different parts of the program be considered differently—from the more public administrative offices and police areas, to the semi-private Governor's quarter, to the private residences, treating "each one according to its particular character" and attending to "hierarchy."[105]

101 Luis Villanueva, "Mejora de los edificios destinados a gobiernos civiles," various typewritten versions between 1946 and 1953. The account here corresponds to May 22, 1947, 1. AGA, signature (04)078.000_EBA43/0_26/15918.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid,3
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.

The report closed with recommendations for a "typical" distribution of a Government Civil building in three floors: the first floor would house the most public spaces, including police and administrative offices; the second and "noble" floor would be destined for purposes of higher official ranking, and would include the offices of the Governor and reception areas; and the third floor would be dedicated to housing.[106] The Gobierno Civil in Santander, in the north of Spain, responded to these guidelines *avant la letter* **[Fig.2.25]**. Santander had ranked at the bottom of the DGA list in 1939, and in 1941 a site became available in a new plaza that was to serve as a center for civic buildings.[107] The DGA commissioned architect Rafael Huidobro to design a new Civil Government building, which was to be built across the street from a new building for the Delegación de Hacienda, again, the provincial branch of the Ministry of Finance. A picture of the building was published in RNA in 1948 alongside a brief on the project that described how the two institutions, which had often shared buildings elsewhere but had distinct governmental functions, ought to be autonomous from each other, but also relate to each other in both urban and stylistic terms. These terms followed the language and type of the classic palazzo, a courtyard square building constructed entirely in stone, with a regular array of vertical windows, a pitched roof, and a relief of the Franquista emblem presiding on its central axis atop.

With regards to program, Huidobro established the five main functions of the Gobierno Civil along the lines noted above, and stacked them in four plans according to level of public access. On the first two floors, he located the offices expected to have the most circulation, such as the Police Station, services for processing identification documents, permits, and passports, and other agencies of civic policing, including the "criminal and social brigades." The third floor housed the Governor's and the Deputy's offices and reception halls, and the fourth floor their residences. An attic

106 Ibid, 4.

107 "Gobierno Civil," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 76 (1948): 125.

underneath the pitched roof housed three apartments for the staff. While somewhat concealing the specifics of this distribution, the levels of privacy were made evident to the outside by way of the materials and tri-partite composition of the facade. The first, public floor was differentiated through fluted stone, while the residential use at the top was defined by triangular fronts topping the windows under the roof.

A contemporaneous design for the Gobierno Civil in Murcia, by Miguel Fisac and Daniel Carbonell Ruiz, followed a similar program **[Fig.2.26]**. A four-floor courtyard structure, it distributed the program according to levels of privacy. The public offices were located at street level, opening to the courtyard and including rooms for the processing of documentation, as well police headquarters and other policing services such as the "Service for Social Hygiene," the implication fo which I will discuss in Chapter four. The floor above served the Governor's representational functions with his and the Deputy's offices and a large reception hall that opened onto the street through a grand central balcony. The floor above was destined for private residences. The architects provided an independent access hub for the Governor, connecting his residence with the office floor and a private entrance at street level, different from the public entrance. In their description of the project, Fisac and Carbonell focused on the functioning of the building and the circulation systems, dwelling little on their linguistic choices. They simply claimed to give a "modern meaning" to the problem of the "administrative palace."[108]

This was the period when Fisac was designing the CSIC compound, as seen in the previous chapter, and aspects of the Murcia Civil Government Building can certainly be traced to the Central Building of 1943. His Gobierno Civil, as his other designs at CSIC, followed the stylistic precepts of classicism, which although not made explicit in the DGA guidelines, nevertheless pervaded civic architecture. With a base and corners in granite and the main body of the building in bare red brick,

108 "Anteproyecto de Palacio Provincial y Gobierno Civil en Murcia," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VIII-75 (1948): 91-94.

the outside of the Murcia Civil Government Building was defined by a battery of vertical windows, a horizontal cornice in stone, a three-body archway for the entrance, and a freestanding Doric colonnade framing the second-floor official balcony. In the CSIC, he basically followed the same composition but gradually refined the use of the stone around the openings. As fine a representation of official architecture as the Murcia design was, in the terms defended by Moya, Muguruza, and others, the project was never built, possibly because it still merged the Gobierno Civil with the Town Hall, thus failing in the autonomy principle that was so essential to the Plan.

Once program and distribution were determined in these reports, the Directorate General of Architecture moved on with the Plan as funds and sites became available. Depending on the circumstances of each city, the DGA either acquired existing buildings that were then renovated or, preferably, commissioned new buildings. According to an internal report on the progress of the program, by the summer of 1946 the DGA had worked on thirty-four of the fifty provinces: five new Gobierno Civiles had been completed, as was the case with the one in Pamplona; eleven were under construction, such as in Santander; and eleven more were designed and pending budget approval to begin construction. In seven other provinces, the DGA had opted for adjusting existing buildings and was undergoing renovations.[109] A year later, it had completed ten new buildings, finished renovation in six others, fifteen new buildings were under construction, two undergoing renovations, and only four new buildings were awaiting approval **[Fig.2.27]**. Muguruza retained his post until 1949, when Francisco Prieto Moreno was appointed Director and under whom the program only continued to expand.[110] By the summer of 1953, the DGA had grown the program to cover forty-three provinces,

109 The pace of construction varied from province to province and generally slowed down after 1946, see documents on *Plan Nacional de Gobiernos Civiles*, Ministerio de la Gobernacion, AGA, signature (04)078.000_EBA43/0_26/15918.

110 Prieto Moreno was an architect who, like Muguruza, was also close to the political elites. He had been Jefe Provincial (Provincial Director) of the Falange in Granada while serving as the Head Curator and Conservator of the Alhambra and, most significantly for the purposes of the Civil Government Buildings National Plan, he was also Governor of Malaga for a brief period in 1939. Like Muguruza, and even more directly engaged with the government elites, Prieto Moreno belonged to the group of architect-politicians who worked simultaneously within the government and in design, as was also the case

although only two more new buildings had been completed, for a total of twelve, and five new were being built, for a total of ten construction sites. Seven were projected but pending budget or design approval, and the rest were renovation projects. The projects were always managed internally and commissioned for architects working for the Buildings Section of the Directorate based in Madrid, who teamed up with local architects for the construction phase.[111] As promoter, the DGA also partnered with other official organisms active in the region, such as the Directorate General of Devastated Regions and the local City Hall. The director of the DGA would visit the sites alongside the pertinent Governor to manage the works and at times adjust design decisions.

By 1953, only six of the forty-four provinces that had been considered to have an "inadmissible" Civil Government building had not yet been addressed, including the one in Tarragona. There are few official records on the Plan after 1953, but it did not completely die under Prieto Moreno. On August 8, 1955, the Directorate launched its first design competition for the Plan: the one for the new Civil Government building in Tarragona.[112] The competition was a response to a site made available to the Ministry of the Interior by Tarragona's City Hall following the city expansion toward the north.[113] Circular in shape for purposes of traffic, the sites around Plaza Tarraco were wedged-shaped and at the time of the competition, were far from consolidated as an urban area, with only a Romanesque church and a modernist office building standing nearby **[Fig.2.28]**. The urban code for the plaza prescribed a building height of 21 meters plus attic; limited the length of the main façade to between 20 and 30 meters; and required the use of natural stone in

---

of the Head of Falange and later Ministry of Housing, Jose Luis Arrese. A comprehensive history of these figures is long overdue and, as much as they clearly effected the politics of architecture of the time, such a history is out of the scope of this dissertation. The only attempt, to my knowledge, to discuss these figures collectively is the recent articles by Victor Pérez-Escolano, "La arquitectura española del segundo franquismo y el "Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura", 1946-1957,"*RA: revista de arquitectura* 16 (2014): 25-40; and "Arquitectura y política en España a través del Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1946-1957," *RA: revista de arquitectura* 15 (2013): 35-46.

111 Villanueva, "Mejora de los edificios destinados a gobiernos civiles," 7

112 *BOE 228,* August 15, 1956, 5544.

113 Juan Antonio Cortés, *Gobierno Civil de Tarragona, 1957-1964* (Almeria: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 2006), 7.

the bottom part of the facade and "noble materials" elsewhere.[114] Sota knew of the site, the urban code, and the competition well before they were publically announced, and was even involved in defining the terms of the latter. A report in March 1955 informed Sota of the conditions of the site, and a document for the competition's criteria in the architect's archive shows handwritten edits by Sota proposing "modifications" to the text.[115]

Fifteen teams entered the competition and the jury met to deliberate on the winner during three days in mid-February of 1956. In the end, DGA Director Prieto-Moreno led the jury, which also included then-Governor of Tarragona José Gonzalez-Sama.[116] Conspicuously absent were representatives of the local administration, who remained uninformed of the project and its development during the course of construction.[117] That is, the commissioning process was directed by, and thus reflected the intentions of, representatives of the central government. Sota's design was selected as a winner unanimously, and under the argument that "its modern lines correspond to the architectonic concerns of our epoch."[118]

2.4 Headquarters Competitions, 1952-1956: Ideas for a New Administration

When understood merely within the development of the Civil Government National Plan, the Tarragona competition does in fact appear as an oddity, as an idiosyncratic interpretation of the

114 "Concurso de Ante-Poryectos de Gobierno Civil. Tarrgona," typewrittn note in Archivo Sota, approved on May 11, 1954.

115 Letter from Pedro Bigador to Alejandro de la Sota, March 1, 1955, in Archivo Sota. The draft of the competition brief was probably circulated by the Directorate Generla of Architecture early in the summer of 1956, and most likely to others as well. Sota's suggestions had mostly to do with the logistics of the competition and included commentaries on the project's budget, which Sota lowered, specifics on the documents competitors ought to present, including his proposal to forbid the use of models, and advice on the selection of jury membersand not the requirements of the design. These reveal in any case the close connection he had with the Directorate General of Architecture

116 Sota had proposed the Governor as Vice-President of the competition jury as well as a representative of the Ministry of the Interior as president. The remaining jury members belonged to the DGA and other regional institutions, such as Antonio Perpiñá, Luis de Villanueva, Jose Maria Monrava and Roberto Terrades, who was a professor at the Barcelona School of Architecture. *Diario Español*, February 22, 1957, 11.

117 Letters from Alcaldia de Tarragona to Direccion General de Architectura, May 25, 1959 and March 2, 1960, in Archivo Sota.

118 *Diario Español* February 22 1957, 11 and February 27, 1957, 2; See also Cortes, *Gobierno Civil*, 8

type. But to fully comprehend the implications of the detours taken by the Directorate General of Architecture in 1956 into a "modern" language for a Civil Government building and into the competition as format of commission, Sota's building must be inserted within another official design program, run by a different organism and for a slightly different typology of civic buildings but still closely related to the Gobierno Civil Building Plan. The Ministry of Finance had been regularly launching design competitions for the buildings that would house its provincial headquarters, the so-called Delegaciónes de Hacienda. As noted above, Gobierno Civil often shared edifice in provincial capital cities with Delegación de Hacienda, so that as the former were relocated throughout the country, so were the latter. In the 1940s, the Ministry of Finance had ordered the design of a few new Delegaciones through direct commission, including a 1943 project for the city of Guadalajara, assigned to Sota, that was never built, and a competition for Alicante in 1944 built in strict accordance with the then-current Neo-Escurialense trend.[119] As was the case in Santander, the new Gobierno Civil and Delegación de Hacienda buildings were often relocated in nearby sites and as part of the official hub of cities.

Beginning in 1952, Finance began a routine design competition campaign for its building expansion. The involvement of the Directorate General of Architecture in these competitions was not as direct as in the case of the Gobierno Civil National Plan, in the sense that the DGA was not the commissioner but it still supervised the projects and an architect from the Directorate was always appointed to the jury. By the time the DGA launched the Tarragona competition for the Gobierno Civil, Finance had promoted *c*ompetitions for Delegaciónes de Hacienda in Logroño (1951-52), Valencia (1952), Tarragona (1953), Gerona (1954), Leon (1955), La Coruña (1955), and Las Palmas (1956).[120] These competitions not only are useful in tracing the emergence of a narrative on

119 Archivo Sota, project reference number 43-B. Not graphic documents are yet available in the archive.

120 The competitions were summoned by the General Directorship for Territorial Properties and Contributions of the Ministry of Finance and regularly announced in *Boletin Oficial del Estado* (State Official Bulletin, hereafter BOE). Other

technological advance, rationalism, and efficiency for the purposes of government buildings. They also reveal Sota's engagement within this process, as he was a regular participant, entering the ones in Valencia, Tarragona, Gerona, and La Coruña, and later also in the competition for San Sebastian in 1957.

A crucial referent for adopting the competition as a means of commissioning official buildings, and it opening up a new architectural language, was the 1949 competition for the central headquarters of the Trade Union Organization Building, also known as Casa Sindical, in Madrid. This institution was the only legal labor organization during Franquismo; membership was virtually compulsory for all workers and was dependant on Falange and its social policies. The competition was organized by Obra Sindical del Hogar y la Arquitectura (OSHA), the architectural organizations most directly related to Falange. The building that resulted from the competition, by architects Cabrero and Aburto (whom we encountered in the previous chapter as the designers of the San Lorenzo Cathedral), has been generally regarded as the "origin" of the return of modernist architecture in Spain **[Fig.2.29]**.[121] The complex, in the Madrid city-center was dominated by a sixteen-story high building, a strict cube built in exposed red brick with a flushed and flat concrete cornice and defined by a grid of large, recessed openings. Explicit in its reference to Italian rationalism, which Cabrero had studied first-hand in his travels across Italy, the building was evocative of Spanish classicism by means of its symmetry, sheer monumentality, and use of stripped granite in the archway base of the cube and also cladding the ancillary lower buildings **[Fig.2.34]**.

---

competitions included Delegaciones de Hacienda in San Sebastian (1957) and Malaga (1966). The building program of Delegaciones de Hacienda has not been accounted for comprehensively in the scholarship. Here, I only focus on those competitions that preceded the one for the Civil Government building in Tarragona and the administrative changes in the government that were launched in 1956, as I interpret them a preconceiving these changesthrough the language of architecture, as well as Sota's design.

121 Ruiz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain*, 15. To my knowledge, only Josep Maria Rovira has argued for the political dimension of the building in both its programmatic composition and aesthetics, as intrinsically related to the very methods of workers organization and labour control of the Syndicate, in "El edifico de la Delegación Nacional de Sindicatos" *DC. Revista de Crítica Arquitectónica* 5-6 (2001): 149-63.

Casa Sindical was under construction and very much a reference point for architects when Finance launched its competition campaign. As was the case with the commission for the Gobierno Civil in Tarragona a few years later, these were competitions for *Anteproyectos,* or draft designs. This meant that the competition operated at the level of ideas, and so the commissioner was not bound to the commission of the project. Despite their preliminary nature, the competitions asked for fully designed floor plans and elevations for which Finance provided general program guidelines, a site, and information on the applicable municipal building code. As competitions, they were not limited to those working for the official institutions. In this way, the participants were to work on the projects independently, in the space of their own design practices. The setting allowed them a certain distance from official directives on style and typology, whether these were made explicit or not. The series also allowed a certain collective conversation on the theme of the official building, since all proposals were exhibited for a few days following the jury decisions and the winners were also published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*.

The guidelines for the Finance competitions were published in the Official State Bulletin (BOE), they were always the same and emphasis placed on program and character. For the Delegaciónes de Hacienda competitions, it was stressed that the buildings ought to combine the functions and character of an office building, which was thus destined to the "efficient execution" of administrative functions, and a State building, in need of proper architectural representation. With regard to the efficient functioning and program, the competition specifically asked the entrant to make clear the "way of functioning and circulation" of the building, and also to "clearly indicate the building's use as a State public office."[122] The dichotomy between office and representative building became the main idea running through the narrative of the many designs submitted over the course

122 This can be inferred from the official announcements published in the *Boletin Oficial del Estado* (State Official Bulletin, BOE), which all used the exact same narrative, and of the narrative that architects deployed in their projects. The first one of which I located the BOE announcenment is for "Delegacion de Hacienda in Tarragona*," BOE*, June 30, 1953, 3939. The ones thereafter copy the same text.

of these years. The guidelines were, however, vague in determining how this dichotomy should be resolved. This resulted in a variegated set of responses in the following years that trace a development on the aesthetic and technical terms.

The first of Finance's competition was for Logroño, north of Spain, and which winning entry by architects Manuel Romero Aguirre and Jose Romero Aguirre raised many of these ideas and a typology that would be consistently discussed and manipulated in the competitions ahead. The main challenge was addressing the double character of the building as both representative—an "emblematic building of the central State"—and functional, as it was to serve as an office building. For the latter, the architects looked to make the access and communication between the various areas of the building "straightforward, simple, comfortable," and thus they minimized corridors by means of a covered central hall around which working spaces were disposed. The offices were organized around this central hub **[Fig.2.30]**, with those destined to serve the general public set on the ground floor, while the remaining offices were distributed among the upper floors according to levels of privacy, as had been the case for several years with the Gobiernos Civiles. A grand set of stairs off the hall allowed for a single vertical access point that was to be easily visible and accessible. With this, they aimed at "great organizational clarity and open distribution" so to make the administrative functions performed in the building just as legible.

Efficiency of function was the primary concern in their narrative of the project. As they wrote: "One must remember that the feeling—what could be defined as psychosis—that people suffer by the aversion they experiment when visiting most of our public offices and as a consequence of the complication that forces them to walk through corridors, where they often get lost."[123] In this way, the design retained the spatial composition of the courtyard building traditionally used in civic buildings, and updated it for the purposes of administrative functions by means of the covered

123 "Concurso de Edificio para Delegación de Hacienda. Logroño," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura,* VIII (1952):6.

central hall. The logic of the function and the clarity of program found its aesthetic counterpart in a bare and stripped down exterior of rectangular lines and few ornamental additions, clearly reminiscent of Cabrero and Aburto's Casa Sindical **[Fig.2.31]**.[124]

Entries to subsequent competitions invariably retained the courtyard-turned-hall building type and the narratives of clarity and functionalism when it came to discussing program distribution and plans. On the outside, the physiognomy of the Delegación de Hacienda continued to resemble either that of the Casa Sindical or the classic Palazzo that were typical of the Gobiernos Civiles. The entries by Aburto in Valencia (second prize), by Jose Picardo in Gerona (second prize), by Carlos Carmona in Leon (first prize), and by Carlos Sobrini in Las Palmas (first prize) were homogeneous and strict brick- or stone-clad volumes **[Fig.2.32]**. In all, unframed same-size fenestrations dominated the façade in dense grids, also becoming gradually more recessed and related to the building's structural system **[Fig.2.33]**. Perspective drawings by Picardo for Gerona, for instance, show how the hall was thought of as a dynamic double-height space surrounded by open offices, where officials and the public go on with business in a well- functioning interior of clean lines, clerestory lighting, and open views **[Fig.2.34]**. An overall look at the various entries point to the disjuncture between inside and outside, a tension wherein the interior was argued for and designed in terms of efficiency, proper lighting, a suitable organization of the offices and circulation, and a modern, aseptic aesthetic that clashed with the façades. This was clearly the case with the winning entries of Tarragona, by Antonio Arroyo, and Gerona, by Carlos Sobrini, both characterized by classic stone porticoes and tripartite hierarchical compositions**.**

Sota first entered the competition series with a design for Valencia in 1952.[125] His drawings for the project reveal that his starting point was anchored in an austere neoclassical composition of

124 As marker of its official function, a square slender tower with a flat roof stood in one corner of the site and a double height slender colonnade marked the entrance. Ibid., 6-10.

German influence **[Fig.2.35]**. For the main façade, he began by proposing a rectangular volume with a tripartite composition of an archway with a marble base, a center part in white granite, a battery of vertical windows, and a horizontal concrete cornice. Symmetrical and with a centered access, Sota placed the obligatory State emblem on axis and on the cornice. He drew this stone façade repeatedly and—at one point quite literally—presented it as the face of State power in its policing dimension. Behind this façade, he let unfold a rather functionally driven and open program, as he placed the offices around a four-floor high covered hall. At least one point of the design process, he resolved the side façade that gave access to this central space through a glass wall. Sota also worked with an alternative design that placed the entrance to the side, thus throwing the representational façade off its axis. In doing so, he allowed the rest of the façade to become a neutral and gridded skin.

His entry for Valencia was fruitless, but his next proposal for the Delegación de Hacienda in Tarragona in 1953, took off from where he had left off and he developed a scheme of a central hall and cornered access **[Fig.2.36]**.[126] Markedly assymetrical, this solution was rather apt for the given site, a rectangular lot in the city center that necessitated with entrance on the cross-street. Looking to avoid recourse to a chamfer, Sota devised a composition wherein the front of the building was lower and cut short on one side. In this way, the building read as two distinct volumes that also represented two different functions: the front lower volume housed the offices with public access, while the higher one was dedicated to the offices of higher hierarchy and the residences of the Delegado. Sota further differentiated the two volumes by giving them distinct cladding materials and treatment for the fenestrations: the front one was clad in brick with stripped vertical windows, while

125 *BOE* August 12, 1952, and "Concurso de edificio para delegación de hacienda en Valencia," *RNA* 142 (1953):6-10. Sota's design was not published. My account of the project results from partial sketches of his proposal in Archivo Sota, project reference number 52G.

126 *BOE*, June 30, 1953,3939; and "Concurso de edificio para delegación de hacienda en Tarragona," *RNA* 149 (1954):19-22. Also preparatory drawings in Archivo Sota, project reference number 55X.

the back volume was clad in stone and showcased the more typical matrix of rectangular windows.[127] The design thus points to a crucial double dialectic in Sota's designs of civic buildings, where the stone and glass contradistinction runs parallel to the double function of the buildings as representational and the administrative. Initially relating glass with office functions and stone with representation, Sota's evolution in the Finance Headquarters competitions must be seen as an obsessive exploration of these material to function dialectics.

Sota never let go of idea that civic buildings ought to manifest and speak the language of their function, the point Chueca Goitia had made about the Ministry of Air in the spring of 1951. In the case of Finance Headquarters, the function was in fact double and thus Sota looked for ways to differentiate them by means of volumetric and material treatment. For the 1953 Tarragona Delegación de Hacienda, he drew a series of preparatory sketches that show him exploring different façade combinations, going from two designs where both volumes were brick- or stone-clad and the openings all rectangular and equal, to an option where the front volume was stone-clad with typical windows and the back volume was gridded in a neutral facade evocative of a curtain wall **[Fig.2.37]**. The final solution inverted this model and set the stone—the chosen marker of the representational function—in the back. Not willing to entirely give up on a glass wall but not quite ready to bring it to the main façade, Sota opened up the back of the building to let light flow through the three-floor high center hall. This well-lit and open space was intended to organize the administrative activities and circulation around it and in ways that made its functioning legible and straightforward. He represented this idea in an interior perspective of the hall **[Fig.2.38]**. While the winning and built entry by Antonio Arroyo displayed a full-height classic front in the chamfer, Sota's design received first prize e*x-aequo*, an intriguing choice that reveals a certain turn within Finance.

127 Neither of the volumes showcased classic ornamentations or the typical tripartite composition, as they lacked a cornice and the entrance was almost hidden at the intersection of the two volumes.

By then, Sota had become increasingly interested in taking part in the country's expanding infrastructure of civic buildings and was an outspoken promoter of the competition as a means to advance their design. In the summer of 1953, Carlos de Miguel published a "Letter to the Editor" by Sota in which he called for more transparency in the process of designing and commissioning state architecture. By referencing the competitions series of the Ministry of Finance, Sota asked to expand the model to other public institutions as a way to give architects autonomy in the design process, "correct" the status of civic architecture, and collectively work toward "quality architecture."[128] His next competition entry was in fact for a slightly different, albeit related, official program: that of the 1954 Diputación Provincial in La Coruña **[Fig.2.39]**. In it, Sota fully embraced what he called "volumetric play" to structure the distinct functions and make them legible to the outside. As he had done before, he distinguished two volumes, with the purpose of "conjugating the parts" of representation and "technical offices."[129] Inverting his composition from the previous competition, here he located the administrative offices in the taller volume and the more formal spaces of the provincial president and his residence in the lower front. Sota did not choose the term "conjugate" lightly, for one of his main concerns was about the ability of these buildings to signify and perform like a language. He clung to the belief that the architecture of the State should express a "perfectly clear character, well-defined to the outside."[130]

The challenge, again, with regards the character of the building pertained the conjunction of two functions, namely, a representative building and home to "technical administration." In his description of the project, Sota recalled the UN building in New York and UNESCO in Paris as buildings that reconciled this double nature by means of the curtain wall. He knew the UN building

128 Alejandro de la Sota, "Cartas al director," *RNA* 138 (1953): 12. This must have been a transcription of a letter Sota sent possibly to Prieto Moreno, of which Carlos de Miguel got hold of. It was customary of De Miguel to ask for private correspondence among architects to include in the "letters to the editor" section.

129 Alejandro de la Sota, "Palacio Provincial para La Coruña," typewritten document, May 1955, Archivo Sota, project reference number 54A. See also *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 172 (1956)

130 Ibid.

well, as the project had stirred much attention in Spain as elsewhere, and had inaugurated Carlos de Miguel's Sesión Crítica series. The first was held in October of 1950, preceding the one on the Airforce Ministry by Luis Gutierrez Soto discussed above, and was dedicated to the UN building then under construction in New York **[Fig.2.40]**. In it, Luis Moya scrutinized the project meticulously only to conclude its curtain wall lacked hierarchy and "gravity" and was fatally designed by and for "electronic brains."[131] Still, the building was carefully described and later published in the RNA, where it was acknowledged as a crucial referent of contemporary civic architecture.

While only timidly elongating the windows of the Airforce Ministry in his sketches of the building in 1951, by 1954 and in his design for the Delegación de Hacienda in La Coruña, Sota began to espouse the language and techniques of the slab, as manifest in a picture of the model that he took and as he proposed stripped windows for the office volume, extending the fenestrations around the perimeter of the tower **[Fig.2.41]**. Sota designed the front lower volume heavier, clad in stone and with irregularly distributed recessed windows. He located the entry off-center, marked by a deep opening. Sota broke the window pattern of the smaller volume at two points with deep openings, set in square cantilevered cubicles that served as balconies. The elementarist disposition of the volumes and openings, and the overall abstract nature of the design did not go unnoticed in the reception of the competition, and a local critic deemed Sota's design a "formalist preoccupation of modernity."[132]

Whether Sota took note of this commentary or not, the fact is that for his next competition, when he retuned to designing a Delegación de Hacienda also in La Coruña, he began to look for ways to integrate the two languages into one. And he found a way to do so by fully embracing the building technology and aesthetics of steel construction—the curtain wall—that he had brought up in his description of the Palacio Provincial. This competition was launched on June of 1955 and it marks a

131 Luis Moya, "Keynote" in "Sesion Crítica de Arquitectura. El Edificio de la Naciones Unidas en Nueva York" *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 109 (1951): 21-22.

132 "Los Proyectos para el Edificion de la Diputacion Provincial," unidentified press clipping, in Archivo Sota.

definite turning point in the development of Franquista civic architecture.[133] In this occasion, Sota teamed up with the architects Antonio Tenreiro and Ramón Vazquez Molezún. Active in the conversations on religious architecture, Molezún was also eagerly participating in the development of new building technologies and languages in the field of exhibition architecture, and we will encounter him in detail in the next chapter. The design for the Delegación de Hacienda in Coruña took up Sota's previous volumetric composition with a higher back volume, a smaller front one, and a three-floor high interior hall that organized the public functions **[Fig.2.42]**. In this case the building was resolved homogenously in terms of both enclosure and structure by means of a 5.90m by 5.90 m. module, designed as a post-and-lintel steel structure **[Fig.2.43]**. Office spaces ranged from open plans, mostly on the first and second floors, destined for bureaucratic procedures requiring busy public access, to smaller cubicles that occupied half a module on the higher floors **[Fig.2.44]**. The architects wrote of the rigorous modularity as allowing for "open and light" solutions, as well as "flexibility" in the distribution and program definition. They deemed these aspects—flexibility, openness, and lightness—as essential to "public buildings of this type," which should be approached in "simple and clear" terms.[134] The curtain wall enveloped both bodies of the building and provided coherence to the whole **[Fig.2.45]**. The façade can be described as an example of what *Architectural Review* at one point defined as a grid curtain wall, meaning that both vertical and horizontal structural elements are equally presented to the outside, in addition to the vertical T-profiles that hold the enclosure panels.

In many ways, the curtain wall correlated the previously discussed character of the building by displaying the notions of efficiency, openness, clarity, and straightforward functioning of the building also on the outside. As a no-clad solution, the very nature of the curtain wall is to reveal its

133 *BOE* 166, June 15, 1955, 3592. Winning project published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 172 (1956): 7-12

134 *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 172 (1956):7. On the impact of Mies in Sota's architecture see Miguel Angel Baldellou, *Alejandro de la Sota* (Madrid: Area de Gobierno de Urbanismo, Viviendas e Infraestructuras, 2006), 133.

building technology and the structure of the building that it encloses. In so doing, it also suggests rationalization, efficiency, and transparency to the outside world. This was certainly how the curtain wall was perceived in Spain as leading to buildings of "mathematical rigor," as critic José Camón Aznar put it.[135] In their embrace of this technique and of modular design more broadly, the architects were certainly responding to the architecture section of the exhibition "Modern Art in the US," a travelling exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art promoted by the National Service of Fine Arts that included, among others, Mies van der Rohe's Lake Shore Drive apartment buildings. In their interpretation however, Sota, Corrales and Tenreiro did not entirely give in to the "international" and "extroverted" nature of the glass-enclosed office building.[136] For the architects did not fully dispose of stone. Within the steel T-profiles that wrapped the building, the architects inserted both glass and light prefabricated concrete panels so that the resulting gridded surface combined transparent and opaque panels. Their intention was not to relinquish stone as the material that manifested the official character of the building, or open up the building in full transparency. Rather, they looked to incorporate stone into the technology of glass enclosure.

Their aim was not to articulate a completely new and alien language but to "profoundly lighten the concept of the building."[137] While introducing the quintessential forms and techniques of modernity, Sota, Molezún, and Tenreiro also looked to legitimize their choice in local and cultural terms, even claiming their solution was a reinterpretation of the local *miradores,* or enclosed balconies, and held on to the vernacular. Sota emphasized this argument in a lecture in September of 1955 for the closing series of the International Summer Program of the University of Santiago de Compostela, also in Galicia. In it, he insisted on the traditional glass houses of the region as

135 As in the sesión crítica dedicated the UN building, previously cited, and in José Camón Aznar, "Arquitectura nortemaericana," *ABC*, October 18, 1955, 17.

136 Ibid.

137 *RNA* 172 (1956), 7.

"precedents of the revolutionary UN building" and the steel grid as a device to approach "architecture as the exquisite art of abstraction."[138] There, Sota called on architects to understand and embrace architecture as abstraction without entirely giving up on the notion of character, both the character of the place and of the function of the building. At stake in La Coruña was the possibility of making abstraction—and the curtain wall—bearers of the building's double function by literally "lighten" the officialdom of civic buildings. With this message, they won first prize in the competition. Although it was never built, the architects were commissioned to develop the project, and they worked on it until 1962, thus signaling the full embrace by Finance of the proposal.

Sota's trajectory in the competition series up to this point can be understood in terms of his working through a series of oppositions. One was in the contrast he set between straightforward, open, and modernizing interiors—the space of the public office—and the façade as the space of representation and locus of the building's character. Another opposition pertained to the double function of these buildings as both representative of State power and physical facilitator of governmental functions. The last antitheses Sota worked with, and in many ways reflective of the previous two, was that between stone and glass. While Sota initially related State representation with the façade and with use of stone and in contrast with the administrative functions which he contained in the inside and related to the use of vast glass surfaces, he subsequently worked through these contradistinctions and looked to merge them. But he never let go of the idea that the design of a civic building revolved around the "problem of expression."[139] For Sota the expression of the offices, which he indicated through glass surfaces, was not to be undermined or hidden behind the "representational" function of the State, marked by stone. Rather, he looked for ways to reveal both. Whereas he had variously separated the two functions and the two materials through volumetric

138 *El Ideal de Galicia*, September 13, 1955, 7, in Archivo Sota.

139 Sota, "Memoria Diputacion de La Coruña," 2.

interplays, in his design for Delegación de Hacienda in La Coruña he found a way to synthesize both in one language through the curtain wall.

A few months after the Delegación de Hacienda in La Coruña, Sota and Molezún expanded their team to include Saénz de Oiza, Romany, and Juan Antonio Corrales in order to respond to a new ideas competition, announced in March 1956 and this time launched jointly by the Ministries of Industry and Commerce for a new building that would combine both institutions in Madrid.[140] Their proposal fully embraced the Miesian language of pristine glass volumes and reflective curtain wall **[Fig.2.46]**. Its interest is in the ways it marked these figures' collective embrace of the aesthetics and technology of the curtain wall, and their manifest confidence that it ought to be put to the service of the State, in both its representation and functioning. The competition had little media coverage and was seldom discussed in the literature, but it is crucial to understand how architects—and their ideas—were summoned for the purposes of redefining the government's physical spaces and image. The announcement expressed how design competitions were mobilized by the government in order to "acquire as many ideas as possible before deciding on the norms" for the construction of its infrastructure.

The competition for the Tarragona Civil Government building was launched five months later, in August 1956, and Sota proposed a design that had very little to do with the curtain wall. But it was not entirely a departure from it. As we will see, Sota's façade for the Tarragona Government building resulted from a modification to the curtain wall, and inversion of its principles where if not at all extroverted and transparent, would lighten up the stone. In so doing, the Tarragona Civil Government was Sota's ultimate resolve of the systems of dialectics—stone-representation and

140 BOE, March 5, 1956. Typeqritten copy in Legado Ramón Vazquez-Molezún Archivo Histórico Colegio de Arquitectos de Madris, COAM, Madrid (hereafter Legado Molezún). To my knowledge, this competition was only reported in *Gran Madrid*, 31 (1956): 13-16, and "Concurso de anteproyectos," from Ministerio de la Gobernacion "Comisaria Geneal para la Ordenacion Urbana de Madrid y sus alrededores" March 24, 1956. Only a brief mention to the project is made by Baldellou, *Alejandro de la Sota*, 134. My documentation on the project is from the Legado Molezún, "Concurso de ideas para los Ministerios de Industria y Comercio de Madrid, 1956," RMV A001767: F0090.

glass-administration—he had been exploring through the years. We will now turn to Sota's design for Tarragona with some detail, but the point here is to understand how his drawings for Tarragona, elaborated some time in the last months of 1956, were a step further in a process of the refinement of civic architecture performed in the course of these competitions. Later on, in the competition for another Delegación de Hacienda in San Sebastian a year later, Sota recognized the competitions as a process through which, in a "series of consecutive approximations [we] arrived at a profound and total analysis of these types of edifices."[141] In this way, Sota acknowledged this process as eminently collective, whereby "modifications of the type" were made through iterations to and observations of the successive winning entries. Accordingly, for San Sebastian, Sota reiterated the choices that earned him first prize in La Coruña, proposing a steel structure on a module and a gridded façade that was however out won by the one entry that fully embraced the steel grid inside and out, by no other than Saénz de Oiza **[Fig.2.47-48]**.

2.5 de la Sota on State Abstraction

As noted above, the jury that selected Sota's design did so in part for the ways in which it embodied the modern lines sought after for the expansion of the city. But this was not characteristic of Sota's project alone. At least the three top choices of the jury represented various takes on architectural modernism and reflected on the definite turn away from neoclassicism when it came to civic buildings. While they all made use of stone, according to code, the three proposed simple geometries and stripped façades. The second prize, awarded to Pablo Mongui and Francisco Vaureda, proposed a curtain wall similar to the one Sota had recently designed for La Coruña, where exposed vertical profiles sustained lightweight stone panels and glass **[Fig.2.49]**. The third prize

141 Alejandro de la Sota, "Anteproyecto para Delegación de Hacienda en San Sebastian. Memoria," handwritten manuscript, Archivo Sota, project reference number 55. The competition was announced in BOE 48, February 17, 1957, 988-89, and published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 195 (1958), 1-5.

project, by Pablo Pintado and Rafael Lozano, reminisced Terragni's Casa del Fascio in a stone quadrangular volume with one-quarter of the façade left blank and the rest opened through a grid of deeply recessed windows **[Fig.2.50]**. In the way in which Sota grouped offices and housing in the one volume, and in what read as one cubic building that only fanned out over the back of the site, his design was the most compact of the three **[Fig.2.3]**. The other two projects separated the housing from the offices and the government proper, as per the DGA guidelines: one through a one-story building that occupied the whole of the site toward the back, the other with a three-story building set perpendicular to the front building.[142] Sota's was also the most opaque and the heaviest looking, with the pattern of the stone clad rendered in thick black lines on the elevation. Sota's design was arguably the least rationalist of the three—in the sense that it was not honest or straightforward in revealing the structural system or internal distribution of spaces to the outside. It was, in other words, the most hermetic or the less tectonic.

Sota's design was intentionally deceptive. In recalling his competition entry, Sota made clear that his emphasis was not on manifesting the building's function or structural logic. He was unconcerned with making the building transparent either in compositional or material terms. Challenging the DGA recommendation to make evident and distinguish the building's various functions—a distinction that the second and third prize preserved—Sota's emphasis was on unifying the various programs. As he wrote in his competition submission:

> The programmatic requirements for official buildings in Spain force difficult compositions. The quantity of housing is proportionally very high in relation to the volume destined for official working and representational space. This mixture of volumes dedicated to such opposed ends forces unification to the outside… I have struggled … with the great difficulty of composing a block that is harmonious, hierarchical, and noble.[143]

142 "Concurso de Anteproyecto para Concursos de Gobierno Civil en Tarragona," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 185 (1957): 1-9. The three resolved the main access similarly, by opening the entirety of the ground floor through a deep vestibule. Because of the separation of housing and offices, the second and third prizes provided for an additional access point on the side

143 Alejandro de la Sota, "Anteproyecto para Gobierno Civil en Tarragona," manuscript, 1957, Archivo Sota, carpeta VA-30.

Sota's preparatory sketches show his "struggle" as one in which he gradually moves away from the tectonic and "honest" approach of the curtain wall and the distinct volumes, wherein the building would have revealed the different functions and structural system. Pencil drawings, big and small, record Sota's relentless search for a compact and efficient volume that ultimately masked the construction logic or program distribution in favor of a particular image. Initially, Sota devised two volumes, presumably separating the spaces destined to government offices from those for housing, and he explored various compositions with different dimensions and connecting spaces. These volumetric explorations came in tandem with revealing to the outside the building's structure as well as the enclosure system **[Fig.2.51]**. The sketches show various versions of a grid that most likely represented steel profiles supporting a stone and glass façade, as in La Coruña.[144] Sota thus began with a rather exhibitionist design—showing the functions and the structure—and then moved to a gradually façade which merged the functions into one volume. In the process, he hid the building within itself. As he compacted the design and concealed beneath it the supporting system of the façade, Sota's desired effect was to make its main function—that of government—explicit.[145]

In so doing, and by refusing to grant each function its character, Sota sought to move closer to another of the DGA's main precepts: that of establishing the building's character and sense of autonomy. Interpreting the DGA's guidelines for the Gobiernos Civiles over a decade before, and as seen in Santander and many others, Sota stratified the functions. A crucial move destined to compact the project was to do away with a central courtyard, what led to an elaborated composition of the program **[Fig.2.52]**. Sota placed the offices destined for bureaucratic procedures and policing at the back of the first and second floors, past a large T-shaped vestibule that served the purposes of the distributing courtyard **[Fig.2.53-54]**. The program for Tarragona was expanded from that established

144 As also argued by Cortes, *Gobierno Civil de Tarragona*, 19.
145 Curtis, "Harmonic, hierarchical, noble," 20.

in the DGA guidelines to also include the Technical Service for the Department of Buildings, which included offices for an architect and urbanist on the second floor. The front of the second floor housed the offices of the Governor and General Secretary—also a new post—with the former's main office in the center and opening up to a balcony **[Fig.2.55]**. A grand hall and other rooms related to reception functions occupied the third floor. There, the terrace opened up the hall entirely to the outside, cutting through the whole width of the building. This worked as a transitional space, in terms of both outside and inside for the hall and in terms of public and private, since it separated visually the public space below from the private space above. Residences for the Governor, the Secretariat, and a guest occupied the top three floors and attic, and two additional apartments for staff were located in the basement.

Sota planned three different vertical access points, according to levels of privacy. One wide staircase at the back left of the vestibule gave open access to public services. A second staircase and elevator were centrally located in the vestibule to its right for semi-private access, open only to the staff of the Gobierno Civil and leading to the front side of the second and third floors **[Fig.2.56]**. A third staircase and elevator node with a small entrance on the side of the building gave private access to the Governor and connected his office on the second floor with the residences. In all, the plans resulted from an elaborate system of organization, communication, and distribution of public and private functions. Complex as the process of composition was—and the many elaborated pencil sketches speak to this point— Sota's aim was to achieve "clarity of the plans."[146]

Shortly following the competition, the Section on Interior Politics of the Ministry of the Interior engaged Sota to design and oversee construction, with three months to elaborate the project. The competition boards defined it in much detail and Sota hardly modified it over the next eight years. As little as the design changed, the processes of approval and construction were

146 Sota, "Anteproyecto para Gobierno Civil en Tarragona."

markedly slow. Sota submitted the project in July 1957 without modifying the main floors and elevations but with an 85% increased budget.[147] The competition for construction companies was not announced until January of 1959 and it was not until the end of that year that site preparation began.[148] Structural work was undergoing in February of 1960, and took five more months to begin with the brick infill work and subsequent stone cladding of the façade **[Fig.2.57]**. The last version of the project, including the few modifications made during construction, was presented on the summer of 1962.[149] In 1963, the building was still under construction, and it was inaugurated without much fanfare in the fall of 1964, when government agencies gradually moved into the new building.[150]

The construction process was most likely delayed due to the difficulty of acquiring—and retaining—construction materials, particularly steel and copper.[151] The amount of these materials in the building was not excessive, but they were crucial to its effect and Sota carefully designed their construction details, as in the stair rails where his design turned rather mannerist **[Fig.2.58]**. The structure was a post-and-lintel frame on a six-by-six module built mainly with reinforced concrete, with one-foot deep brick infill in the building perimeter and half-foot plastered brick walls for the interior partitions. Only the columns that were visible to the outside, nine in total for the front façade, were made of steel. Cross-shaped à la Mies and painted dark grey, the front line of columns was slightly pulled back from the façade line following the curve of the site. This resulted in the

147 Alejandro de la Sota, "Resumen General," July 1957, in Archivo Sota. Project and budget approvals were particularly challenging in institutional terms. The Section on the Interior Politics of Governance, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Housing were involved. Housing was particularly slow in approving the project, in March 1958, and Finance approved Sota's fees, and possibly the project's overall budget, in October 1958.

148 BOE, January 19, 1959, and decided upon on February 12. Sota submitted a review of the project with changes only to the foundation, on November 4,1959

149 Carpeta 'Fichas tecnicas", Ficha del Gobierno Civil, February 6, 1996.

150 "Expediente 1277. Instalacion Negociado de Sanciones y Caja en nuevo edificio Gobierno Civil" Gobierno Civil de Tarragona, October 3 1964, Archivo de la Municipalidad de Tarragona.

151 See for instance the report of a burglary of materials on-site, "Sobre sustracción de materiales de construccion en obras que se realizan en el nuevo Gobierno Civil," Expediente 1277, Archivo de la Municipalidad de Tarragona.

evocation of and visual disappearance of the structure **[Fig.2.59]**. Window frames and the profiles to support the glass balustrade were likewise meticulously detailed and designed so as to vanish, and to detail the glazing in such a way as to make the stone and galssvirtually flush **[Fig.2.60-61]**. The precision with which Sota detailed the steel design was intended to make the stone and the glass read as continuation of one another and to appear as an integral surface. Added to the fact that the stone was polished and reflective, the building turned into the formal paradox of a shiny and glass-like object that was, at the same time, opaque and heavy and yet floating above the street **[Fig.2.62]**.[152] Given the way in which the building stood out as an hermetic and rigorously defined volume, Sota's efforts in both overall composition and detailed construction detailing could well be interpreted as an uncompromising response to the advocacy of autonomy for the institution. In the end, Sota's obsession with a well organized, yet discrete functions and, above all, with unifying the design had the intention of bringing to fore the building's ultimate function—that of Gobierno Civil—while consumating and representing the benevolent efficiency of the central government in the region.

In a series of edited sketches that accompanied the competition boards, also published in *RNA* and which have often been interpreted as constituting a crucial document for the interpretation of the building, Sota explains his project as a personal architectural deliberation wherein what was previously a typically classical building became, through a process of refinement, a well-composed hermetic box **[Fig.2.63]**. The drawings show Sota subjecting a government building to the process of abstraction as he conceived it, that is, as the process through which he was able to define the "essence" of the type. The drawings begin with what Sota considered to be prototypical buildings, namely, a neo-classical palazzo for a government building, which he drew after the Gobierno Civiles built in recent years such that of Santander; a "representative building," which he handled in the

152 Cortes, *Gobierno Civil de Tarragona*, 59.

manner of horizontal neoclassical colonnades as had been exemplified in the Nazi exhibit; and a "housing block," drawn as an austere tower with serial rows of windows and balconies. The challenge of the design, as far as Sota was concerned, was to combine the three distinct volumes and the various functions through an architectural language capable of arriving at a unified solution. Sota's starting point was obviously his own construct for while Gobiernos Civiles had long combined housing and representational functions within one structure there was hardly a representative building in Spain like the one he depicted.

His assumption of the pre-existence of certain building types speaks of the underlying premise of his design process, namely, the idea of character of architecture. For Sota was basically concerned with the representational value of his design. Around his sketches, he remarks how the main intention of his project was precisely, to curb the linguistic potential of the building.[153] In this, he presupposed that buildings manifested and represented certain programmatic and social functions in their formal composition and aesthetics, as had been assumed in the directorate's design guidelines. In the case of the Civil Government, the supression of function was most necessary with regard to housing, and here Sota emphasized the need to "remove all domestic references." To do so, in the edited sketch series he reduced each building type to a blank volume before proceeding with splitting and redistributing various elemnts within them. He divided the residences into two parts—one for the Governor and his officials, one for staff—and stacked them accordingly into the volumetric composition of the final design.

For Sota, only by suppressing the multi-porgrammatic character of the building, could it properly enunciate its ultimate function: that of civil governance. In Sota's retelling of his design process, this crucial function of the building factors back after previous erasures and volumetric reshufflings and through two moves, involving first, the position of openings and second, the

153 Ibid, 67.

detailings of the materials. Fenestrations and material treatment, and both in combination, were designed to establish the building and provide it with institutional weight. The openings appear as the result of a compositional operation that gives the façade a sense of hierarchy and equilibrium, which he defined as a "potential equilibrium," which suggest physical rather than aesthetic ideas. Sota was thus referring to the material in its representational and sensorial aspect, and it is at this point that he concludes with a reflection on stone. "Stone, is heavy—Sota writes around his drawings—and its forms are more stable." [154] With this tacit note, Sota called forth the institutional credibility of stone, but at the same time he manipulated the material so as to make it reflective and with it the mass-form so to make it seem dematerialized, as if suspended, unadorned and asymmetrical.

Synthesized in the manner of the sketch series, the process responded directly to the official architecture favored by the regime in first decade and a half, which Sota knew so well. Specifically for the case of the Tarragona Gobierno Civil, in a final annotation to his series of sketches Sota linked his last formal operation to the "forms of Gropius and Breuer of some years back." With this, he not only looped back to Germany, but to an architectural tradition whereby the memory of the Third Reich was swept away by virtue of the memory of the interwar avant-gardes and by recovering an aseptic and refined postwar modernity. This was certainly the message advanced by the cultural apparatus of the regime through the second exhibition it held on German architecture, titled *La Arquitectura Alemana Hoy* (German Architecture Today) opened between May 18 and May 31 of 1956 in Madrid, only a few months before Sota made this annotation.[155] While less explicitly framed in relation to the regime's cultural politics than in the German exhibit of 1942, the 1956 show was still evidence of the official re-direction of architecture towards "new solutions" appropiate to the new world order.

154 Alejandro de la Sota, "Sketch, " in Archivo Sota, alos widely published, as in Cortes, *Gobierno Civil de Tarragona*, 24-25.
155 The show included some of Gropius' early works and other prewar examples, as well as a large number of contemporary housing, churches, and civic buildings. See catalogue *La Arquitectura Alemana Hoy* (Madrid: Bund Deutscher Architekten and Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1956)

What was significant of the German second exhibition, for a Spanish critic at least, is how it allowed realignment with Germany's history and its architectural influence, whereby postwar modernism was interpreted in terms of it being a correction of its past. In formal terms, this meant that "simple forms and straightforward structures...straight surfaces and lines…simple geometries, and clean tensions," led "to an architecture of peace and tranquility."[156]

Sota's purging of lines, volumes, and ornaments spoke to these same corrective measures playing out within the Franquista regime. As noted above, Sota's preparatory sketches for the competition—schematic drawings fillings the margins of his plans and section drawings—reveal a similar formal process in a less neat but equally unrelenting manner. They are Sota's architectural explorations and evolution toward a compact volume, a condensed and well-distributed program, and a cryptic façade. In so doing, the series shows Sota himself comprehending abstraction in the terms that he had once defined (as had Fisac) as a process of ascetic measures, of "expurgation" of ornament and distillation of essence, in this instance the essences of stone and type. In all of these instances, the process of abstraction seems to occur entirely on the tracing paper, that is, in the realms of Sota's ideas and drawings. And to a certain extent it did. Sota did explore, imagine and propose the forms of abstraction that the State ought to embrace. But in placing Sota's design in the context of the Ministry of Finance competition series, and to a lesser extent in relation to the exhibitions on international modernisms mentioned above, the abstraction performed in the Tarragona Gobierno Civil emerges as a process in which the impact went well beyond the architect's modus operandi. For his sketches were in fact less personal ruminations on the public palace as a type than a graphic synthesis of a collective process of abstraction within officialdom that had been developing over the years. Furthermore, this process did not occur within or for purposes of

156 *ABC,* May 23, 1956, 60.

architecture alone, as I shall now explain, and neither did its impact remain solely in the realm of typology or image.

2.6 López Rodó and the Advent of Technocracy, 1956-59

As seen above, Sota had considered the gridded façade at an early stage of the design process of the Gobierno Civil de Tarragona, but he eventually hid the structure almost entirely behind the polished stone. In order to understand the implications of this move, and throw the collective embrace of modernist language and technique for civic buildings into sharper light, I must now step outside of disciplinary discussions and into the politics of Franquismo. As noted at the very beginning of this chapter, my argument here is not only to trace how architectural abstraction made it into the utmost official of State architectures—or rather how historicist and classicist markers were sublimated through abstract form. My aim is also to demonstrate how abstraction in the aesthetic realm extended to the political and sociological realms, defined as the redefinition of the relationship between the Franquista State and the Spanish society and the formation of new political subjectivity both inside and outside of the administration. Sota's building in the end was a key object that mediated these relationships. The politics of abstraction in Spain pertain to the form of and changes within the government that effected the regime's turn away from fascism and toward technocracy, a turn that was envisioned and advanced by architects in the series of competition of civic building explored above. Notably, this transition toward technocracy began to take shape at the level of policy only in the Fall of 1956, precisely the time that Sota was working through his sketches for the Gobierno Civil in Tarragona.

During Franquismo, one of the most pressing questions among the political elites was that of the institutional form to the regime—or lack thereof— an issue that was perceived as the means to tackle the urgent question of succession and the perpetuation of the regime in Franco's eventual

absence. The various factions of the government found the specifics of the governmental form of Franquismo difficult to agree on, and Franco himself largely dismissed it. In the 1940s, he had signed off on a few laws in this regard, but they remained void of actual effect. Most significant was the Ley de Sucesión en la Jefatura del Estado (Law of Succession of the Head of State) in 1945, which, in a blow to Falange as World War II came to a close, proclaimed Spain a Catholic State and a monarchy.[157] The implementation of this model was however deferred, and this gave Franco the power to choose the King, who would govern alongside a President and in accordance with the principles of the Movement. Until around the mid-1950s, the regime remained loosely formalized, and thus difficult to articulate besides Franco being himself the center of power.[158] In the early months of 1956, the need for a stronger legal backing for the government and a repositioning of power within it took on new relevance, when the regime faced its most significant social and political crisis to date.[159] In February, student protests at the University of Madrid revealed both anti-Franco sentiments among Falangist youth and certain strains of liberalism in the realm of education. The upheaval was swiftly suppressed by force, but Franco undertook further measures to tighten his administration by dismissing the Minister of Education, Ruiz Giménez, and calling for a reorganization of Falange.[160] For this purpose, he discharged the Secretary General to Falange's National Council and called for a new party leader—turning in fact to José Luis Arrese, an architect—to work on the redefinition of the "Principles" of the *Movimiento*.

The change in Falange leadership was widely interpreted as a conclusive move on Franco's part to institutionalize the regime and lock in the model for the government that would outlive him. In fact, Franco asked Arrese to draft a new fundamental law of Falange, the so-called Organic Law of

157 Carr and Fusi, *Spain. Dictatorship to Democracy*, 41.
158 Only Luis Carrero Blanco, an admiral and monarchist, grew stronger as Franco's main advisor and speechwriter.
159 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 440-444.
160 Ibid, 442.

the Movement, in which he attempted to redirect the party and the administration so as to secure their interdependence.[161] Arrese proposed that Falange be an autonomous entity, self-governed, and with a dominant role in the functioning of the government. He empowered the party to present to recommendations on policy and administration and called for a separation of the Head of State and the President. Most significantly, Arrese asked for a permanent appointment of the Falange Secretary as Vice-President of the government.[162] During the fall of 1956, Arrese's draft was heavily debated among the political, economic, and religious elites, but his attempt to perpetuate the party's political monopoly, in disregard for the monarchy, was strongly opposed.

Contemporaneously, an alternative project for the institutionalization of the regime was articulated in the margins of the State apparatus, specifically around the circles of the journal *Arbor*; it was a project that would eventually take over the government. Its main promoter was Laureano López Rodó, whom Casanova has defined as the person best to "symbolize and represent the modernization of Spain, what I have termed the technocratic model of modernization."[163] López Rodó was a lawyer who had written his dissertation on Administrative Law in 1945 and later gained a professorship in the same subject in the University of Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia. In his work, López Rodó defended the formative power of law, proposing legal frameworks and the rationalization of political structures as the means to better shape social forces.[164] For López Rodó, jurisprudence should conform itself to the State's operational functions as provider of public services.[165] He thus championed the modern idea of the rational State, the German *Rechtsstaat* or *Estado de Derecho*, where the State is bound to act according to law. Politically, his campaign for institutionalizing the regime by law would overturn the nature of a State installed by force—including

161 In collaboration with other Falangists such as Sanchez Mazas, Carrero Blanco and Iturmendi. Ibid, 446.

162 Ibid, 448.

163 Casanova, "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain," 31.

164 Ibid, 32. Antonio Cañellas Mas, *Laureano López Rodo: Biografia política de un Ministro de Franco (1920-2000*), (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2003; Kinlde Edition, 2013)

165 Carr, *Modern Spain*, 40.

a State of force conformed by means of a Civil War. López Rodó foresaw this shift as occurring only under the framework of a monarchy, as he conceived it as the most perfected, non-subjective, and universal institution of power.[166]

With these views, López Rodó quickly secured the support of many monarchists within the government, mainly Franco's right hand Luis Carrero Blanco and the Minister of Justice Antonio Iturmendi. His most important socio-political backing came from his affiliation with Opus Dei however In the 1940s he had been part of the original Opus Dei group in Barcelona, and in the 1950s he joined forces with Albareda at CSIC, where López Rodó was responsible for Legal, Administrative and Management Services beginning in 1952.[167] As was the signature of Opus Dei, the relationship between disciplinary ideas and Opus Dei's theological project is hard to grasp in López Rodó's political theory, and references to God or spirituality are largely absent from his legal discourse.[168] López Rodó bore, however, the same modernizing ambitions as Escriva de Balaguer, Albareda, and Fisac, and he saw the reform of the administration as the means to adapt Spain's government to the modern world. Moreover, he identified law and administration as constituting the most effective realms for the State to "most profoundly penetrate social life."[169] As noted above, Opus Dei regarded integration with everyday life as essential. But the point was, precisely, to keep the rhetoric of modernization seemingly non-religious—or entirely non-ideological—and simply bound to the technical realm of law and the government.

López Rodó's proposal took on public relevance in September of 1956, just as Arrese's draft was being strongly debated and Sota was beginning to ruminate on the volumetric design of the

166 Cañellas Mas, *Laurenao López Rodo*, Kinde edition, 2134.

167 Ibid, 2868. At the time, Albareda was mobilizing a group to respond to the liberalization policies of Ruiz Gimenez in education and support the Monarchist project, a project he mainly channeled through *Arbor.* Casanova, "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain," 32.

168 A connection betwen López Rodó's political agenda and Thomsist Philosophy is suggested by Cañellas Mas, *Laurenao López Rodo*, 2018.

169 Laureano López Rodó, *Política y Desarrollo* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1971), 125.

Tarragona Civil Government. On September 15, López Rodó presented a formal proposal for the reorganization of the Spanish administration for a "modern world" at the closing conference of the International Summer Program of the University of Santiago—the very same series at which Sota had spoken a year before. In the talk, titled "La Reforma Administrativa del Estado," López-Rodó called for attending to the principles of efficient and agile management on the part of the government. "The best administration," he said, "is one that meets the highest grade of efficiency and realizes a coherent program for developing collective interests."[170] With references drawn mostly from France and the United States, López Rodó was able to construct a secular logic that combined American porgamatism and its importation of scientific managenment to governmental administration with the legacies of the French Enlightenment. Accordingly, López Rodó laid out three realms of action for his reform: institutional, which dealt with the reorganization of the ministries and institutions of government; functional, directed at the working and communication methods within and among the institutions; and bureaucratic, which dealt with the formation of the *funcionarios*, or public servants, and their positioning as the main agents of the new government.[171]

For the purposes of institutional reform, López Rodó proposed the creation of a new set of ministries that would respond to social demands and also provide for a "simple and modern organization" of the government, which ought to be "formed by efficient pieces that would push aside antique mechanisms."[172] Pointing to housing as a pressing concern in the face of modernization, for instance, he proposed the formation of a Ministry of Housing, and also signaled

170 Ibid; Cañellas Mas, *Laurenao López Rodo*, 2187.

171 López Rodó legitimized his plan by quoting a conference held in Madrid the week before, and which he had attended, between September 3 and 8, the Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences (IIAS). This was a non-profit organization for the study of governmental administration and public agencies, which held its Tenth Congress in Madrid and which focus had been "on public works contracts, post-entry training of higher grade civil servants, and administrative reform" as reported in "Announcemets" *The Journal of Politics*, 18-30 (1956), 608; For an overview of the organization, to which Lopez rodo belonged, see *IIAS/IISA Administration and Service 1930-2005* (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2005).

172 López Rodó, *Politica y Desarrollo*, 125.

industrial development, nuclear energy, communications, and productivity as "the great current problems" that required their own institution. His key proposal was the creation of a new office, the Secretaria General del Gobierno (General Secretary to the Government). Following the model provided by the French bureaucracy, this would be an advisory position to the President, a non-ministerial post in charge of "central coordination" of the government.[173] He meant the range of this new post to be broad. In addition to coordination of the various institutions that made up the State, the tasks of the Secretaria General included analyzing and reforming working methods within public institutions, managing civil servants, advising on State budgets, and elaborating economic programs and infrastructure development plans.[174]

In laying out his government model, López Rodó's language manifests his conviction that public institutions were but parts of a machine—the State—determined by and respondent only to their efficient functioning. This was both a way of advocating for the role of public institutions as that of efficient government, and a manner of calling for the mechanization of the State itself. Following his State-as-machine model, he called for the integration of its "pieces" so as to allow an "aerodynamic" administration, one "that offers the least resistance to its environment and can accomplish the most acceleration in its action."[175] A significant point in López Rodó's proposal was his urge for the "modernization of work methods," which he directed toward a managerial reform of the administration and the bureaucratization of the State apparatus. In specifically addressing working methods, he also touched, if vaguely, on the role of architecture and the actual working space as an instrument to improve organization. López Rodó referred to current international trends

173 Ibid, 129.

174 Ibid. See also Luis Crespo Montes, *Las reformas de la Administración Española* (Madrid, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000), 33-36.

175 López Rodó, *Politica y Desarrollo*, 126.

in corporate organization and office environments and called for the rationalization of the spaces of administration in the following terms:

> Fulfillment [of working methods] can be obtained first and foremost through the mechanization of bureaucratic work, keeping pace with advances in technology and bureaucracy, and providing public offices with the kind of machines that have already proven successful in great market business. The State is the greatest business and only through the modernization of its offices can it be up to the task. As in many other countries…bureaucratic modernization implies the introduction into the administration of the latest advances in cybernetics, and the rationalization of work and industrial psychology, so that every factor that secures maximum performance is implanted.[176]

The September of 1956 lecture became López Rodó's manifesto on the modernization of the State, also published in the Opus Dei cultural journal *Nuestro Tiempo.* More importantly, it enabled him to have Carrero Blanco convince Franco of the imperative of making changes in the face of the country's economic decline and international ostracism. On December 20, 1956, Franco issued a decree creating the new governmental post of Secretario General Técnico de la Presidencia de Gobierno (General Technical Secretary to the Presidency of the Government), to which he appointed López-Rodó. From that position and through what Casanova has characterized as his "extraordinary legal, administrative, and organizational skills," López Rodó acquired the power to carry on his project and transformed Franco's traditional and military authority into a form of authority that was essentially legal and rational.[177]

The pillars of López Rodó's reform were established through the Ley de Procedimiento Administrativo (Law of Administration Procedure) and the Ley de Regimen Juridico de la Administración del Estado (Law of the Juridical Regime of the State Administration). Still rather loose in terms of actions indicated but very effective in rhetorical terms, the laws established mechanisms

176 Ibid, 130. As Casanova has argued, in López Rodós' project one can best read the imbrications of the Catholicims of Opus Dei with Protestantism as he specifically reads the technocratic and economically liberal mode of governing and living in relationship to, or as an extension of Max Weber's seminal thesis of the potestant ethos of Capitalism. See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Peter Baehr and Gordin C. Wells (New York: Penguin, 2002)

177 Casanova, "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain," 36.

to coordinate the administration and streamline bureaucratic procedures.[178] They also institutionalized Carrero Blanco's position in the government as Sub-secretary to the President. While Franco still held the Presidential post, he would gradually give this up, naming Carrero Blanco Vice-president in 1967 and President in 1973. Two months after appointing López Rodó as General Secretary, in February of 1957, Franco also executed a long-awaited cabinet change. This meant the ultimate triumph of López Rodó's reform with the addition to the government of two other Opus Dei members: the economist Alberto Ullastres was named Minister of Commerce and the lawyer Mariano Navarro Rubio was named Minister of Finance. Moreover, the new cabinet signaled Franco's final strike against Falange and the dismissal of Arrese's project. Interestingly, the demotion of Falange as a political force came with the ultimate recognition of the party's social project and its reliance on housing. As López Rodó had suggested it, Franco created the Ministry of Housing, appointing Arrese as its Minister in what was widely interpreted as Franco's final dismissal of Arrese's vision of empowering Falange. With this, fascist ideology retreated entirely into housing—and there just barely survived as I will discuss in chapter four, while Opus Dei took control of the overall redefinition of the government, and also, and above all, of the country's political economy.

If Falange traditionally put social welfare ahead of economic development, and saw it as the means to exert hegemony over the masses, for the technocrats economic growth in and of itself was the State's ultimate end.[179] López Rodó conceived of political institutions and policies, first and foremost, as instruments for the economy. Thus, his project for an efficient and rationalized administration had as its main objective economic development. As well as through his leverage in the cabinet changes of February 1957, López Rodó exposed the inherent relationship between bureaucratization and economic development most clearly in his lecture, "Structure and Function of

178 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 470.

179 Casanova, "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain," 35.

Financial Administration," in which he placed the Ministry of Finance at the forefront of his project. "For the administration," he said, "is not only an economic agent in its own right, among the many extant across the country, but is the coordinating agent of economic life as well." [180] The idea of the mobilization of the administration for the growth of the Spanish economy amounted to the very essence of technocracy.[181] Accordingly, a crucial objective of López Rodó's reform was the reorganization of the fiscal system and the State's financial services, and later also the sovereign banking sector, which under his vision were to become simplified, efficient, modern. Together, López Rodó, Ullasters, and Navarro Rubio conformed the Commission for Economic Development from which they launched the regime's best-recognized economic plan: The *Plan Nacional de Estabilización Económica* (National Plan of Economic Stabilization), approved in 1959 and destined to put Spain on the path of economic and technological development later known as *desarrollismo* (economic development policy).[182]

Prior to technological and material modernization, the development of a new market economy and the international economic integration envisaged in the Plan, came the rationalization and bureaucratization of the administration itself. [183]Architecture, as we have seen, was far from being external to this process. As López Rodó noted, the new organization of the administration and new cadres required appropriate working space: "It is also necessary to provide them with the offices and cabinets specially destined to fulfill such important tasks."[184] He never explicitly asked for new building designs and his use of the term "office" was ambiguous as to whether with it he referred to

180 He first gave the talk in August 31 of 1959 as guest speaker in another Congress of the IICA in the German city of Wiesbaden, and later delivered it and published it in Madrid as Laureano López Rodó, *Estructura y Funciones de la Administracion Financiera* (Madrid: Oficina de Coordinacion y Programación Económica, 1959)

181 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 305.

182 The plan has been vastly covered in the histories of the period. Payne, *The Franco Regime,* 467-475. An acute interpretation of the transfer of power from Falange to the technocrats, as signaled by the plan is in Ismale Sa, "mucho mas que crisis politicas; el agotamiento de dos poryectos enfrentados" *Ayer* 68 (2007): 137-163.

183 Casanova, "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain," 37.

184 López Rodó, *Estructura y Funciones*, 13.

physical or institutional space. In any case, the connections between López Rodó's reform and the developments in civic architecture in the years that preceded it cannot be overlooked. The competitions for the new Delegaciónes de Hacienda were nothing short of explorations for the new spaces and forms of administration called for by López Rodo. The parallel in the language suggest as much. In their designs, architects propounded the same ideas of efficient organization, clarity for bureaucratic procedures and technological advances that would be essential to López Rodó's agenda. This relationship also helps understand López Rodó's message was not his alone or entered the government anew in 1956, but was in fact product of a collective modernization of the State apparatus that had began at least in the early 1950s.

The fall of 1956 marks however a turning point, precisely when López Rodó publically called for the mechanization of the State just around the time architects proposed the curtain wall as the technology through which to organize and represent it. This process implied the expurgation of ornamental devices and historicist references, but it was in no way intended to deny the value of architecture's image or the concern for character. It was only that the curtain wall, in all of its evocations of efficiency and transparency, became appropriate as the language of government. In the Gobierno Civil competition, however, Sota introduced significant iterations. In looking for unity, he displaced the public offices area—the one he would normally enclose in glass—toward the site's backside **[Fig.2.53]**. Still, in using stone he could have resorted to a curtain wall solution similar to the Delegación in Coruña a few months before. Instead, he fixed the stone to the façade, decided against windows on the front, and opted instead for polished stone. These were but alternative ways to lighten the stone and "the concept of the building," as he argued for La Coruña that avoided the extensive use of steel. But Sota wasn't entirely ready to let go of steel. Quite the contrary, the subtle use and evocation of steel was essential to his design. While the building's structure was not a steel grid, Sota positioned a few cross-shaped columns to imply the ephemeral presence of such a grid

within the building. It was in the spirit of further lightening up the perception of the stone that Sota detailed window frames and banisters, so that glass and stone would read as a continuous polished surface **[Fig.2.59-62]**. Here, it is useful to recall Frampton's definition of the tectonic, wherein a building represents the structural system that sustains it, and which positions Sota's progression from the curtain wall projects to the blank stone façade of Tarragona as one of going from a rather straightforward tectonic approach to a deceptive one.

In this, the building related less clearly to the claims of efficiency and clarity in bureaucratic procedures, or to the modernization of working methods and the fiscal system so evident in La Coruña Delegación de Hacienda. At stake in the Tarragona Gobierno Civil was a different but equally crucial element of López Rodós' reform: the redefinition of political subjectivity. Within the administration López Rodó summoned a new figure—the expert—called to work and act autonomously of ideological agendas and political developments.[185] As well promoting civil servants as professionals, who entered the government by disciplinary exam, and not political posts he devised Technical General Secretaries at every level and branch of the administration, posts that mirrored his own political persona but lower in the hierarchy of State organization. Still, like himself, those in these new positions of Technical General Secretariats were charged with advising the "real politicians," such as the Ministers and Governors, serving as "experts" in issues of economy, law, engineering, and other so-considered technical fields, "who can prepare decisions and who, having developed all of the research necessary, ultimately propose the plans that ought to be followed." [186]

The definition of the expert State men, and more broadly of an autonomous and "non-political" body within the government was essential to López-Rodó's credibility with Franco. A distinct aspect of the Spanish technocratic model was its promise to curtail any forms of political or

185 On the funcionarios and the sytem of meritocracy and oposiciones, see Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethics and the Modernization of Spain*, 307-320.

186 López Rodó, *Estructura y Funciones*, 13.

social liberalism, such as democracy and freedom of expression. As noted already for Albareda in relation to scientific progress, reform was only sustained in so far as it reinforced conservative social values. The distancing of professional development from political purposes, in so far as it served spiritual ones, was essential to the entrance of Opus Dei members into the government, as they promised economic and administrative modernization and expertise of these matters while upholding, though in appearance entirely disregarding, Franco's political agenda. By defining the new cadre in these terms, López Rodó opened a definite divide between "technical expertise" and political practice, whereby political decisions were ultimately based on technical grounds and the rhetoric of ideology gave way to that of efficiency and productivity.[187] It was this divide between means and ends, between production and politics that was essential to Opus Dei ethos and to their role in Franquismo. Abstraction was but the process of the construction of such a divide, a process that construed the appearance of distance between government and political ideology.

Let us now return for one last time to the summer afternoon of 1967 when Franco saluted the masses in Tarragona. The Jefatura building chosen as the backdrop for Franco's speech was a modest offspring of the curtain walls and sleek structures that had, by then, made their way into the built environment. Novel and economically unfeasible when Sota had proposed such a structure in La Coruña in 1955, by the mid 1960s, steel and glass enclosures were markers of the country's *desarrollismo*. Just as Franco beckoned the technical and economic growth of the country in his trip, by the choice of balcony no less, in his speech Franco defended the emergence of a new "distanced, non-political body of government."[188] It was in fact the building across the street that gave form and face to this new political sensibility. Its being neglected in its place off to the side was precisely the point **[Fig.2.9]**.

187 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethics and the Modernization of Spain*, 307-320.

188 Cited in "Memorable visita del Jefe de Estado a la Imperial Tarraco,"*La Vanguardia*, June 7, 1967, 6.

The connection between Sota's building and López Rodó's political subject could very well be drawn at a metaphorical level, where the blank stone façade paralleled the distanced technocrat, or, where the subtle ways in which Sota hid and showed the steel conformed to the idea of the expert technician hidden behind the political maneuvers of the government; the steel beneath the stone, so to speak. But the connection was above all historical, and revelas how Sota's building advanced the new spaces and imaginary proper to Lopez Rodo's Sate model. López Rodó's administrative reform also had a direct effect on the Gobierno Civiles through the Decree of October 10, 1958. While further asserting the pre-eminence of the institution of the Gobierno CIvil in representing the power of the central State across the country, the law also expanded its functions. This was a response to the "complexity and greater number of technical and administrative activities assumed by the State, which assigns them to cadres [the *funcionarios*] whose specialization is precise."[189] The Gobiernos Civiles were then called to make room for new technocrats as heads of all decentralized official entities, who would come together under the new Provincial Committee for Technical Services. The law assigned the Governor the role of "stimulating and coordinating" the activities within the Commission. [190] Put differently, the act of governing turned into that of coordinating, and the Governor's position transformed from a political post into a technical managerial post. It was as a way of testing the new space and image for the Governor as non-ideological coordinator that we must understand Sota's design. In so doing, the building was one of the early performers of the divide between government and political ideology while it also provided for efficient management for those working within it.

If the Civil Government was the institution charged to mediate the central State and society, the institution that afforded a correlation between government and citizen, then Sota's invisible

189 BOE 1958

190 "Se regulan las atribuciones y deberes de Gober*na*dores Civiles" *ABC*, October 11, 1958, 39.

façade speaks of the shifting nature of this relationship as Sota was struggling through its design. Moreoever, it projected the ways in which this new conception of the politican was to affect and extend into the larger social body. While López Rodó's was not explicit on this point, his vision for a "non-political" political body within the government was to be mirrored ideally in the society itself. Historian Raymond Carr has argued for the ways in which one of the agendas of Franquismo in its technocratic period was the implementation of a "culture of evasion," destined to distance society from political engagement.[191] The objective, as articulated by López Rodó's collaborator Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, was to keep the citizen "politically passive" just as he embraced the consumer culture that took hold, slowly, during the 1960s.[192] The survival of the regime and the success of the technocracy model would be dependant on the apathy of the masses, an apathy and disregard for political ideology that was essential to maintaining consensus and controlling resistance.[193] It was in the discursive split and the interdependency between technologic and ideological narratives that Lopez-Rodo's vision also proposed a radical redefinition of the relationship between the State and society.[194] The gap itself and the related depolitization of the masses, constituted the main project of Franquismo at the point in time. As revealed in the analysis of Sota's design process, he was certainly searching for and testing the image proper for the State model that was in-the-making, and the invisibility or dubious image that resulted from it speask in part of this exploratory moment for architectural style and Sate bureaucracy alike. But in all of its invisibility, the building itself had something to show—or rather something to hide—when it came to the relationhsio between society and state. For it effectively produced the gap in which Lopez-Rodo's technocary and its technocrat were sustained, and in turn gave it expression through the language of abstraction. In so doing, the

191"All cultures possess their cultures of evasion; but in authoritarian systems based on political demobilization such a culture plays an important role." Carr, *Modern Spain*, 164.

192 Tussel, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 108.

193 Carr, *Modern Spain*, 172.

194 Casanova ellaborates on the ways in which Lopez Rodo's reform imply an entire redefinition of the political subject both inside the government and in society in these terms in *The Opus Dei Ethics and the Modernization of Spain,* 299-303.

separation of signifier from signified extended from the materiality of the building to the sociopolitical agenda of Lopez-Rodó. It was as an ideological and governing econfiguration of Franquismo, and not as an aesthetic one alone, that the Gobierno Civil in Tarragona so successfully deployed abstraction, and therein laid the politics of abstraction. In this case, the politics of abstraction, as performed by a building, were targeted toward the political reconfiguration of Spanish society. We should now turn to a stance whereby this same gap was amplified rather outwardly, as propaganda to the outside world and a diplomatic device that repositioned the regime amongst other nations.

Fig.2.1: Exterior view, from Plaza Imperial Tarraco. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota .

Fig.2.2: Detail, exterior views of entrance and façade. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

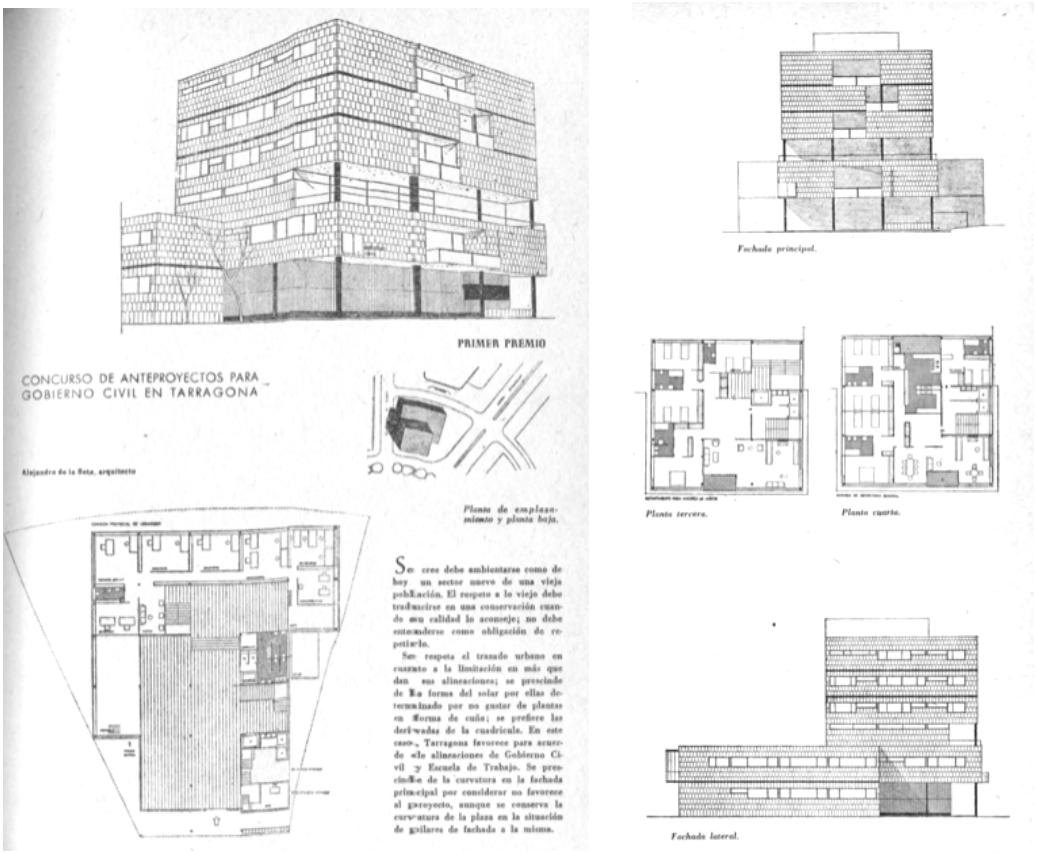


Fig.2.3: Plans and elevations, competition boards. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956, by Alejandro de la Sota. As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 185, 1957.

Fig.2.4: Francisco Franco in Tarragona, June 6, 1967, images of his urban parade as reported by *No-Do,* June 12, 1967, num.1275B .

Fig.2.5: Francisco Franco in Tarragona, 1957, image of his salute from the Provincial Palace as reported by *No-Do,* REF .

Fig.2.6: Francisco Franco in Tarragona, June 6, 1967, images of his salute from the Jefatura Nacional del Movimiento building as reported by *No-Do,* June 12, 1967, num.1275B.

.

Fig.2.7: Semiaerial exterior view of the Plaza Imperial Tarraco, Tarragona, with the Civil Government Building by Alejandro de la Sota on the right and the Jefatura Nacional del Movimiento building on the left, a church is to the back. Undated, estimated 1965-66.

.

Fig.2.8: Dow-Chemicasl plan in Tarragona, inaugurated by Francisco Franco, June 6, 1967 as reported by *No-Do,* June 12, 1967, num.1275B.

Fig.2.9: Exterior view of the Jefatura Nacional del Movimiento building from the balcony of the Civil Government Building across Plaza Imperial Tarraco. Image by the author, 2012.
.

LA VANGUARDIA
ESPAÑOLA

BARCELONA
Viernes 1 de octubre de 1943

25 cénts. Precio de este ejemplar
REDACCIÓN Y ADMINISTRACIÓN:
Pelayo, 28. - Teléfono 14135

FUNDADORES: DON CARLOS Y DON BARTOLOMÉ GODO — Año LIX. - Número 24.050 — DIRECTOR: LUIS DE GALINSOGA

Día del Caudillo, día de España

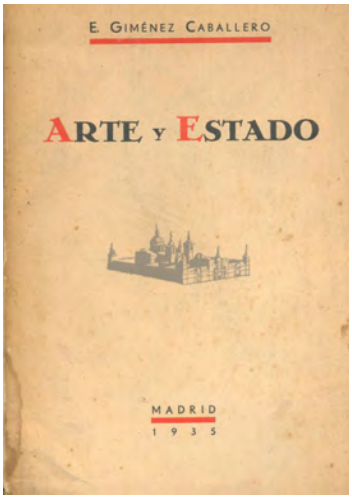
EN la múltiple diversidad de sus tareas y de sus desvelos, el Jefe del Estado y Generalísimo de los Ejércitos conduce los Destinos imprescriptibles de España con mano digna, sabia y prudente, a través de las trágicas tormentas universales de la hora presente. Al frente del Ejército y del Movimiento, integradores de la nación, Franco es la suprema garantía de nuestro derecho y de nuestra soberanía ante el mundo

¡VIVA FRANCO!
¡ARRIBA ESPAÑA!
¡VIVA ESPAÑA!

Fig.2.10: Cover, *La Vanguardia*, October 1, 1943. Amongst the images shown in the propaganda efforts to construe Franco as leader of the nation, there are images of his leading the masses, the military, and the church, as well as the construction of new housing developments (below left)

Fig.2.11: Site under construction, EUR 42, Universal Exhibition in Rome, 1941, overseen by Marcello Piaccentini. As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 1-4 (1941).

Fig.2.12: Francisco Franco presiding over the Third National Architects Assembly, June 30, 1941.



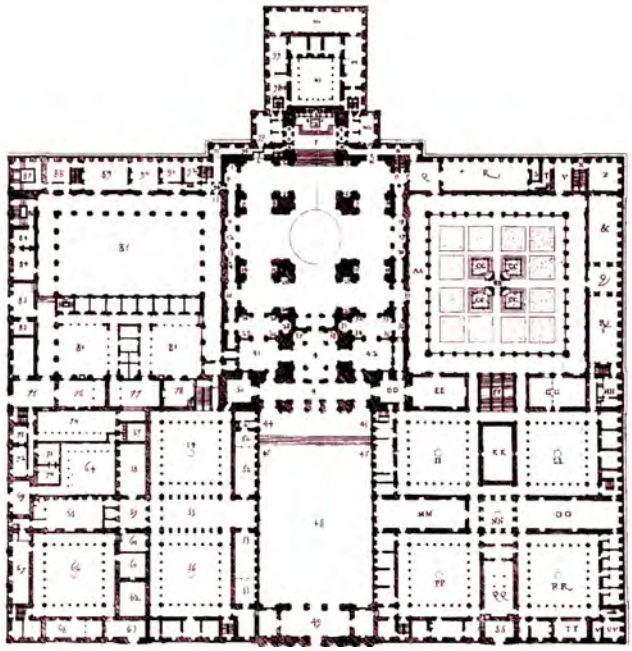


Fig.2.13: Cover, *Arte y Estado*, 1935, by Ernesto Gimenez Caballero (above right); Plan and aerial view (above left and below), San Lorenzo de El Escorial Monastery, by Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, sixteenth century.

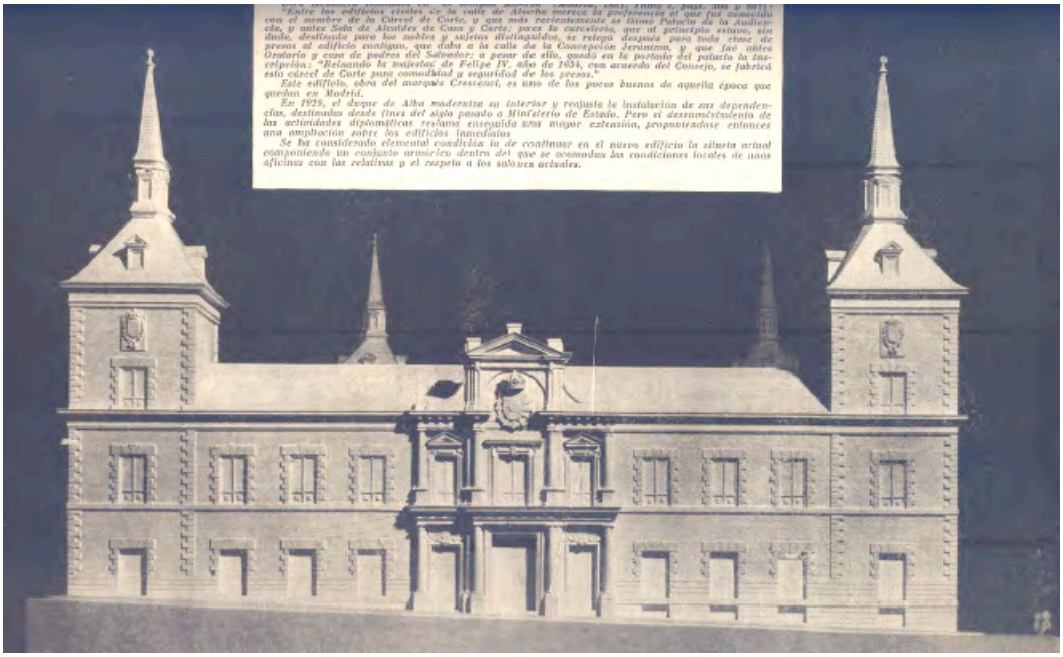
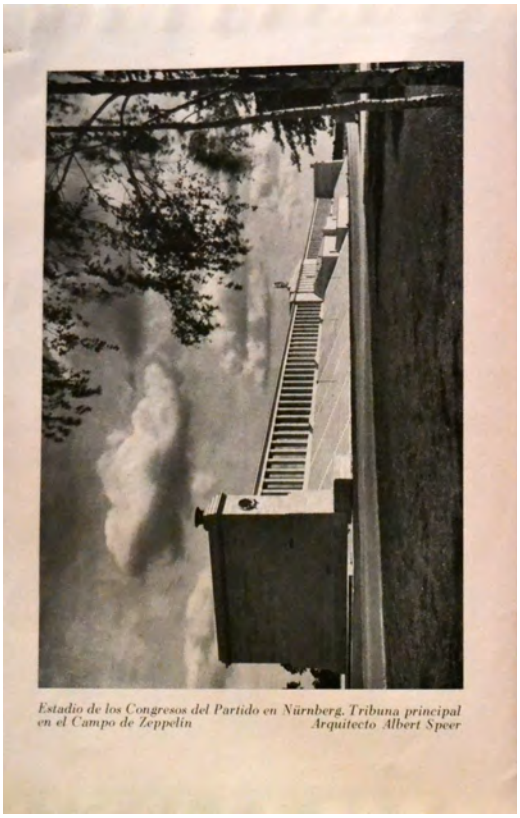


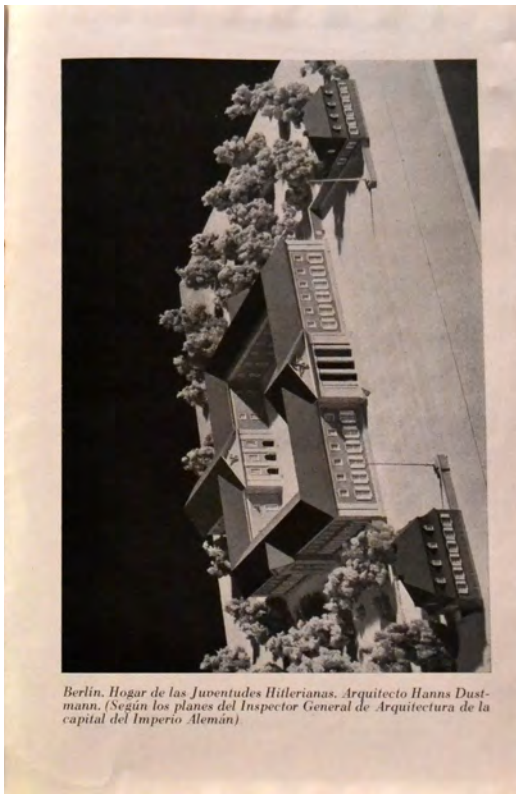
Fig.2.14: Model. Extension of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Madrid, 1942, by Pedro Muguruza. As shown in the 1942 Exhibition of General Directorate of Architecture, Crystal Palace, Madrid, 1942.

Fig.2.15: Exterior view. Civil Government Building, Pamplona, 1936-1942, by Javier Fernandez Golfin and, after the wat, Jose Alzugaray and Luis Moya.

Fig.2.16: Model. Civil Government Building, Las Palmas, 1942, by Eduardo Laforet, Manuel Valcorrea, and Antonio de Mesa. As shown in the 1942 Exhibition of General Directorate of Architecture, Crystal Palace, Madrid, 1942.



Estadio de los Congresos del Partido en Nürnberg. Tribuna principal en el Campo de Zeppelin *Arquitecto Albert Speer*



Berlín. Hogar de las Juventudes Hitlerianas. Arquitecto Hanns Dustmann. (Según los planes del Inspector General de Arquitectura de la capital del Imperio Alemán)

Fig.2.17: Exterior view. Nuremberg Stadium, 1937, Albert Speer (left): Model. Home for the Nazi Youth, 1942, by Hans Dustman (right). As published in the Catalogue *Arquitectura Moderna Alemana*, 1942.

.


El Führer conferencia con Albert Speer, sobre los planos de construcción, en el estudio del artista en el Monte Obersalzberg

Fig.2.18: Cover (left) and counter cover. Catalogue *Arquitectura Moderna Alemana*, 1942.

.

a)

Frío racionalismo y materiales efímeros son las características de esta equivocada arquitectura representativa.

(Casa del Fascio en Abano, obra del ingeniero Calabi.)

b)

Lo mismo podemos decir de esta Casa del Fascio en San Giorgio in Bosco, obra del ingeniero Calabi.

Conjunto acertado el de los cuarteles del Regimiento Gran Alemania, en Berlín. En esta fachada observamos cierta gracia y algunos defectos de finura y composición, de los que mencionaremos: el error de situar la balaustrada dentro del zócalo y no sobre él; la desproporción entre los huecos de balcón y sus pequeños guardapolvos, la pesadez de éstos por falta de tarjetón y de finura en el moldurado, y finalmente, la pequeñez del paño de piedra que sirve de arquitrabe y friso al entablamento. El conjunto, repetimos, nos parece un acierto a pesar de todo.

Fig.2.19: Interior illustrations. *Ensayo sobre las directrices de un estilo Imperial*, by Diego Reina, 1944.

Fig.2.20: Elevation, preliminary project, c. 1943. Air Force Ministry, Madrid, 1943-1954, by Luis Gutiérrez Soto.

.

Fig.2.21: Exterior view. Air Force Ministry, Madrid, 1943-1954, by Luis Gutiérrez Soto.

.

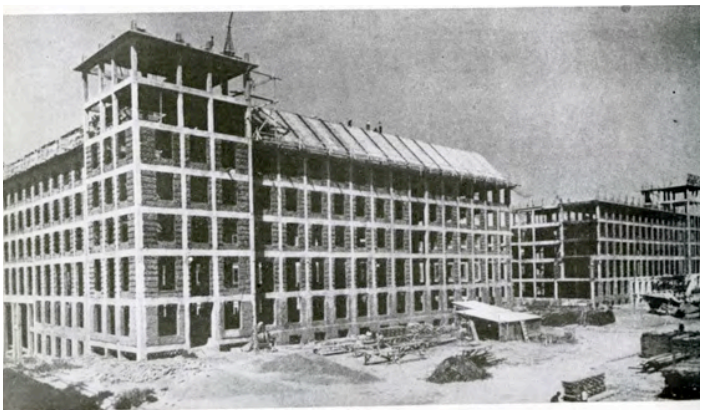
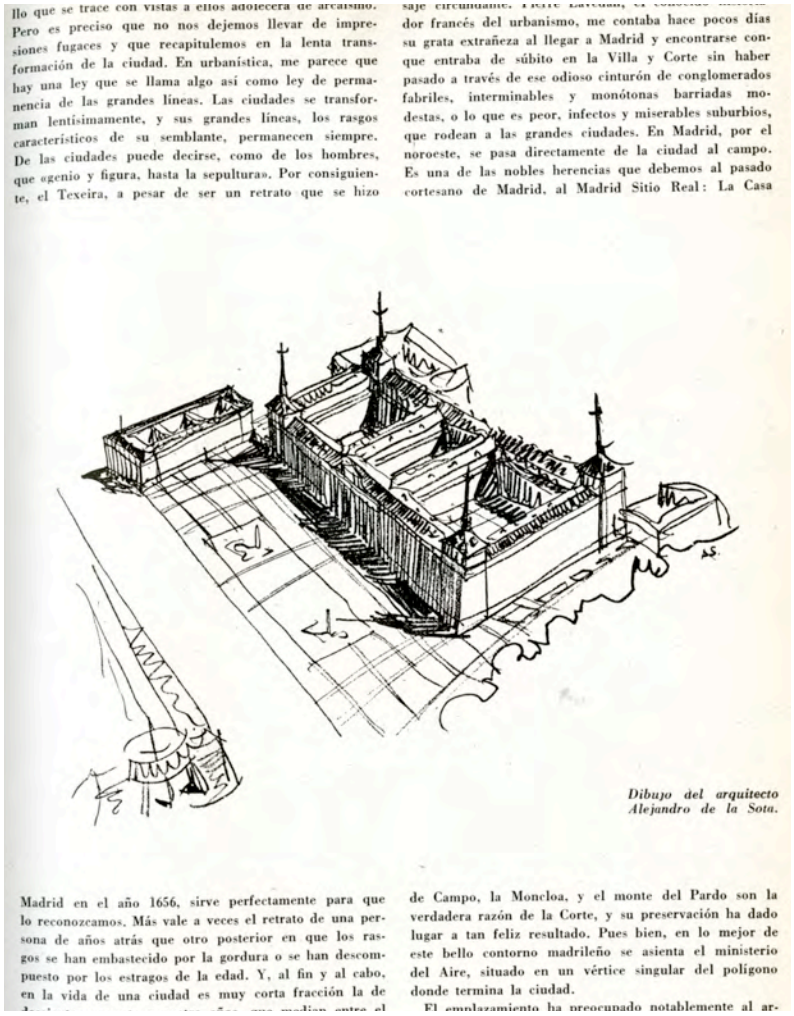


Fig.2.22: Exterior view, under construction, c. 1951 Air Force Ministry, Madrid, 1943-1954, by Luis Gutiérrez Soto.

.



llo que se trace con vistas a ellos adolecerá de arcaísmo. Pero es preciso que no nos dejemos llevar de impresiones fugaces y que recapitulemos en la lenta transformación de la ciudad. En urbanística, me parece que hay una ley que se llama algo así como ley de permanencia de las grandes líneas. Las ciudades se transforman lentísimamente, y sus grandes líneas, los rasgos característicos de su semblante, permanecen siempre. De las ciudades puede decirse, como de los hombres, que «genio y figura, hasta la sepultura». Por consiguiente, el Texeira, a pesar de ser un retrato que se hizo

dor francés del urbanismo, me contaba hace pocos días su grata extrañeza al llegar a Madrid y encontrarse conque entraba de súbito en la Villa y Corte sin haber pasado a través de ese odioso cinturón de conglomerados fabriles, interminables y monótonas barriadas modestas, o lo que es peor, infectos y miserables suburbios, que rodean a las grandes ciudades. En Madrid, por el noroeste, se pasa directamente de la ciudad al campo. Es una de las nobles herencias que debemos al pasado cortesano de Madrid, al Madrid Sitio Real: La Casa

Dibujo del arquitecto Alejandro de la Sota.

Madrid en el año 1656, sirve perfectamente para que lo reconozcamos. Más vale a veces el retrato de una persona de años atrás que otro posterior en que los rasgos se han embastecido por la gordura o se han descompuesto por los estragos de la edad. Y, al fin y al cabo, en la vida de una ciudad es muy corta fracción la de

de Campo, la Moncloa, y el monte del Pardo son la verdadera razón de la Corte, y su preservación ha dado lugar a tan feliz resultado. Pues bien, en lo mejor de este bello contorno madrileño se asienta el ministerio del Aire, situado en un vértice singular del polígono donde termina la ciudad.

El emplazamiento ha preocupado notablemente al ar-

Fig.2.23: Sketch by Alejandro de la Sota, c. 1951. Air Force Ministry, Madrid, 1943-1954, by Luis Gutiérrez Soto. As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XI-112, 1951, p.42.

Fig.2.24: San Lorenzo de El Escorial Monastery, by Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, sixteenth century. Alejandro de la Sota and Jesus de la Sota (above), frame of the west façade (below), 1945

Fig.2.25: Exterior view. Civil Government Building, Santander, 1941-42, by Rafael Huidobro.

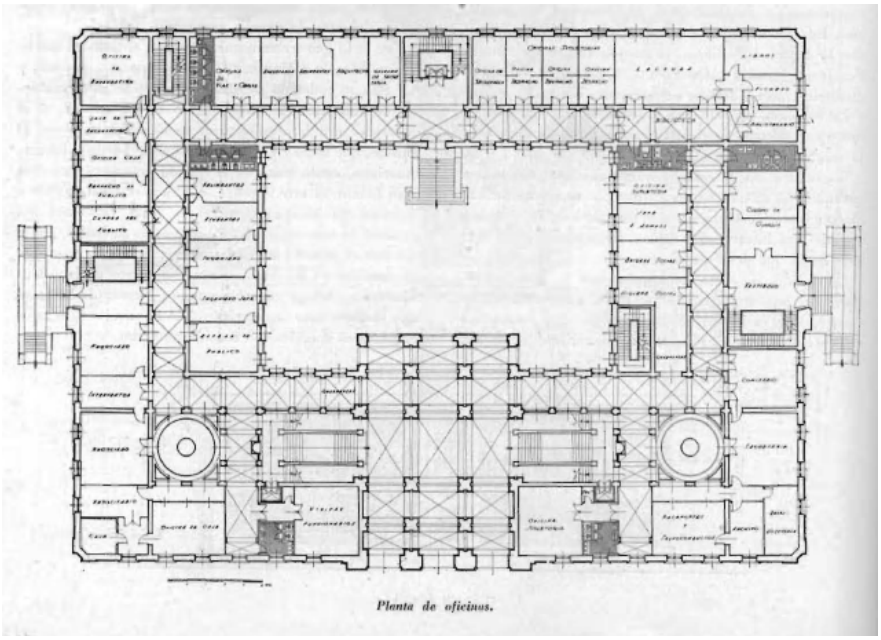


Fig.2.26: Plan and front elevation. Civil Government and Provincial Palace Building, Murcia, c.1943, by Miguel Fisac and Daniel Carbonell Ruiz.

Fig.2.27: Exterior view. Civil Government and Provincial Palace Building, Castellon, c. 1950. Below, an undefined Civil Government Building under construction..

.

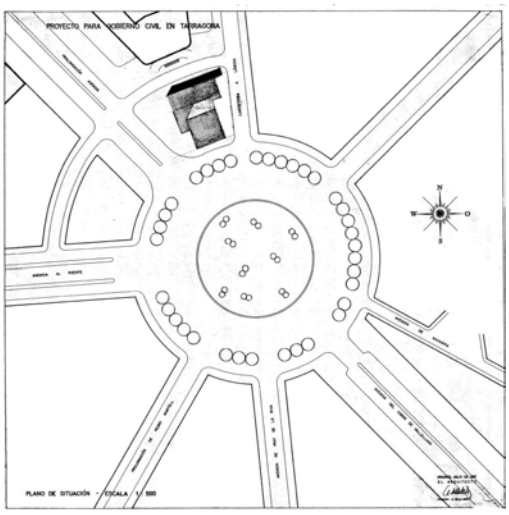


Fig.2.28: Plan and view. Plaza Imperial Tarraco, Tarragona, c. 1959. Site for the new Civil Government Building on the north side.

Fig.2.29: Elevation and exterior view of main façade, to the Avenida del Generalisimo (today Paseo de la Castellana). Trade Union Organization Building, Casa Sindical, 1949-XX, Madrid, by Rafael Aburto and Francisco Cabrero.

.

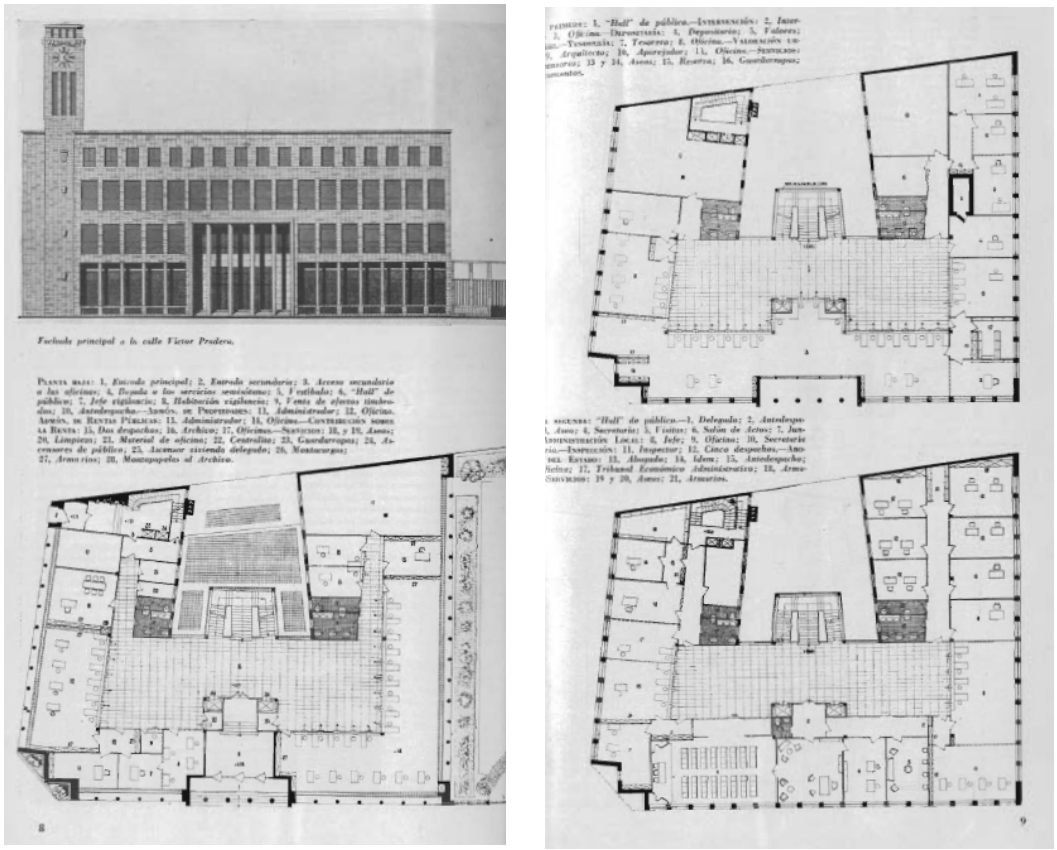


Fig.2.30: Plans and elevation, competition board, first prize. Finance Headquarters Building, Logroño, 1952, by Manuel Romero Aguirre and Jose Romero Aguirre.

.

Fig.2.31: Exterior perspective, competition board, first prize. Finance Headquarters Building, Logroño, 1952, by Manuel Romero Aguirre and Jose Romero Aguirre.

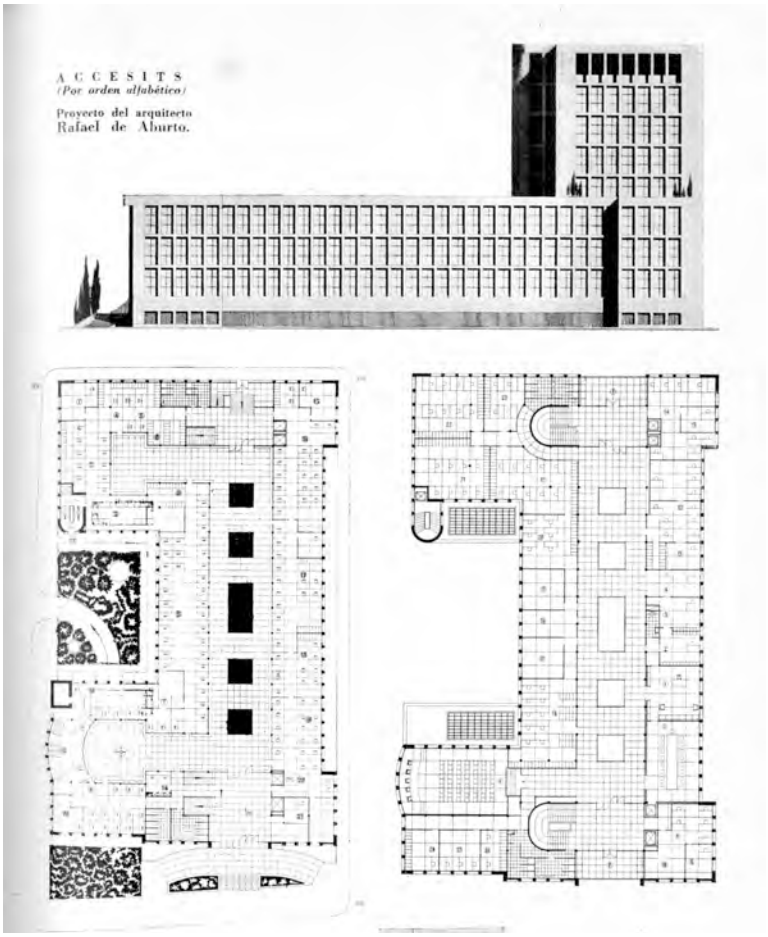


Fig.2.32: Competition boards, accesit. Finance Headquarters Building, Valencia, 1952, by Rafael Aburto (above); Competition boards, first prize. Finance Headquarters Building, Leon, 1955, by Carlos Carmona (below).

Perspectiva de conjunto.

CONCURSO PARA DELEGACION DE HACIENDA EN TARRAGONA

PRIMER PREMIO
EX-AEQUO
Arquitectos: A. Arroyo
J. Onrrubia
J. M.ª Alonso

En el concurso abierto por el Ministerio de Hacienda para su Delegación en la ciudad de Tarragona, el Jurado ha otorgado dos primeros premios ex-aequo a los proyectos de los arquitectos A. Arroyo, J. Onrrubia, J. M.ª Alonso y Alejandro de la Sota, y un tercer premio al proyecto del arquitecto Mariano Nazarre.

El marcado carácter de la ciudad de Tarragona (Tarraco), que como ninguna otra goza de un *genius loci* tan acusado, determina una norma de ambiente y un camino claro a seguir, limitando la libertad de composición hacia la armonía de conjunto de este edificio con el resto de la ciudad.

Del estudio de lo que allí hicieron hemos llegado a las siguientes conclusiones, aplicadas a nuestro caso:

Idéntico empleo de materiales.

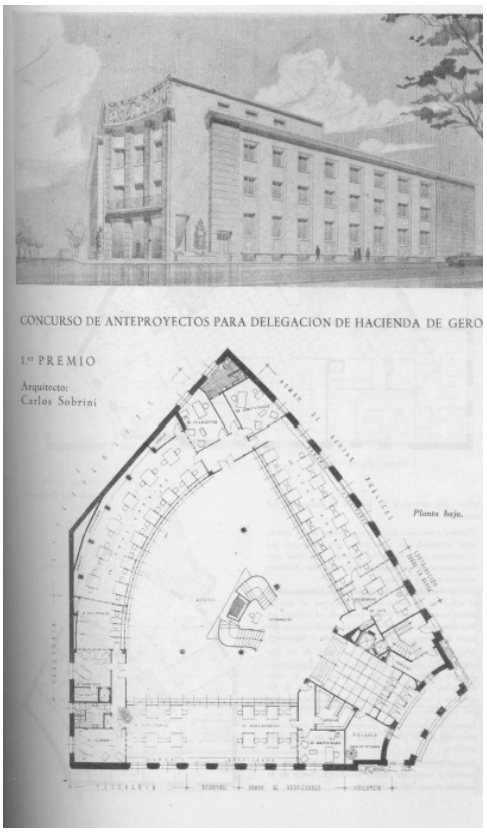
Proporción del edificio en correspondencia con el módulo unitario.

Idéntico criterio en la ponderación del macizo y del vano.

Zonificación del alzado en parte basamental, intermedia y de coronación.

El monumento más característico e impostante de la arqueología de Tarragona, y acaso de España entera, son sus murallas. La composición de ésta nos marca la pauta en el tratamiento del despiece de la fachada: zona basamental (zona ciclópea), con un fuerte llagueado horizontal; zona intermedia, con el despiece horizontal romano de semejantes proporciones y labra, y excavación inspirada en la de la Torre del Arzobispo, en la cual unos adiamentos romanos dan lugar a un repetido juego de luces y sombras.

Fachadas desarrolladas.



CONCURSO DE ANTEPROYECTOS PARA DELEGACION DE HACIENDA DE GERO

1.º PREMIO

Arquitecto:
Carlos Sobrini

Planta baja.

Fig.2.33: Competition board, first prize. Finance Headquarters Building, Tarragona, 1953, by Alberto Arroyo left); Competition board, first prize. Finance Headquarters Building, Gerona, 1954, by Carlos Sobrini (right).

.

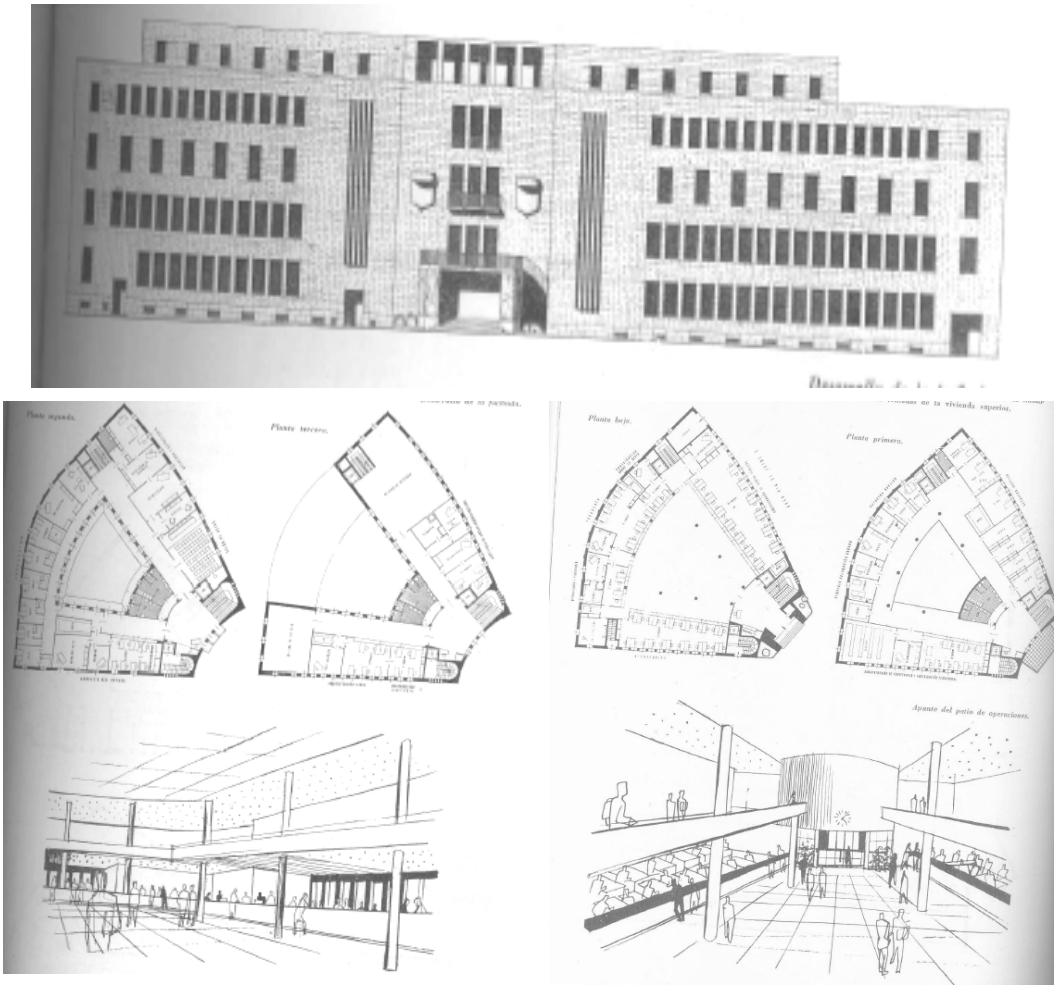


Fig.2.34: Competition boards, second prize. Finance Headquarters Building, Gerona, 1954, by José Picardo.

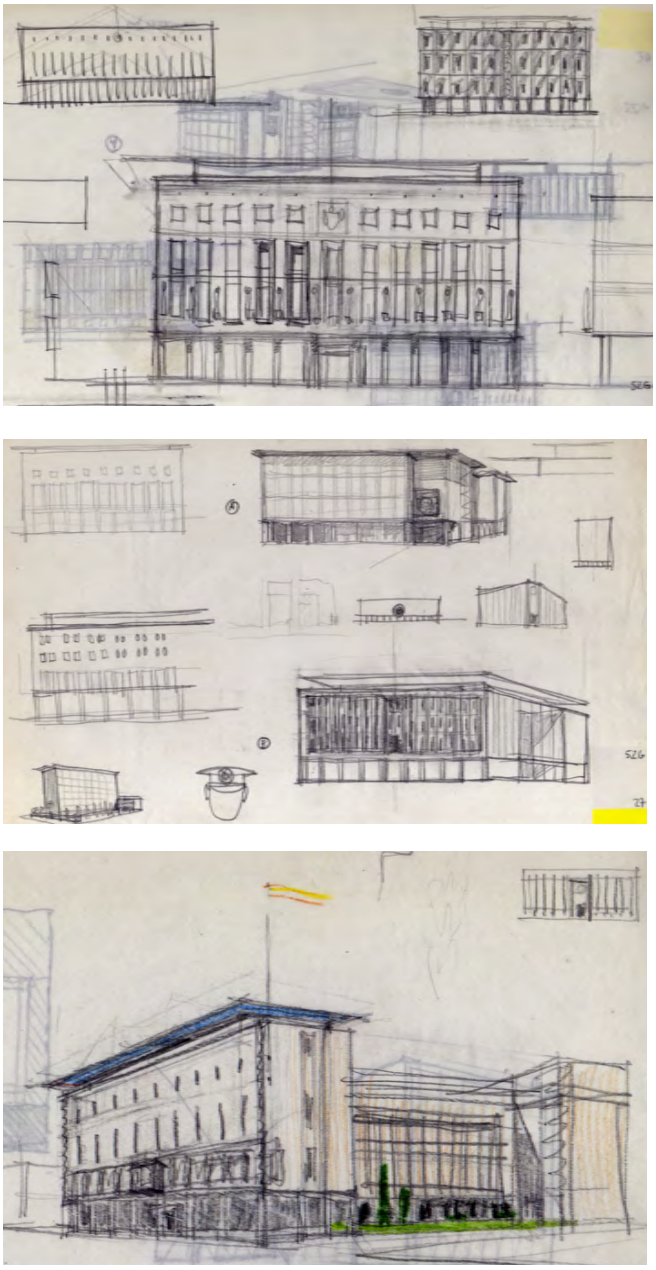


Fig.2.35: Elevation sketches, design phase. Finance Headquarters Building, Valencia, 1952, by Alejandro de la Sota .

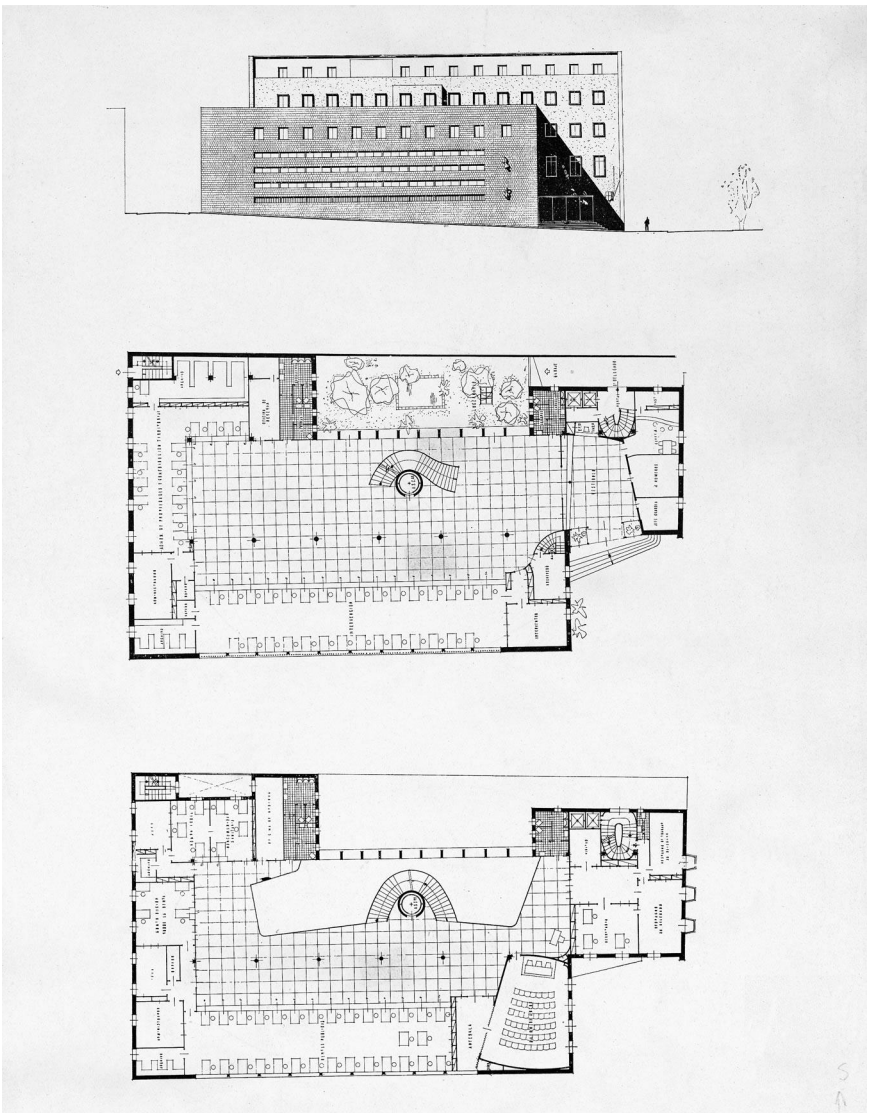


Fig.2.36: Plans and elevation, competition board. Finance Headquarters Building, Tarragona, 1953, by Alejandro de la Sota.

.

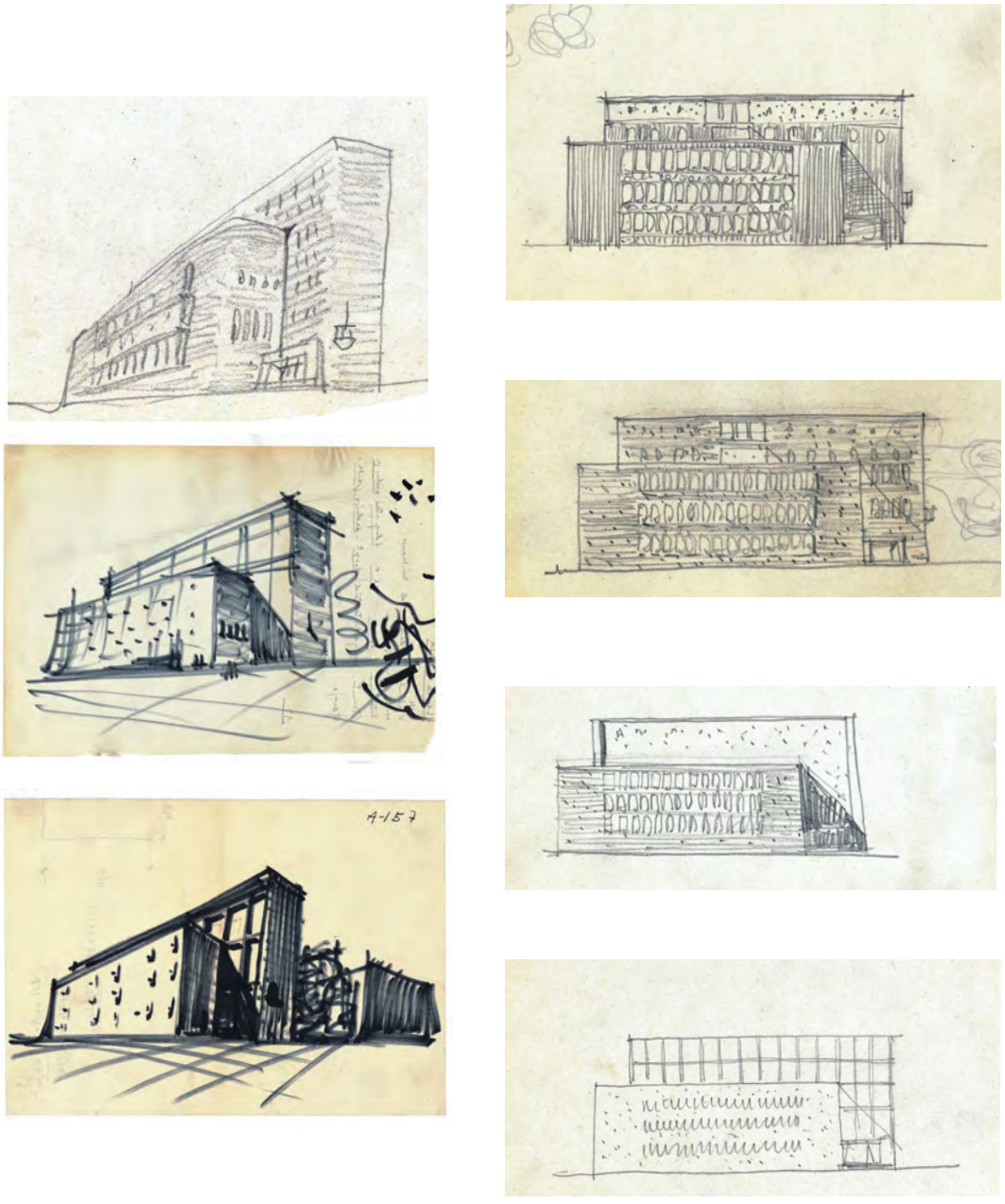
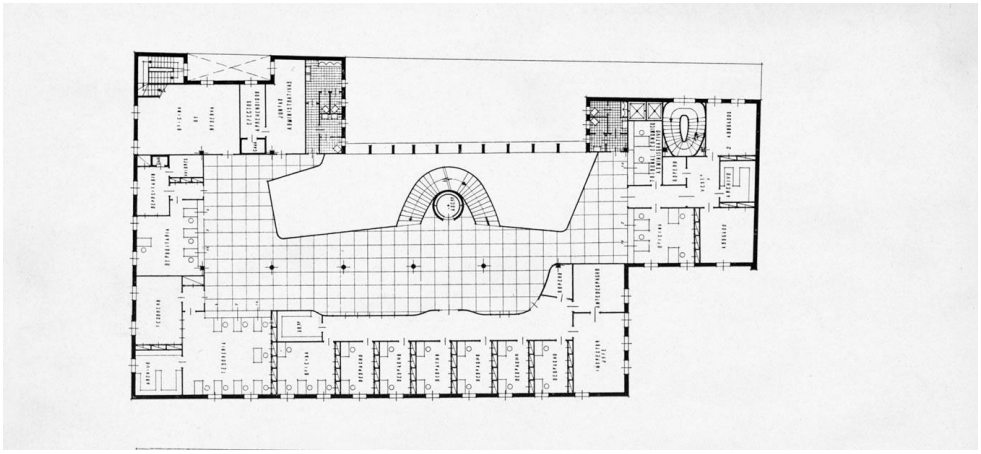


Fig.2.37: Elevation and volumetric sketches, design phase. Finance Headquarters Building, Tarragona, 1953, by Alejandro de la Sota.



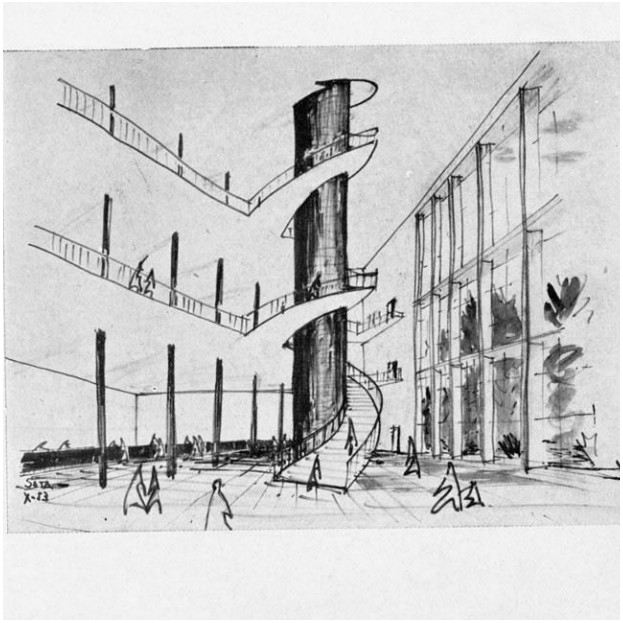
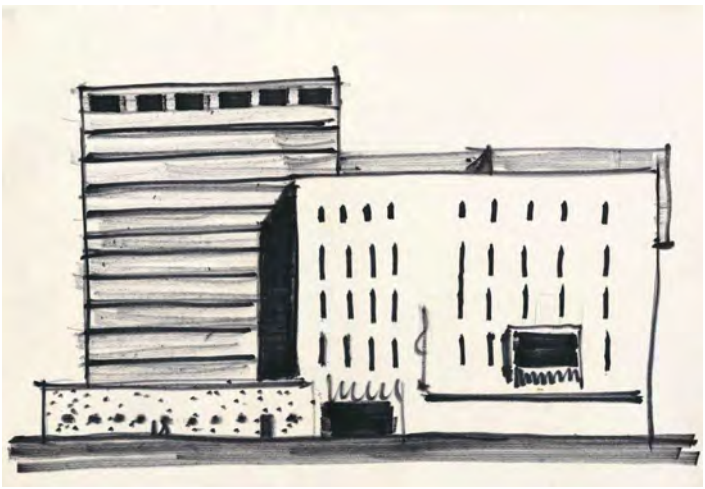


Fig.2.38: Plan and interior perspective of central hall, competition board. Finance Headquarters Building, Tarragona, 1953, by Alejandro de la Sota.

.



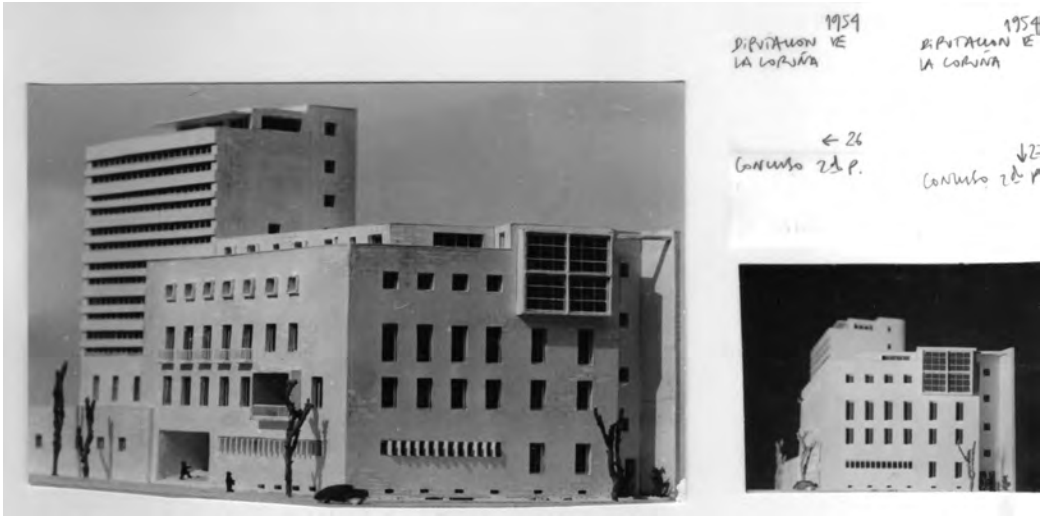


Fig.2.39: Elevation sketch (above) and model (below). Provincial Palace, La Coruña, 1954, by Alejandro de la Sota.

.

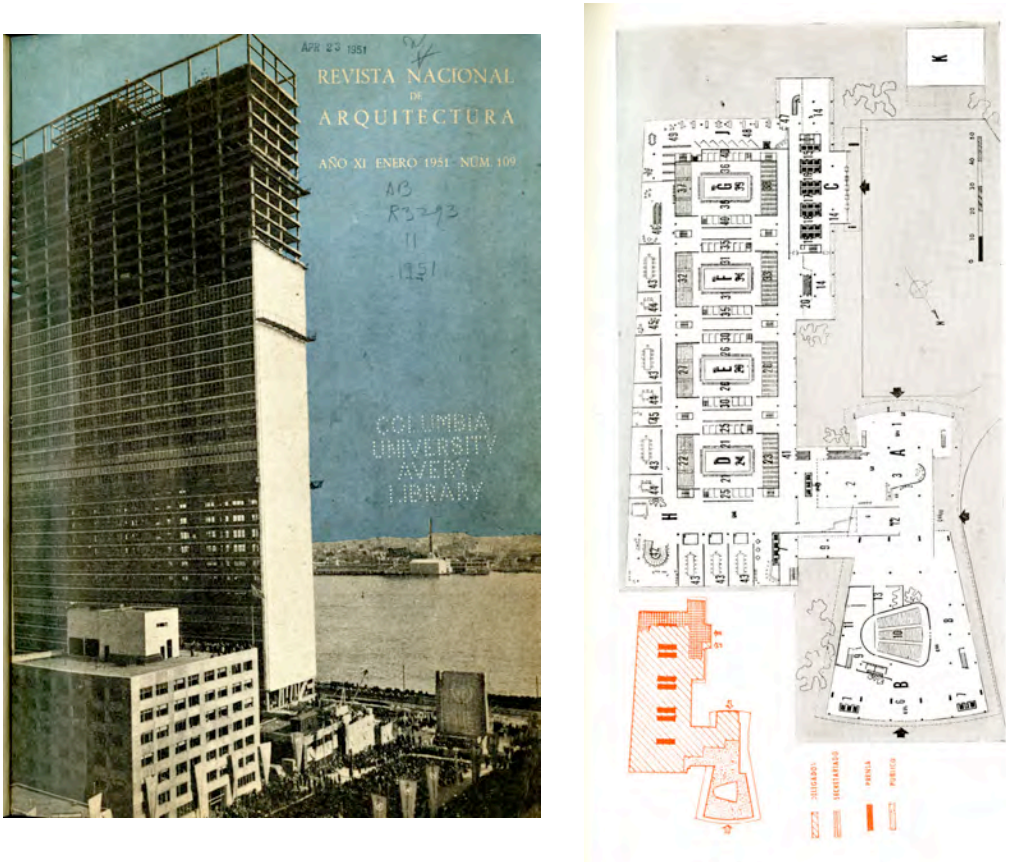


Fig.2.40: Site under construction (left), main floorplan (right). United Nations Headquarters, New York, 1948-1952. As published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 109, 1952.

Fig.2.41: Montaged model. Provincial Palace, La Coruña, 1954, by Alejandro de la Sota.

PRIMER PREMIO

Concurso para Delegación de Hacienda en La Coruña

Arquitectos: Alejandro de la Sota. Antonio Tenrerio. Ramón Vázquez Molezún.

La regularidad del solar permite y obliga a hacer soluciones de composición, de planta y volúmenes, sencillas y claras.

Se eligió un módulo reticular de 5,90 × 5,90 m. para el trazado estructural de plantas, que permite una elasticidad grande en la distribución interior y se ajusta perfectamente a la categoría de edificios públicos de esta índole.

Pesó al proyectar el recuerdo de la arquitectura de La Coruña, la de mayor tradición, la de las casas acristaladas que, estructuradas, nos llevan a soluciones ligeras y diáfanas.

Estudiada la Delegación con estructura de soportes metálicos, se consigue plenamente este fin de aligerar profundamente el concepto del edificio.

Arquitectura tradicional coruñesa.

Fig.2.42: Exterior perspective (above), photograph of local miradores (below), competition board. Finance Headquarters Building, La Coruña, 1955-56, by Alejandro de la Sota, Ramón Vazquez Molezún and Antonio Tenrerio.

.

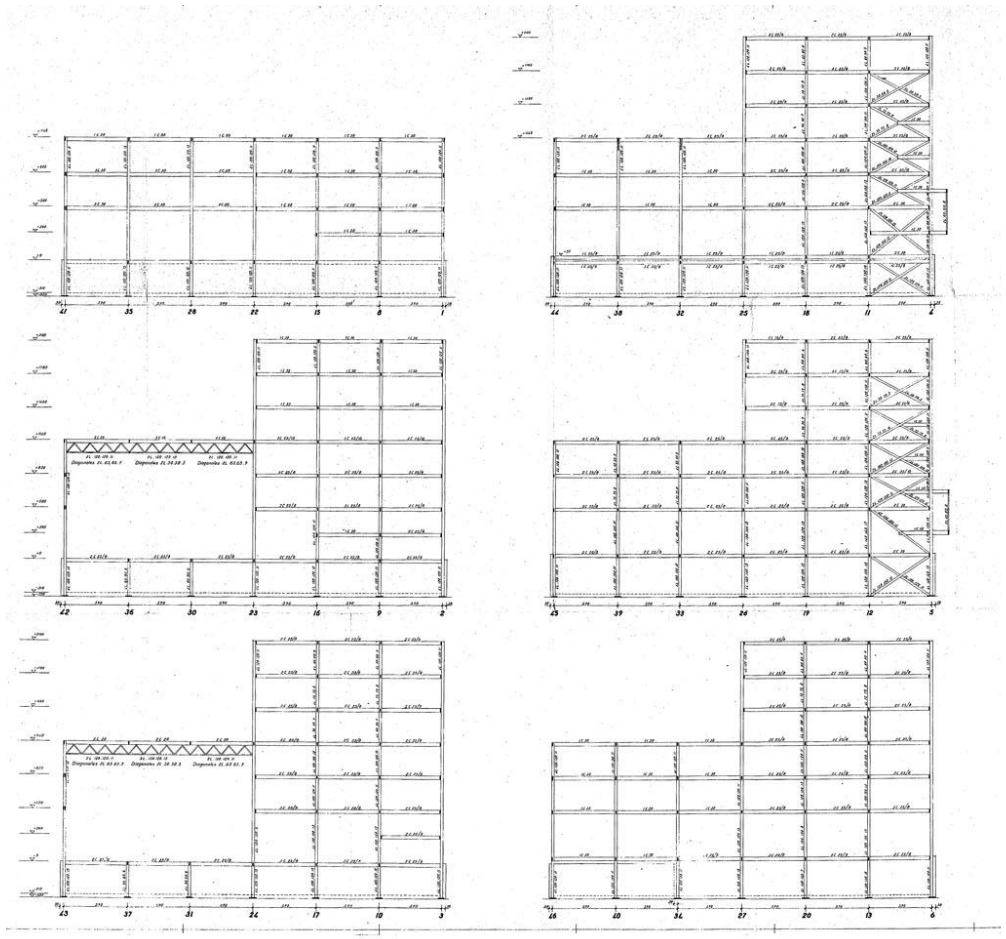


Fig.2.43: Structural sections, 1956. Finance Headquarters Building, La Coruña, 1955-56, by Alejandro de la Sota, Ramón Vazquez Molezún and Antonio Tenrerio.

Fig.2.44: Floorplans, 1956. Finance Headquarters Building, La Coruña, 1956, by Alejandro de la Sota, Ramón Vazquez Molezún and Antonio Tenrerio.

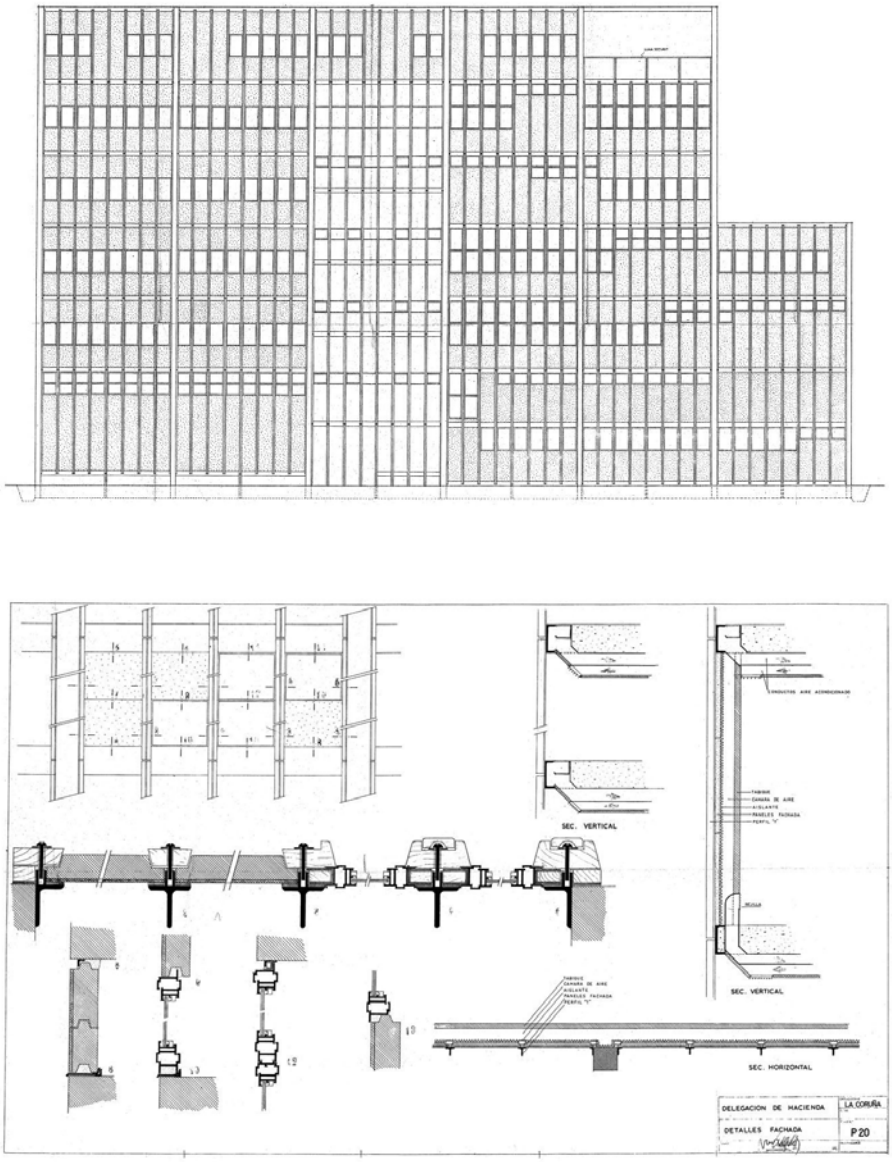
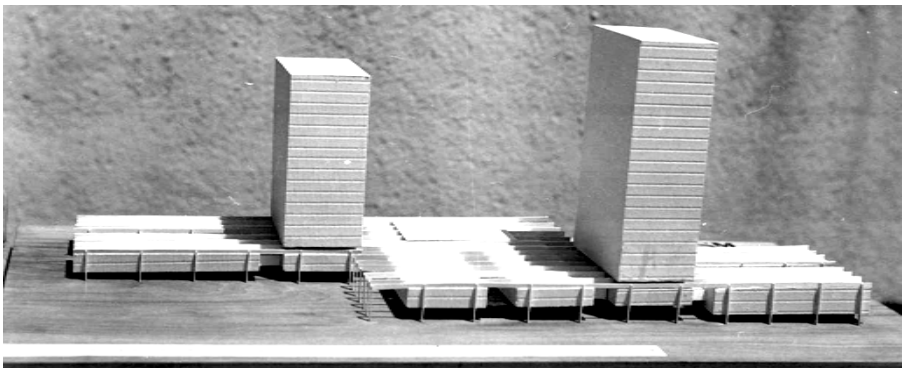


Fig.2.45: Elevation (above) and exterior panel construction detail, 1956. Finance Headquarters Building, La Coruña, 1956, by Alejandro de la Sota, Ramón Vazquez Molezún and Antonio Tenrerio.



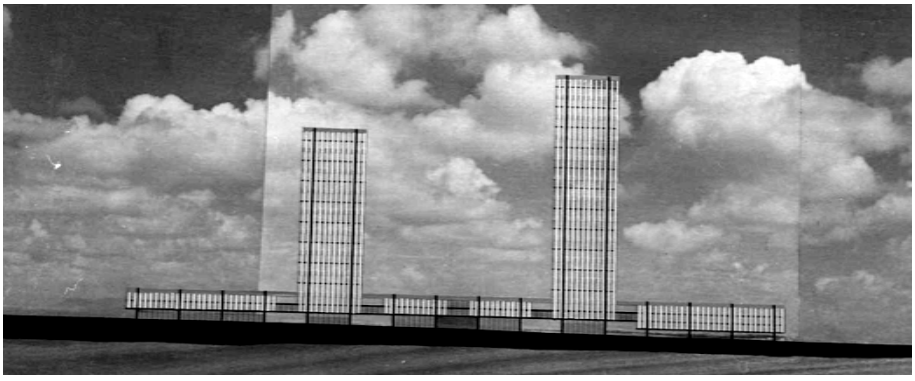


Fig.2.46: Montaged model, preparation for competition boards, second prize. Ministries on Industry and Commerce, Madrid, 1956, by Alejandro de la Sota, Ramón Vazquez Molezún, Juan Antonio Corrales, Javier Sáenz de Oiza and Jose Luis Romany.

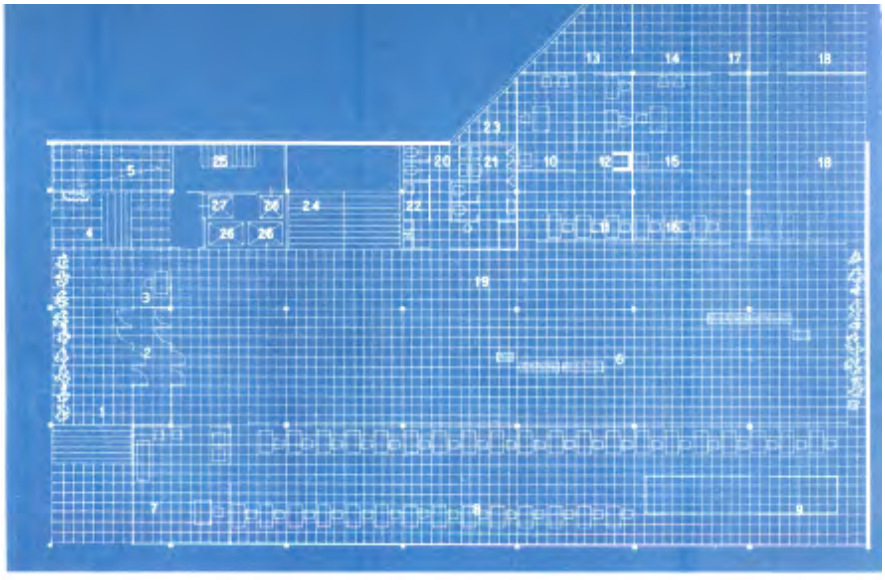


Fig.2.47: Plan, competition board, first prize. Finance Headquarters Building, San Sebastian, 1957, by Javier Saénz de Oiza.

.

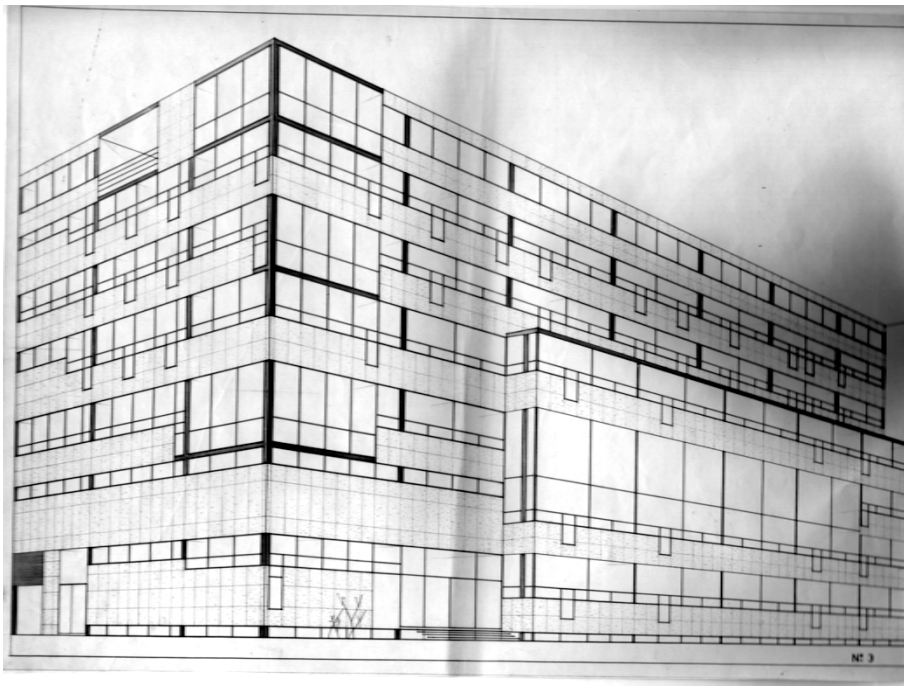


Fig.2.48: Exterior perspective, competition board. Finance Headquarters Building, San Sebastian, 1957, by Alejandro de la Sota.

.

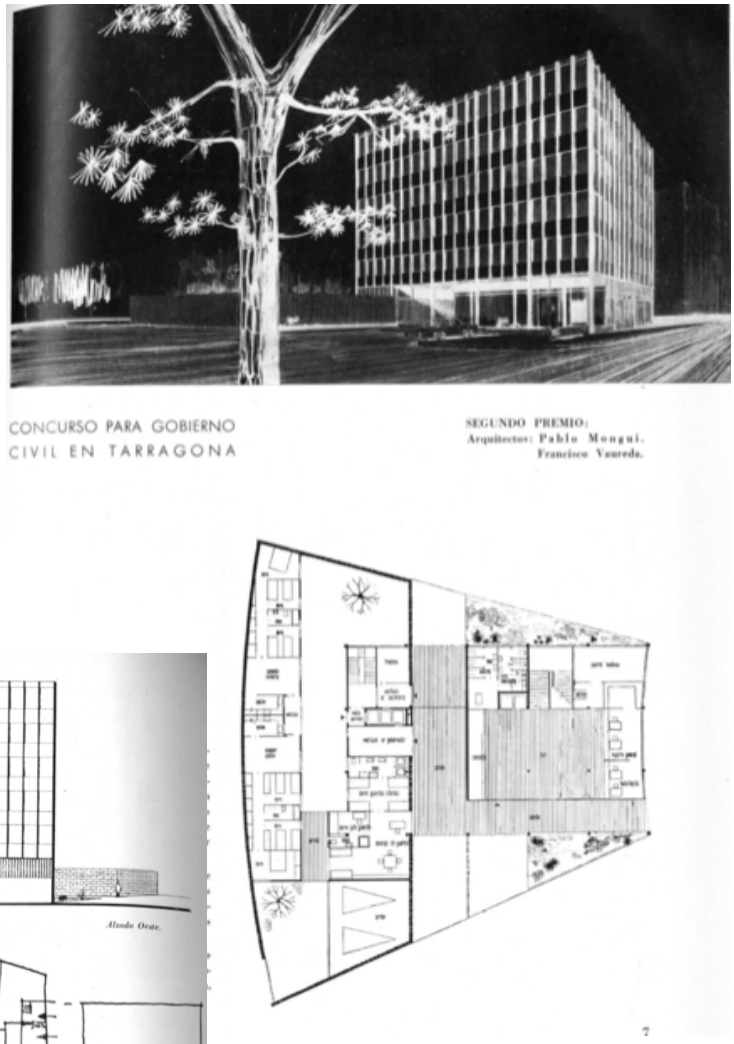


Fig.2.49: Plan, elevations, and exterior perspective, competition boards, second prize. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956, by Pablo Mongui and Francisco Vaureda.

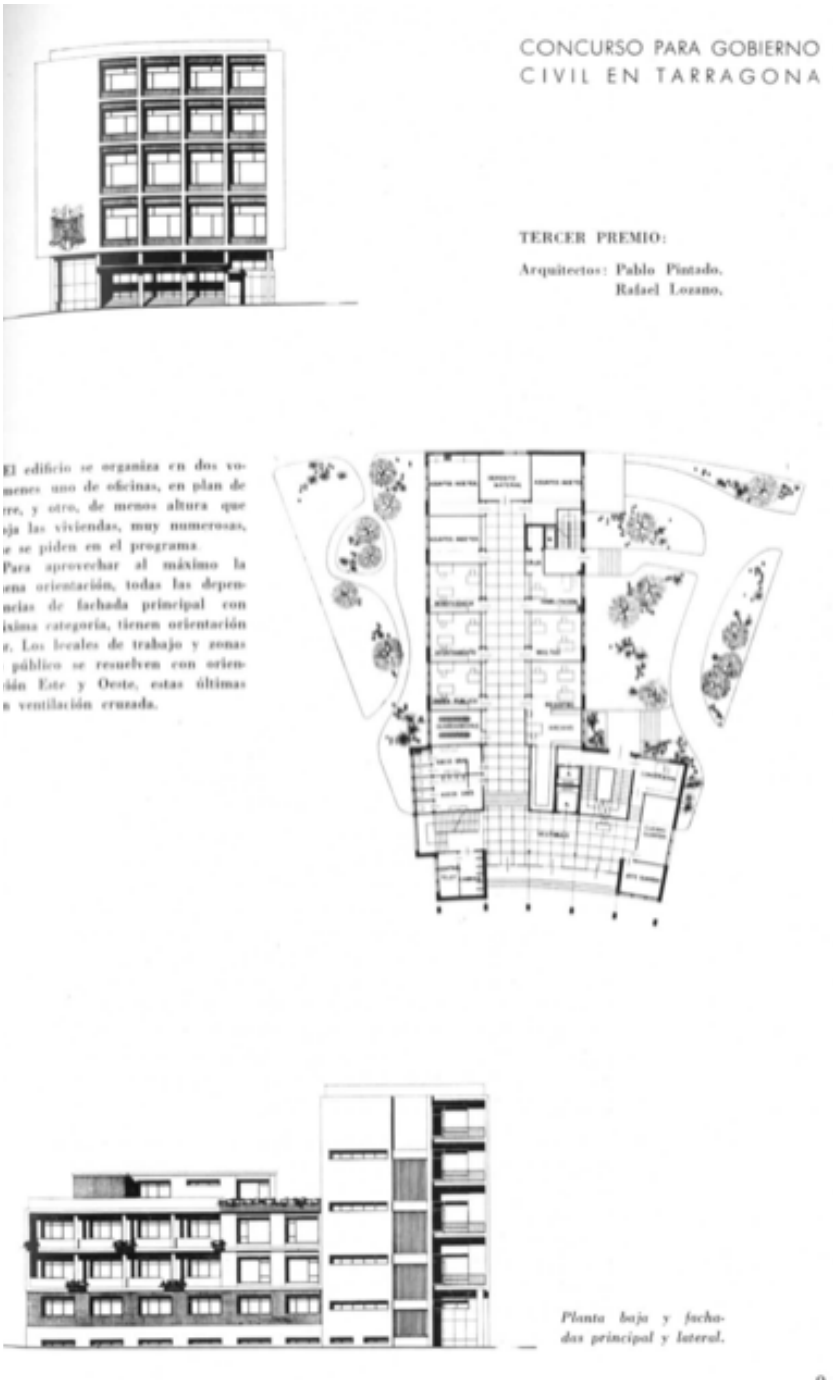


Fig.2.50: Plan and elevations, competition board, third prize. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956, by Pablo Pintado and Rafael Lozano.

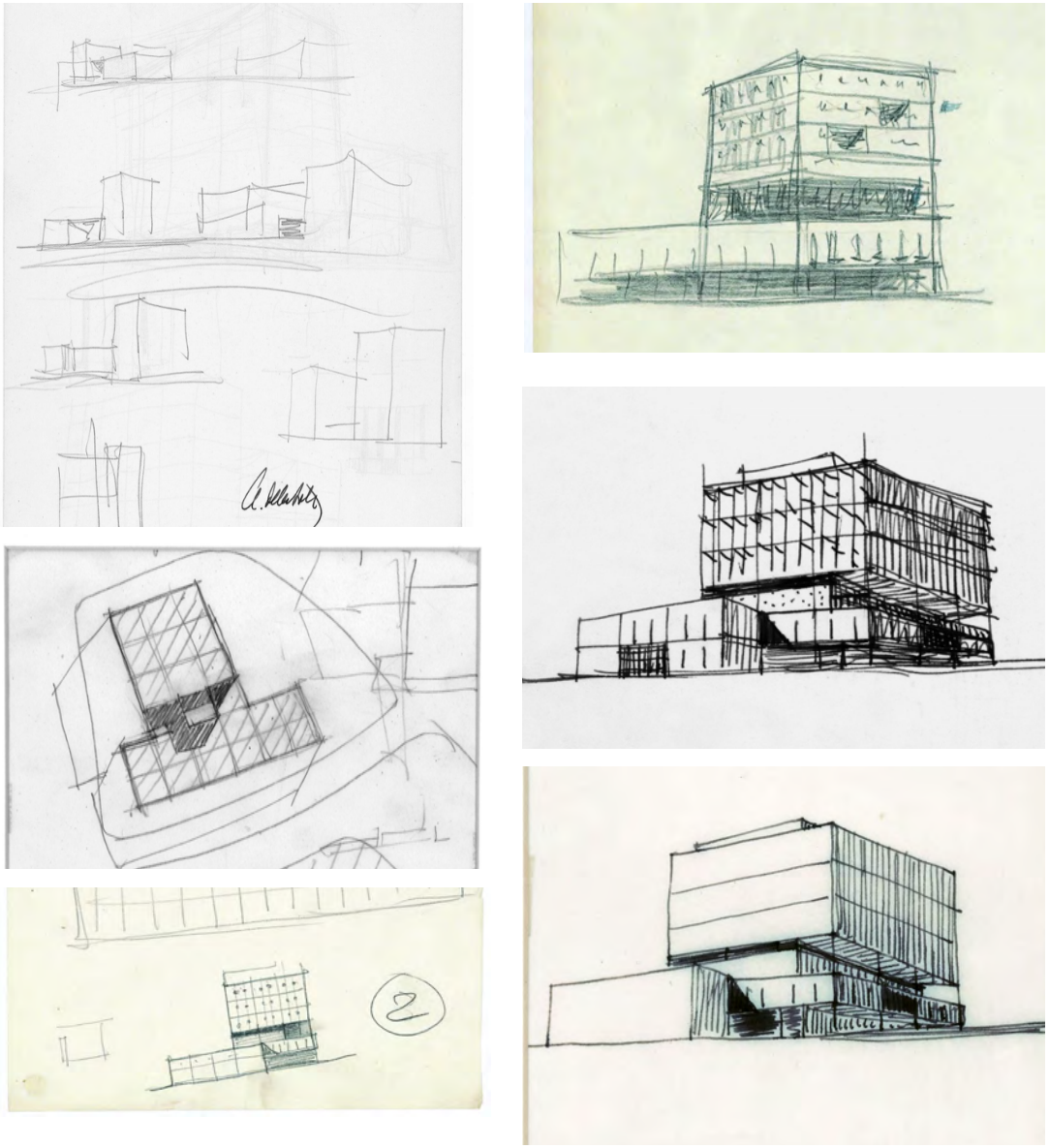


Fig.2.51: Elevation and volumetric sketches, design phase, est. august-sept 1956. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

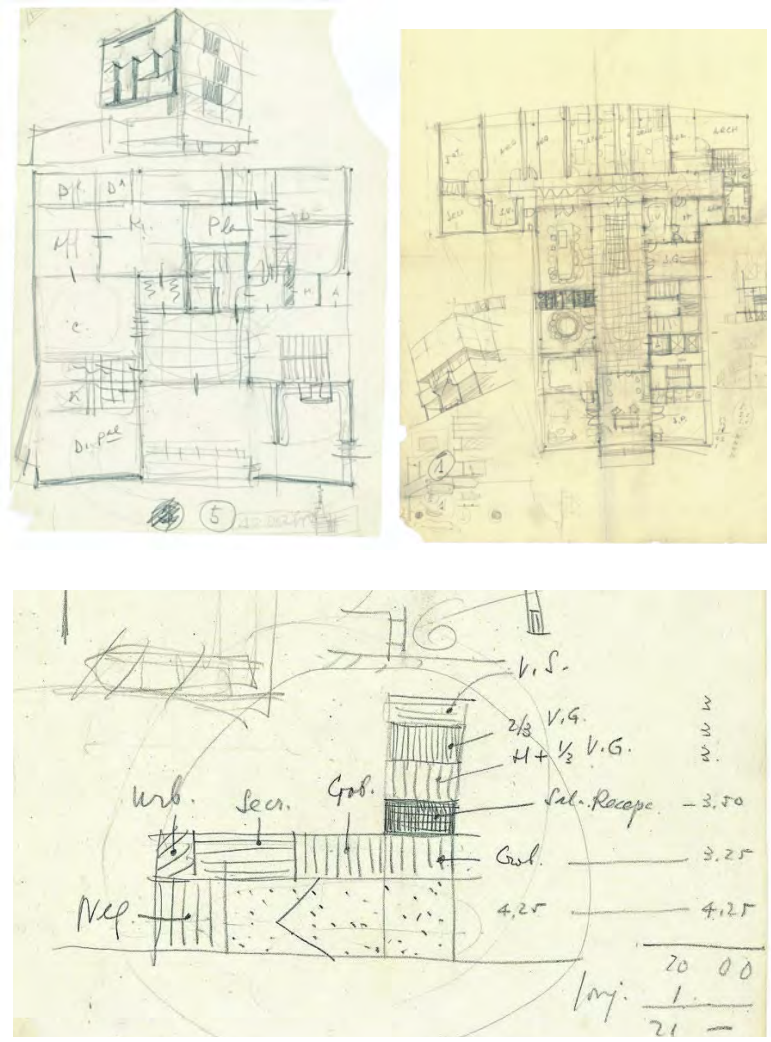
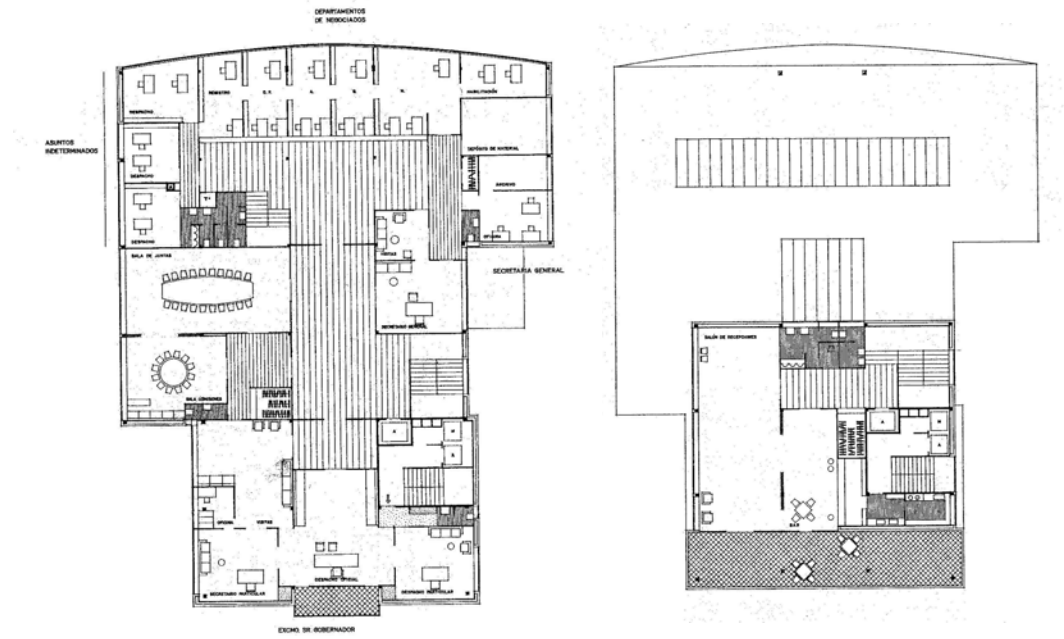


Fig.2.52: Program distribution sketches, design phase, est. august-sept 1956. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.



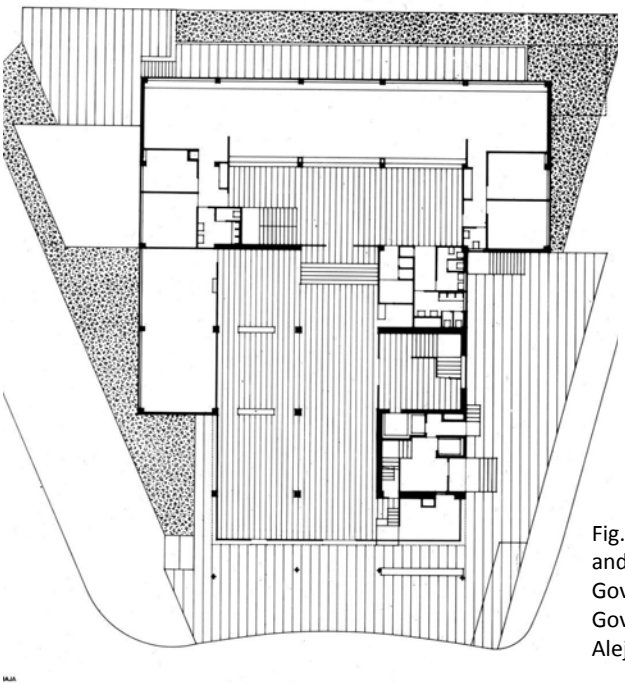


Fig.2.53: Floorplans: access floor (left), second and third floor above, October 1956. Civil Government Building, October 1956. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.2.54: Floorplans: fourth floor (left) and up (above), October 1956. Civil Government Building, October 1956. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.2.55: Interior view, Governor's offices and meeting rooms. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.2.56: Interior view, entry vestibule with acces to public administration offices toward the back and access to Governor's official quarters on the right (above), looking out toward Plaza Imperial Tarraco and with the private acces to the Governor's residence on the front left (below). Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.2.57: Construction site (from up down): foundation and early structure, with concrete structure on the back and steel pillars on front, February 1960; laying out the brick infill; laying out the stone panels, July 1960. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.2.58: Design drawing (left), detail photograpoh (right) of copper banister for the stairs leading to Governors' official quarters. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.
.

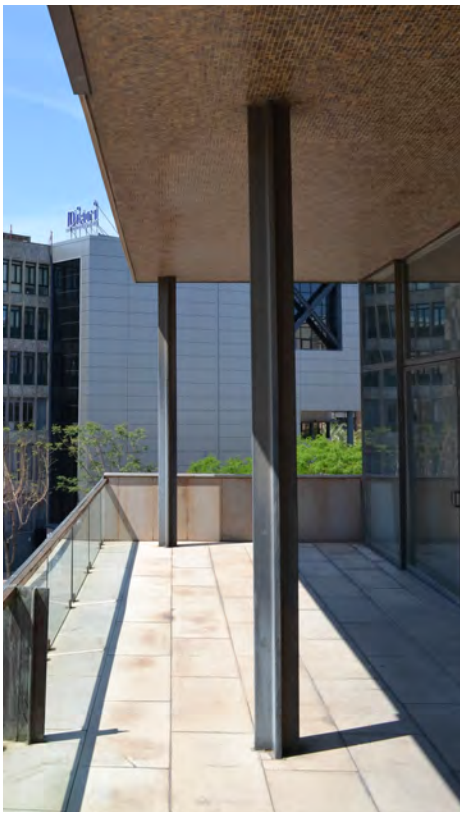


Fig.2.59: Construction picture (left), 1960, and as is (right) of steel structure on front, showing the inset and slight curve of the pillars. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

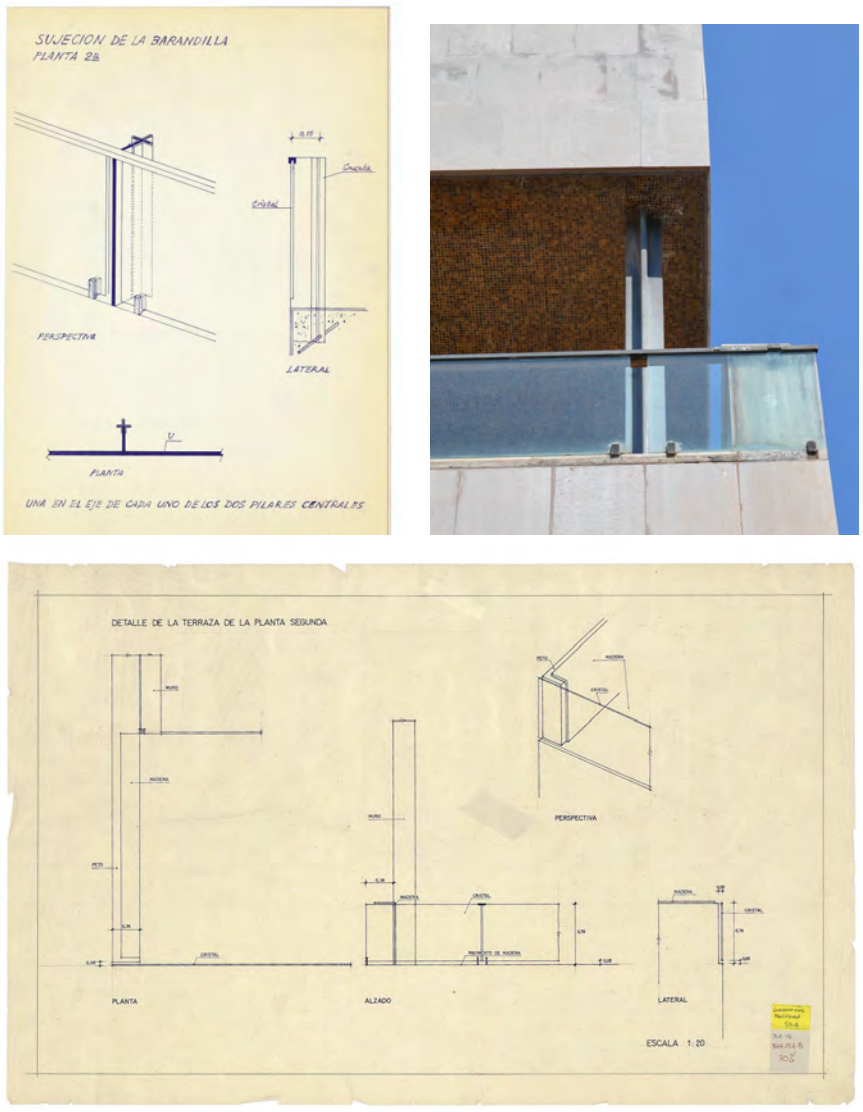
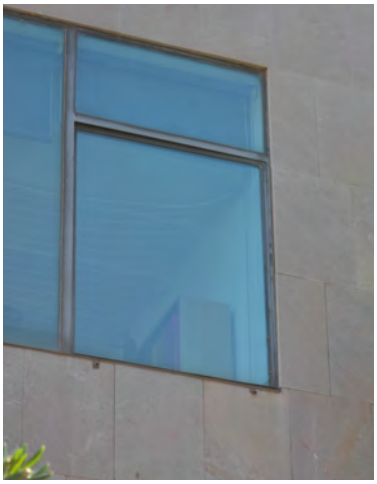


Fig.2.60: Construction drawings and as is of glass banister and steel frame on central balcony, designed for the glass to flush with the stone. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

.



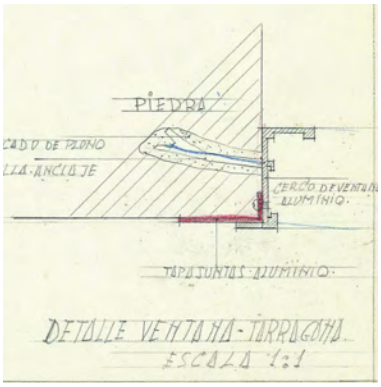


Fig.2.61: Construction drawings and as is of side window, framed in steel and designed for the glass to flush with the stone. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Fig.2.62: Exterior view, from below, with sun reflecting on the stone. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota. Image by the author, 2012.

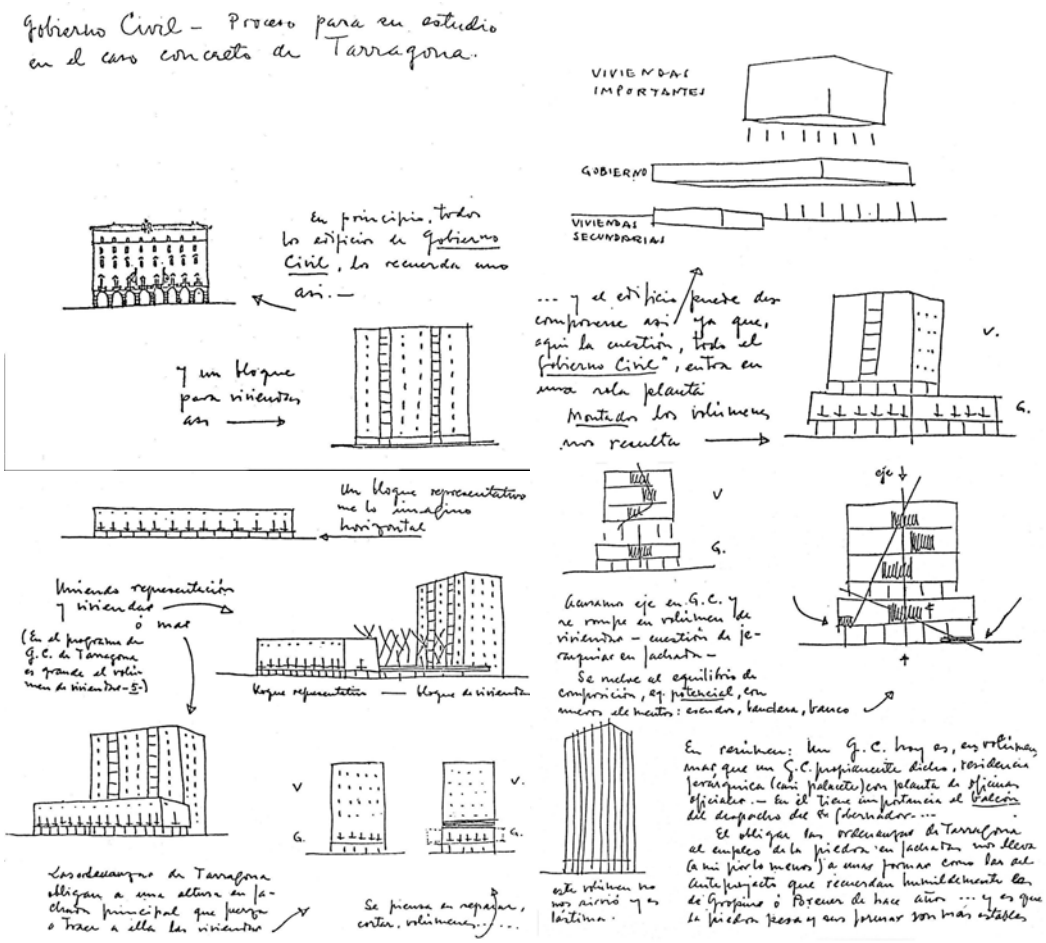


Fig.2.63: "Gobierno Civil. Proceso para un estudio en el caso concreto de Tarragona," sketch series of design porcess, est. November 1956. Civil Government Building, Tarragona, 1956-64, by Alejandro de la Sota.

Chapter 3
"Hispanization in the Ends and Europeanization in the Means:"
The National Pavilion at Expo 58

3.1 The Empty Pavilion

When in the summer of 1958 the Brussels International and Universal Exhibition was received in the architectural press to mostly disappointing reviews, the building presented by Spain made it onto most of the short lists for best pavilion. The special issue on Expo 58 of *Architectural Forum*, for instance, featured a drawing of the Spanish pavilion on its cover, noting that the building was one of the few "unexpected gems of architecture" on the fair's grounds.[1] In *Architectural Review,* the pavilion was featured in J.M. Richard's selection of "Six Outstanding Pavilions," while in *Domus* Gio Ponti regarded it as "most poetic, structurally sound and yet formally new, simple, honest."[2] Designed by Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún after they won a competition in May 1956, the pavilion was based on a modular grid where a hundred and thirty hexagonal elements in the form of inverted parasols worked as a lightweight structure, roof enclosure, and drainpipes **[Fig.3.1]**. Made of bare, dark grey steel and of varying heights, the umbrellas were arranged in a one-story open plan that adapted to the existing vegetation and slope

1 Ogden Tanner, "The Best at Brussels," *Architectural Forum* 108 (1958): 84. The drawing was by American artist Ray Komai.
2 "Il padiglione della Spagna é il piu poetico, strutturlamente in lineae tuttavia formalmete nuovo, semplice, onesto," Gio Ponti, "Expo 58," *Domus* 345, (1958): 6. See also J.M.Richards, "Six Outstanding Pavillions," *Architectural Review* 124, special issue on "The Brussels Exhibition," (1958):113. The other five pavilions were from West Germany, Switzerland, Japan, Holland, and Yugoslavia.

of the site **[Fig.3.2]**. The rugged floor, made out of light-colored triangular terrazzo tiles, took on the site's topography. The roofline involved a similarly changing section, letting light in through the interstices left between the elements in section **[Fig.3.3-4]**. The inside faces of the parasols, which were paneled with the wood-concrete compound Durisol and white in color, worked as light diffusers, producing a clerestory illumination. The effect was similar at night, when hanging lanterns projected their light onto the ceiling **[Fig.3.5].** The interior of the pavilion was loosely divided into different sections, including exhibit areas, a cafeteria, a restaurant, and a stage, but these were distinguished by the stepped levels of the floor rather than by partitions.[3] Only the screening room on the southern end of the pavilion was enclosed, through a series of panels that followed the hexagonal pattern of the structure, and one hexagonal module on the southwest corner was entirely enclosed. To a great degree, visitors could see the whole of the interior from any given point of the pavilion—as a maze of tree-like pillars and landscaped terraces that resembled the surroundings.

The one aspect of the building that was invariably stressed—and probably one of the reasons architecture critics liked it so much—was that it was empty. As it was put in Bruno Zevi's *L'architettura*: "Inside the pavilion, the void. Nothing to see."[4] Associating this emptiness with a sense of vibrant openness and multidirectional transparency, reviewers saw the Spanish pavilion as an exception among others in the fair: "The problem here—this was noted in *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*—is not to show as many *things* as possible, as in the French pavilion, but to suggest through photography, music and dance, the ambience and *spirit* of a country."[5] Corrales and Molezún had also designed the exhibition, as team leaders of a larger group of architects, artists, and cultural critics who had in fact foregrounded dance and music performances, film screenings, and

3 "Memoria General. Proyecto de Pabellón Español. Exposición Internacional de Bruselas, 1958," in Legado Molezún.

4 Bruno Zevi, ed., "La crisi del linguaggio moderno nell'Esposizione Universale di Bruselles 1958," *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia* 36 (1958): 388. Richards, "Six Outstanding Pavilions," 113; and local reviews at *ABC* and *La Vanguardia.*

5 Renée Diamant-Berger and Andre Bloc, "Bruxelles 1958," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 78 (1958): 20. See for instance "Foreign pavilions" in *Architectural Review* 124 (1958): 87.

food services over the more traditional display of *things*. Significantly absent in the exhibition project were vertical exhibit panels, major standing elements, and written signs.[6] The pavilion, however, was not completely empty. Several low hexagonal tables displayed a few objects and photographs **[Fig.3.6]**. But as the tables were covered in glass and the space was lit homogeneously from above, their reflective surfaces rendered them almost invisible. Working as horizontal mirrors, they further echoed the structure of the pavilion **[Fig.3.7]**. This reflection effect was replicated on the outside by two shallow hexagonal pools on the building's edges that doubled the pavilion on their surface **[Fig.3.8]**. That is, as the visitor approached the pavilion from the eastern part of the site and entered at its center, what he encountered, above all else, was the pavilion itself. And yet, once inside, the multiple reflections and fading perspective led to a sense of dematerialization or dissolution of the building.

This self-referential and ghostly approach was aptly captured in the images and interpretations that occupied the international architectural press, an approach perceived as redeeming the Spaniards from the unrefined symbolism and rhetorical clichés that pervaded the exhibition grounds. Rika Devos has thoroughly studied the motivations behind and implications of Expo 58, where countries strove to showcase their most advanced and prestigious technological achievements in the context of the Cold War cultural front.[7] As a primary stage for Cold War diplomacy, the fair was meant to both establish the new geopolitics of science and technology and tone down their threat of global destruction.[8] The first of its kind after World War II, Expo 58 officials

6 This was at least the case when the pavilion opened on May 7th, 1958, a few weeks after the official inauguration of the fair on April 25th. The delay might have been due to disagreements between the designers and the officials that had travelled to Brussels. My reading is based on the pavilion as was planned and reviewed, when the design team had the most control over it. A thorough account of the exhibition is in Pedro Feduchi, "Archipiélago hexagonal," in Andrés Canovas, ed., *Pabellón de Bruselas'58. Corrales y Molezún* (Madrid: Ministerio de Vivienda, 2005), 103-120.

7 Rika Devos and Mil de Kooning, eds. *L'Architecture moderne à L'Expo 58. 'Pour un monde plus humain* (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2006), 13.

8 For an argument on sciences and technology being potent battlegrounds in the Cold War, see Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann. *Cold War Kitchen. Americanization, Technology, and European Users* (Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 2009), 3.

had somewhat left aside the commercial motives characteristic of international exhibitions, aiming instead to underscore broad ethical principles apropos of progress and calling for a redefinition of the relationship between society and techno-science in terms of the pursuit of peace and the welfare of humanity. For this, they had invoked "New Humanism" as the ontology under which to reconsider the aims of modernization, coining the official motto, "For a more humane world."[9]

In terms of the architecture of the fair, this optimistic exhortation on progress reverberated with a near unanimous embrace of modernism, and Spain was no exception.[10] Inside their pavilions, countries strove to showcase their most advanced and prestigious technological achievements more so than in previous fairs and with a benevolent or optimistic stance.[11] Exhibits ranged from those that scaled down technology to display its service to everyday life to those that scaled it up to showcase its aesthetic breadth. This tendency resulted in an accumulation of things and gadgetry, as denounced in the quote above; in the techno-fashion that pervaded Expo imagery, from clothing to cutlery design; and in the "ruthless symbolism" and "structural bravado" of many large-scale structures, perhaps best exemplified by the Expo's signature building, the Atomium **[Fig.3.9-10]**.[12] Again, however, Spaniards took a different approach, displaying "spirit" rather than "things." Moreover, the building was less a grandiose construction than a "cleverly worked out" small-scale

9 "Balance Sheet for a more humane world" as put if the official brochure by Moens de Ferning, *The Theme of "Brussels 58"* (Brussels: Commissariat General of the Government of Brussels). The copy received by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1955 along with the invitation in Spanish from the Porpaganda Services of Expo 58 is in AGA, signature 81-10593. For more on Expo 58 see Gonzague Pluvinage, ed., *Expo 58: Between Utopia and Reality* (Brussels: Racine, 2008.) Notably with regard to the theme, Expo 58 coincided with the photography exhibition "Family of Man," curated by Edward Steichen for the Museum of Modern Art in 1955 and later a very popular worldwide travelling exhibition.

10 In her thorough architectural studies of Expo 58, Rika Devos has examined the implications of this moment of "triumph" of modernism and has laid out the various responses given to the pro-humanist call. See Rika Devos, "Power, Nationalism and National Representation in Modern Architecture and Exhibition Design at Expo 58," in *Nationalism and Architecture*, Ashgate, 2012), 81-94; "'Let us now invest in peace.' Architecture at Expo 58 in Resonance of War," in *Architecture of Great Expositions 1937-1959. Messages of Peace, Images of War*, ed. Rika Devos et al.(Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 133-160; and "Het Vaticaanse paviljoen on Expo 58 en de moderne religieuze kunst in België," *Trajecta* 10, 3 (2001): 244-263.

11 This was the case with the Cinerama in the North American pavilion and the Soviet Union's display of the Sputnik, launched in 1957 and the most conspicuous evidence of the techno-politics of détente. For the politics of détente or stability between 1953-1971 see John L. Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 181-83 and Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005) 247.

12 Devos and de Kooning, *L'Architecture moderne à L'Expo 58.*, 13.

structure, which *Architectural Forum* deemed simply an "advanced exercise in Pure Form."[13] By means of its empty form, Spain appears as having little to show and even less to say to the world.[14]

That in 1958 the regime would fail to articulate and project a message of some sort through its pavilion, and go beyond commonplace claims of national identity, is a troublesome assumption given that Expo 58 was the first time the Franquista regime presented itself to the world at such an event.[15] Since their inception in the mid-nineteenth century, international and world exhibitions have been widely regarded as platforms for cultural and political speculation, as events that not only foster commercial interests and technological advance but are also springboards for national self-assertion and even downright propaganda. National pavilions are rarely objects of consensus, as they typically result from a collision of ideas from government officials and prominent agents of civil society, among them architects. But these various agents are engaged together in deciding on the set of collective virtues and aspirations that ought to define the identity of a presumed national community, give it an imaginary, and project it into the world. This was particularly poignant in the post-war period.[16] Consequently, one can hardly take the vacuity of the Spanish, or any other, pavilion at face value.[17] As Devos also notes, the political connotations of the overall turn to

13 *Architectural Forum* 108, 87.

14 For a recent argument on "empty form" as an operative construct through which to interpret, through criricism and historiography, the political content of architecture see Reinhold Martin, "Empty Form. Six Observations," *Log* 11 (2008): 15-21.

15 Neither the Nationals nor the Republic were able to be present in the 1939 New York World's Fair. See Marisa García-Vergara, "Burning Dreams. España en la New York World's Fair de 1939," in *La arquitectura española y las exposiciones internacionales (1925-1975). Actas.* (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2014), 293-300; and Idoia Murga Castro, "El Pabellón Español de 1939: un proyecto frustrado para la Exposición Internacional de Nueva York" *Archivo Español de Arte LXXXIII*, 331 (2010): 213-234.

16 As argued by György Péteri, "Sites of Convergence: The USSR and Communist Eastern Europe at International Fairs Abroad and at Home," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47:3 (2012): 10. This stance calls into question arguments on national pavilion at international exhibitions as "ideal sites of resistance," as argued by Beatriz Colomina*, "*Pavilions of the Future," in *Your Black Horizon*, ed. Olafur Eliasson and David Adjaye (Cologne: Walter Konig, Cologne, 2007).

17 This was the case in the contemporary reception of the building and in the interpretations of the pavilion that followed. The most detailed description of the pavilion is in Andrés Canovas, ed. *Pabellón de Bruselas'58. Corrales y Molezún*, where the nonpolitical interpretation of the building persists, as in most of the essays on Expo 58 in José Manuel Pozo Municio, ed., *La arquitectura española y las exposiciones internacionales (1925-1975)*. (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2014). A throrough description of the pavilion, its construction process and afterlife is also in José Antonio Corrales, *Pabellón de España en la*

architectural modernism at Expo 58 cannot be overlooked, no matter how elusive these might have been. As resistant as emptiness is to ideological and historical interpretation, the question must be asked as to what the Franquista pavilion effectively displayed in Brussels; or, put another way, *what was the ideological burden of the pavilion's void?*

By way of considering the pavilion a construct effective in the ongoing formation of Franquismo, this chapter explores the void of the Spanish pavilion in order to provide an answer to this question. In the ways in which the pavilion embraced modernism, Spain certainly looked to show its forward position and performed the shift toward technocracy and *desarrollismo* discussed in the previous chapter. In this, Spain was in tune with other nations at the fair. But it was specifically the pavilion's void that upheld the politics of its aesthetics. In what follows, a closer look at the ways in which the void was constructed—in the pavilion itself as well as in the media and in the architects' claims—will reveal its participation in the regime's ideology and foreign policy. On the one hand, by virtue of appearing empty *vis-à-vis* the regime's fascist pedigree, it expanded upon the process of political and aesthetic abstraction argued for in the previous chapter, and conferred upon Spain certain cultural prestige and legitimacy vis-à-vis technological progress.[18] The pavilion thus signified the integration of the country within the emerging Western world. Best put in the motto, "Hispanization in the ends and Europeanization in the means," the building more subtly encompassed the ambivalence in the regime regarding modernization and the Western democratic world. On the other hand, the void buttressed a distinct ideological project of Franquismo, namely Hispanism—a quintessential myth of the Spanish Right that claimed cultural, historical, and racial

Exposicion Universal de Bruselas, 1958, Madrid, 1959. Coleccion Arquitecturas Ausentes del Siglo XX.Vol.5 (Madrid: Ed.Rueda, 2004)

18 Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, *Imperios de Papel. Acción Cultrual y política exterior durante el primer franquismo* (Madrid: CSIC, 1992),364.

hegemony on the basis of religion. [19] During the middle period of his regime, Franco mobilized Hispanism and the messianic project of global Catholicization alongside the concurrent processes of economic and technological modernization associated with international reintegration. As antagonistic as they might at first seem, the Westernizing and Hispanizing ambitions of the regime found mutual reinforcement, a fitting context, and a coherent aesthetic embodiment in Expo 58.[20]

3.2 Politics of the Void and the Memory of Paris 1937

In his review of Expo 58 for his journal *L'architettura,* Bruno Zevi was among those concerned with questions of meaning and ideology in relationship to modern architecture. The magazine readily interpreted the Spanish building in the context of Franquismo, but only to question the regime as it asked: "The Spanish Pavilion makes one wonder: maybe this country is no longer fascist? Or, is Franco now tired and allows artists an unusual freedom?"[21] According to Zevi's understanding of modernism and politics, Corrales and Molezún's design was anathema to an authoritarian fascist regime. For the void of Corrales and Molezún's building was not only literal, but above all symbolic. It signaled, according to those writing in *L'architettura* at least, the "crisis" of modernist architecture, a crisis manifest throughout the grounds of the fair that resulted from the failure of a modernist language to fittingly bear a political message. The elusive nature of the Franquista pavilion was ultimate proof of modernism's inability to succeed as a rhetorical instrument.

19 Santiago Juan-Navarro, "'Una sola fe en una sola lengua:' La Hispanidad como coartada ideological en el pensamiento reaccionario español," *Hispania,* 89-2 (2006), 392.

20 For recent literature on cultural constructions of Spain and Spanish national identity see for instance Inman Fox, *Invention of Spain* (Madrid: Catedra, 2007) and more specifically with regards to exhibitions during the Second Republic Mendelson, *Documenting Spain*. A seminal essay on the mobylisation of esthetics for political symbolization, and in the context of fascism, is Anson Rabinbach "The Aesthetics of Production in the Third Reich," *Journal of Contemporary History* 11- 4, Special Issue: Theories of Fascism (1976): 43-74.

21 "Il Padiglione della Espagna ha suscitato maraviglia: forse che questo passé non e piu fascista? O Franco si é stancato e permete agli artisti una liberta inconsueta come fece Mussolini in lacuni priodu della sua diattatura?" Zevi, "La crisi del linguaggio," 388.

Zevi quite possibly considered the pavilion Spain had last brought to an international exhibition, in Paris in 1937, one piece of historical evidence of this failure. There, the soon-to-be-defeated Popular Front Second Republic famously mobilized the arts for propaganda purposes **[Fig.3.11]**. Presenting its pavilion, under the directorship of Josep Renau, as a rallying cry for international support in the ongoing fight against fascism, the Spanish government quite specifically intended to provoke the France of Léon Blum to revisit the 1936 Non-Intervention Agreement.[22] The radical connection between aesthetics and politics was made boldly conspicuous at an aesthetic level through Picasso's *Guernica* in its non-figurative representation of the Nazi air raid bombings in northern Spain. The combination of internationalist, avant-garde aesthetics with local political content and references to the vernacular also occurred in Miró's mural *The Reaper;* Calder's mobile sculpture *La Font de Mercurie,* in its reference to the mercury mines and their workers; and several photomontages that portrayed state-sponsored social programs and the war sufferings of the working class **[Fig.3.12]**.[23] The architecture of the pavilion, by José Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa, was also intended to promote the progressive agenda of the Second Republic through a synthesis of rationalist planning, new construction techniques, and regionalist content.[24] A two-floor exposed-steel structure, the building acted as a container for the artworks while evoking popular Spain in the furniture and design of the ground floor—a stepped terrace with ceramic tiling, whitened walls, and a patio covered with a fabric canopy **[Fig.3.13]**. With this design, the pavilion upheld the idea of the

22 The non-intervention agreement called to stay out of the Spanish Civil War and was proposed by the governments of France and England in order to avoid escalation and possibly expansion of the conflict beyond Spain. It was hotly debated in the spring and summer of 1936 and eventually signed in August by 24 countries, including the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany. With the Guernica bombings having taken place in April, the pavilion was an explict call into questions of the premises of the pact. James Joll, *Three Intellectuals in Politics* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1960), 37-47.

23 Fernando Martín Martín, *El pabellon español en la Exposición Universal de Paris en 1937* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1983); Mendelson, *Documenting Spain*, 125-184; and Robin Greeley, "The Body as Political Metaphor: Picasso and the Performance of Guernica" in *Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). A focus on the architecture of the pavilion as a war manifesto is in Josep Maria Rovira, *Jose Luis Sert* (Milan: Electa, 2003), 236-241. An account on the propaganda wars of the period is in Basilio, *Visual Propaganda, Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War*.

24 For similar attempts in Paris 1937 see Joan Ockman, "Lessons from Objects: Perriand from the Pioneer Years to the Epoch of Realities," in *Charlotte Perriand: an art of living*, ed. Mary McLeod (New York: Architectural League of New York, 2003), 68-89.

synthesis of the arts and bet on the ability of the avant-gardes to speak both to the 'people' and to the international political community, and thus to communicate and eventually effect left-leaning ideals.

The strategy, however, was ultimately futile at a political level, at least for the purposes of the Second Republic and the avant-gardes. Despite the urgency of *Guernica*, France and England remained largely out of the Spanish conflict while Germany and Italy continued their military aid to Franco. In Paris, as the Spanish pavilion sat ignored next to Albert Speer's stone-clad German pavilion and across from the equally monumental Soviet pavilion by Boris Iofan, it arguably also staged modernist architecture's defeat by neoclassicism on the battleground of the aesthetic representation of political ideology.[25] For many, Paris 1937 underscored the ways in which modernism could only stand for progressive and democratic ideals—and then just barely.[26] The fate of the Spanish pavilion was perhaps a trigger of the *Nine Points on Monumentality*, the manifesto drafted by Sert with Sigfried Giedion and Fernand Léger in 1943 as a call to rethink modernism's failure to represent the social and political aspirations of a modern democratic public. Zevi's campaign for organic architecture in the 1940s went further on rethinking the politics of modernism, altogether rejecting its representational power in favor of the inherent value of space.

By 1958, Zevi's premise was that modernism held little ideological value, especially for the purposes of reactionary politics. In this, he was hardly alone, and the postwar period witnessed the gradual political reprogramming and eventual depoliticization of architectural modernism. This went from considerations of modernism as "hostile" to totalitarian regimes, to the withdrawal of

25 James D. Herbert, *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 33; Leonardo Benevolo, *Historia de la arquitectura modern* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1960), 612; Danilo Udovicki-Selb, "L'Exposition de 1937 n'aura ps lieu: The Invention of the Paris International Expo and the Soviet and German Pavilions," in *Architecture of Great Expositions,* 23-50.

26 The histories of the Japanese and Italian pavilions in Paris 1937 and fairs thereafter also pertain to the unbound but intrinsic relationship between modernism and democracy at the time. See the chapters by Akiko Takenaka and Flavia Marcella in *Architecture of Great Expositions,* 51-70, 71-80.

architectural discourse from political claims.[27] In Spain during Franquismo, Sert and Lacasa's pavilion was invariable mobilized by the most reactionary cultural voices in order to discredit the rationalism of the pavilion on the basis of its alliance with leftist and democratic ideals.[28] The "pure and honest" structure of the Brussels pavilion in 1958 and the quality of its interior space signaled a turn—or a return— to an ever more refined modernist architecture. In the shadow of the fate of the 1937 pavilion, this turn might have well proven modernism's dissociation from politics, as Zevi noted. This was only reinforced by the diminished role of the visual arts in 1958, in contrast to the internationalist and explicit political content of the painting and sculptures that filled the 1937 pavilion. Still modern, an empty pavilion was a non-political one. Confirmed to some degree by Zevi's review, the parallel could finally be drawn between the literal void of modernism and an ideological void.

This was not only Zevi's hasty conclusion but was also—and herein rests one of the political effects of the pavilion—a premise that Spanish officials had promoted for some time. Five years earlier, then Minister of Education Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez had famously declared a rift in Franquismo between aesthetics and politics. In his opening speech for the First Biennale of Hispanoamerican Art in Madrid, in October 1951, Ruiz-Giménez called for a "sphere of autonomy" for the work of art and claimed that the state ought to avoid turning art into a "servile instrument" of political interests.[29] The mission of the state, he argued, was to preserve the autonomy of art and with it its authenticity. Echoing the rhetoric of truth pervasive in Franquista propaganda, Ruiz-Gimenez declared, "what is

27 As noted in the introduction, modernism and totalitarianism have long been perceived as antithetical, as in Leonardo Benevolo, *Historia de la Arquitectura Moderna* (8th ed. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1999), 600, and Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: a Critical History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 212. Seminal to begin countering this categorical distinction was Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1985.)

28 Cirici, *La estética del franquismo,* 122.

29 Gómez-Escalonilla, *Imperios de Papel*, 455. Ruiz-Giménez's argument recalls the seminal defense for the autonomy of the arts by cultural critic Clement Greenberg in his 1939 essay "Avant-Garde and Kitsch."

authentic is always nonpolitical."[30] Notably, the call for "true" and non-political art came with a defense of non-figurative art. The First Biennale of Hispanoamerican Art famously marked the state's opening up to the abstract works of Informalists and Constructivists.[31] Abstract art, it was implied, best upheld the 'honesty' and 'silence' of art. In the years that followed, it was Head Curator of Fine Arts Luis González Robles who most effectively carried on Ruiz Gimenez's call, promoting the work and careers of young artists engaging with abstract expressionism and constructivism in several other biennials and state exhibits. Most relevant was the Venice Biennale of 1958, held between June 14 and October 19 and thus concurrent with Expo '58. In it, Robles presented prize-winning works by sculptor Eduardo Chillida and painter Antoni Tàpies, among others, to demonstrate not only the "urgent contemporaneity" of Spain's artists, as he put it, but also the liberation of art from the burdens of political propaganda.[32]

The interpretation in *L'architecttura* of Corrales and Molezún's pavilion not only transferred the logic of Spanish officials from Venice to Brussels but also interpreted their intentions to the letter.[33] In doing so, it catered to the agenda of Ruiz-Giménez and Robles, and more broadly to the cultural politics of the regime, namely that the literal silence of Spanish art and architecture be equated with an ideological void. The scheme was in fact the opposite. In 1958, a few of the artists present in Venice already suspected González Robles of mere rhetoric in his disinfection of aesthetics from politics, and of the way his curatorial decisions were but oblique propaganda efforts.[34] Scholars have since addressed the ways in which the state's patronage of abstraction and call for the autonomy of art were instrumental to the regime in relation to its foreign policy. Art historian Miguel

30 Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, "Arte y política" op.cit in Ureña, *Las vanguardias artisticas*, 358.

31 Cirici, *La estética del franquismo*.122. A thorogh account of the Bienale and the cultural politics it involved is in Miguel Cabañas Bravo*, El hito de la Bienal Hispano-Americana de Art.*

32 Luis González Robles, "Presentación," op.cit. Llorente and Díaz Sánchez, *La crítica de arte en España*, 382.

33 As also suggested by Zevi in "La crisi del linguaggio moderno."

34 Jose Luis Marzo, "La vanguardia del poder. El poder de la vanguardia. Entrevista a LuisGonzález Robles" *Revista de Calor* 1, (1993): 32.

Cabañas Bravo has revealed the weaving of political, cultural, and aesthetic interests that was behind the Biennials of Hispanoamerican Art and González Robles's curatorial work; Julián Diaz Sánchez, Jorge Luis Marzo, and Genoveva Tussel, among others, have argued for the ways in which the officialization of modernist art was a crucial means to soften Franquismo's image for the outside; and cultural historian Lorenzo Gómez-Escalonilla has detailed the policies and institutional path through which this was conducted. As they have variously argued, from the mid-1940s to the early 1960s the projection of the ideas of a country on the verge of modernization, culturally open and progressive was conscientiously orchestrated through exhibitions, prize-winning art works, and academic events, in turn conveying the image of a country ready to participate in the Western political and economic arenas. Gómez-Escalonilla has described this cultural offensive in terms of a "camouflage campaign," as abstraction and modernism were intended to conceal the authoritarian and ideological signs of the regime to the outside world.[35]

Despite the multi-faceted nature of this campaign, the ways in which architecture, and more specifically the building brought to Brussels in the summer of 1958, took part in it remain unexplored. The emptiness of the void of the Brussels pavilion endures. Andrés Canovas's 2005 monograph on the pavilion—the most thorough account of its design and building process, exhibit, and afterlife—glaringly avoids drawing connections between the building and the politics of the state that it was built to represent. If anything, the book suggests that this relationship was antagonistic. For instance, in his essay architect Pedro Feduchi claims that the designers were able "to avoid the oppressive authoritarianism" of the regime, while architectural historian Carmen Espegel reiterates the contemporary reviews of Expo 58 in attributing the "naked beauty," "constructive honesty," and "great modernity" of the pavilion to an "enlightening reformist will" that all but bypassed Franquista

35 Gómez Escalonilla, *Imperios de papel*, 395. See also Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 332-35, 344. For an argument on the politics of image of the regime, especially as it pertained its relationship with the US, see Fernando Termis de Soto. *Renunciando a todo. El régimen franquista y los Estados Unidos desde 1945 hasta 1963* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2005), 31.

censorship. [36] The introduction to the book goes as far as to suggest that the building constituted an "architecture of resistance" to the cultural apparatus of the regime. [37] Along the same lines, a 2012 documentary on Juan Antonio Corrales produced and broadcast by the Spanish National Television, portrays the Expo 58 pavilion as a resistant attempt to "impose" modernity onto a regime otherwise opposing it.[38]As Zevi suggested, the vacuity of the Spanish pavilion still presumes the political void in its interpretations.

As we will see, throughout the process of design of the 1958 pavilion, the ghost of 1937 was very much alive—but not as a testament to the failure of modernism in its association with political messages or to porve the political vacuity of the building. Instead, it was a reminder of the ways in which exposition architecture remained a prime stage for the expression of ideology.[39] Corrales and Molezún opened their report on the exhibition project with a reference to the 1937 pavilion as "one of the most effective propaganda objects of Red Spain," only to admit to the propagandistic potential of their own project.[40] And they were perfectly aware of the pavilion's role as a diplomacy object. For the architects, Sert and Lacasa's pavilion should only act as a cautionary tale of the "polemical tone" their project could take. This was particularly pertinent, they noted, given the animosity towards Spain's "current political moment." Corrales and Molezún thus mobilized modernism for purposes of propaganda in 1958 as well; only this time, of the Right.

3.3 New Architecture for *Acción Cultural*: Organicism as Propaganda

For one, the planning of Expo 58 was hardly oblivious to the dynamics of the Franquista governing apparatus. That the attendance at Expo 58 was considered highly strategic for the

36 Feduchi, "Archipielago hexagonal," 103.

37 Maria Antonioa Trujillo, "Presentacion" in Canovas, *Pabellón de Bruselas'58, 7.*

38 *Elogio de la Luz*: *Jose Antonio Corrales*, October 13, 2012, *Radio Televisión Española Documentales.*

39 Conversations about and quotes of the 1937 pavilion abounded, including Jorge Oteiza's failed proposal to include a panel with a section of *Guernica*.

40 "Anteproyecto de instalación y funcionamiento" op.cit Canovas, *Pabellón de Bruselas 58,* 199.

purposes of the regime was made evident in the ways in which it was orchestrated. In July 1955, a year after the government was invited to take part in the fair, an inter-ministerial committee was formed to oversee the desig of the image and objects Spain would bring to Brussels. The Expo 58 Committee met regularly starting in November 1955, and it included representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Tourism and Information, the Ministry of Labor and Industry, the Ministry of Internal Revenue, and the Ministry of Infrastructure, as well as other diplomats. Leading the committee as General Commissioner and Head Curator was the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Marqués de Santa Cruz; the Adjunct Curator was the Undersecretary of Government, Luis Rodriguez de Miguel; the Committee Secretary was the General Secretary of Economic Policy at Foreign Affairs, Victor Aranegui Coll, joined by others like the Undersecretary of Education and Director of the Institute for Political Studies, Manuel Fraga; the General Secretary of Information, Rodriguez Casado; the President of the Industry National Council, Tena Artigas; and the Spanish Ambassador in Belgium, Conde Casa Miranda.[41]

Such governmental range and political cachet was summoned for purposes of what was referred to as Acción Cultural (Cultural Action). This was a loosely defined program led primarily by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that aimed at coordinating the image that the various branches of the government projected to the outside. The idea behind Acción Cultural originated in the midst of the war and grew stronger in the late 1940s out of the need to grasp and respond to the images of the regime projected by its opponents, first by the Second Republic and later by the exile community and Franquista critics. Through Acción Cultural Franquista officials sought to comprehend the mechanisms of state propaganda, which included conducting analysis of Soviet cultural mechanisms.

41 The names that appear as attending the meetings vary slightly from the first meetings recorded on Novemeber 22 1955, to the last one January of 1958, although there were surely more meetings, both formal and informal of which there are no records, with Marques de Santa Cruz, Rodriguez de Miguel, Aranegui, Ambles and Martín Sicilia somewhat constant. Documents on the exhibition organization in AGA, signature (05) 001.029_35504_10504_1955_Exposicion Universal de Bruselas. For an official account see Carmen Payá, "Interview with Marques de Santa Cruz" *ABC* 1957, 17; Also Feduchi, "Archipielago hexagonal," ft.3, 119.

The challenge was how to translate the "ideological components" of the regime into cultural values, and "irradiate" them into the world.[42] Several organizations served this goal, most significantly the intergovernmental Junta de Relaciones Culturales (Board for Cultural Relations), re-founded in 1938 upon the remnants of a similar organization from the 1920s;[43] another smaller commission solely dependent of Foreign Affairs, the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales (General Commission for Cultural Relations); and the very powerful Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (ICH, Institute of Hispanic Culture). The latter was founded in 1946 to take over the Consejo de la Hispanidad (Hispanism Council) of 1940, and continue with its role in developing cultural relations with Latin America in particular. Dependent on Foreign Affairs, the hardly subtle aim of ICH was to make Franquista Spain the "ideological axis of the Hispanic world."[44] The ICH operated through a vast media and institutional network that included publications such as *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* and *Cultura Hispánica*, research institutes, academic chairs, and exhibitions. Most notable of these were the Hispanoamerican Art Biennials mentioned above, also under the directorship of González Robles as Director of Cultural Relationships at ICH.[45]

The General Commission for Cultural Relations had typically coordinated exhibition pavilions and architectural exhibitions, such as the pavilions for the Milan Triennials and other national shows, through the General Secretary of Cultural Relations of Foreign Affairs. The significance of Expo 58 demanded comprehensive official involvement, and the Committee was possibly organized under the broader program of the Junta de Relaciones Culturales. This was less of an institution than an ad hoc organization that drew from several branches of the government and aimed at an extensive

42 "Informe sobre una posible organización de la Acción Cultural de España en el mundo," January 28, 1952, 13-15. En Colección Florentino Pérez-Embid, Archivo General Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona (Fondo FPE from here thereafter)

43 Re-founded in the midst of the war in 1938 by the Franquista Government on the remnants of a similar organization from the 1920s. The Junta de Relaciones Culturales was intended to counter the propaganda apparatus of the Republic then working at full force to gain international support. Gómez Escalonilla, *Imperios de Papel*, 84.

44 Ibid, 56.

45 The director of Cultural Relation at ICH was Luis González Robles.

geopolitical scope. Rather inactive in the 1940s in comparison to the ICH and the General Commission for Cultural relations, the Junta was resurrected in the 1950s as the regime became increasingly aware of its limited leverage within the international community. As Franquismo found itself amidst Cold War geopolitics and forced to deal with the process of decolonization in Northern Africa, it looked to complement and in many ways rectify the work of the ICH and the focus on Latin America. Between 1951 and 1954 the composition and goals of the Junta were very much debated among members of the various Ministries that it was meant to involve, above all those of Culture and Education, Foreign Affairs, and Tourism and Information. Its main objectives were to coordinate the propaganda efforts of the regime, oversee all cultural relations outside of official organisms, and "guide and channel all cultural activities having an international projection."[46] These activities were manifold, including of course exhibitions, which was framed the quintessential means to "spread" knowledge of "Spanish realities" and the "truth of Spain."[47]

A relevant figure in these discussions, and more broadly in redefining the cultural policies and propaganda strategies of the regime was Florentino Pérez Embid. Editor of *Arbor* in the 1940s and an intellectual leader of the Opus Dei project on Catholic modernization, Pérez Embid was actually the first Opus Dei member to enter the government. In 1951 and some five years before López Rodó was appointed General Secretary to the Presidency, Pérez Embid joined the newly founded Ministry of Tourism and Information as Secretary of Censorship and Propaganda. From this position, he controlled the regime's apparatus for propaganda and censorship in literature, film and other media, and championed the reestablishment of the Junta de Relaciones Culturales.[48] A series of internal reports in his archives track the discussions in the early 1950s on the aim of Acción Cultural,

46 "Sera misión de la junta: aúnar la acción cultural en el extranjero de los Ministerios de Asuntos Exteriores, Educacion Nacional e Informacion y Turismo; coordinar las relaciones culturales de los demas Organismo oficilaes con el exterior; orientar y encauzar las actividades culturales que tengan poryeccion internacional." *Articulo II de Proyecto de Ley que modifica la composicion y atribuciones de la Junta de Relaciones Culturales*, February 3, 1953,1. Fondo FPE.

47 Ibid.

48 Casanova, *The Ethics of Opus Dei and the Modernization of Spain*, 260.

as that of "providing the state with the proper instruments to act on the consciousness outside of Spain."[49] Unlike the Institute of Hispanic Culture, the purpose of the Junta was not specific to a region but rather aimed at "world projection," and was specifically targeted toward Western and Arab cultures.[50] I will later return to Pérez Embid's ideals, relevant in so far as they encompassed a larger group of intellectuals invested in defining the country's cultural agenda.[51] Moreover, he was very close to Fisac and slightly touched upon architecture to construct his arguments, as we will later see. In regards to the planning of the Spanish participation in Expo 58, Pérez Embid might have attended some of the initial Committee meetings and his agenda was certainly advanced there on a regular basis by his deputy, Salvador Pons, who was a vocal participant all through the final stages of the design. Surely, Expo 58 offered a valuable and timely platform for the purposes of Acción Cultural, an opportunity hardly lost on every other member of the Committee. As the head curator Marqués de Santa Cruz put it to the press, their intention was quite simply to "reveal and show the world all of the values of Spain."[52]

To decide on the specific aesthetics through which such values could be disclosed, and to aid in the logistics of the design process, the committee enlisted a series of advisors external to the government. Initially, they called on Luis Martínez Feduchi, an architect and furniture designer who was at the time very much involved with projects related to Acción Cultural. Between 1941 and 1954 he had designed the new buildings for the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica and the Museum of America for the Ministry of Education, both in Madrid. The former was a symmetrical and austere five-story building that followed the neo-classical style proper of governmental buildings at the time. The

49 "Informe sobre una posible organización de la Acción Cultural de España en el mundo,"

50 Ibid,12. "Proyecto de Reglamento organico de la junta de Relaciones Cultirales," 1, in Fondo FPE; See also Gómez Escalonilla, *Imperios de papel*, 92.

51 For an analysis of Pérez-Embid as representative of the intellectual group around *Arbor*, alongside Calvo Serer, see Casanova, *The Ethics of Opus Dei and the Modernization of Spain*, 251-279; The close relaionship between Pérez-Embid and Fisac is made manifest in the correspondende between the two in Fondo FPE.

52 "Interview," *ABC*, July 28, 1958, 23.

Museum of America, designed in collaboration with Luis Moya, displayed a similar classicism in red brick and white granite stone **[Fig.3.14]**. In serving the purpose of representing Hispanic America, or rather the relation ICH established with the region in terms of a cultural neo-imperialism of sorts, the building was modeled on Latin American colonial religious architecture with a a neo-baroque tower.[53]

Feduchi traveled to Brussels as the representative of the Spanish Committee to gather information about the site allocated for the Spanish pavilion. On November of 1955, the Committee reviewed the report Feduchi had written upon his return. In it, he emphasized the challenges presented by the site, a stepped irregular triangle on the corner of Europe Avenue and Trembles Avenue and where trees that should be preserved populated thirty percent of its surface. Feduchi also noted the recommendations of Expo officials to use prefabricated building systems, most appropriate for budgetary purposes and also for the need to dismantle the building upon closing. Following Feduchi's early collaboration, the Committee called up a team of three other consultants to aid in the process of the design. The most politically distinguished of the three was the former Falange leader, writer, and ideologue of Franco's early government, Manuel Sánchez Mazas, who was named Literary Consultant; Camón Aznar was summoned as Art Consultant; and as Technical Consultant they selected Miguel Fisac.

Pérez Embid might have pointed at Fisac for the position, since they had a very close personal relationship, as is manifest in their correspondence, and Pérez Embid often recommended the architect for other positions. But the choice of Fisac was rather apt for the purposes of Acción Cultural. Not only was the CSIC the institution most significantly engaged with international projection in the field of academia, but also Fisac's architecture was gaining international renown. Or

53 Miguel Cabañas Bravo, *El arte español del siglo XX: su perspectiva al final del milenio* (Madrid: CSIC, 2001), 37. For an overview of Feduchi's career, see "En la muerte de Luis Feduchi" *Arquitectura bis* 10 (Nov 1975), 21.

so it was established through the media. The wide coverage of Fisac's work and ideas was certainly indebted to Pérez Embid, who regularly called journals and cultural institutions to seek out Fisac and publicize his lectures.[54] This, in turn, positioned Fisac appropriately for the cultural projection of the regime. For instance, in November of 1954 Carlos de Miguel was curator of Spain's contribution to an Exhibition on Modern Sacred Art in Vienna, for which he selected photographs and a model of Fisac's Church for the Apostolic School of the Dominican Fathers, built in Valladolid in 1952.[55] An austere triangular volume in exposed brick, the church combined a stripped-down, bare interior with a spatial and lighting design that accentuated the altar to the extreme, and with it the experience of religious fulfillment **[Fig.1.46].** Fisac achieved this through a convergent fan-like plan, an ascending floor and ceiling, and a dramatic lighting system that made the wall of the apse behind the altar seem to float. This way, the Valladolid Church gave built form to the ideas Fisac had been promoting for some time with regards to modern religious architecture, as seen in chapter one.[56]

But more importantly for the purposes of Acción Cultural was that Fisac's church was granted a Golden Medal in the exhibit. Irrelevant as the Vienna show was to larger international discussions on art, architecture, or Catholicism, Fisac's Golden Medal was intensely publicized in Spain. During January of 1955, Fisac's church and prize were covered in articles of several pages in the national and local media, and widely discussed in terms of the "triumph," "glory" and "worldly victory" they implied for Spanish art—and for Spain more generally.[57] Fisac's Vienna Golden Medal became the

54 See for instance letter from Florentino Prez-Embid to Santiago Glalindo, March 28, 1952, in Fondo FPE.

55 Also in the exhibit was a Church by Luis Laorga, paintings by Jose Luis Labra and sculptures by Oteiza, who had recently submitted the design of the Camino Chapel with Oiza and Romani discussed in chapter one of this dissertation. The exhibition was organized by the Vienna Archdioceses and included churches and sacred art work from catholic institutions in Germany, Switzerland, France, United States, Peru and Austria. Viennese architect Robert Kramreiter was part of the organizing committee, and was the one most likely inviting Carlos de Miguel to participate since he was a regular collaborator of Revista Nacional de Arquitectura, where his churches were also published. See for instance "Arte Español en Viena," *La Actualidad Española*, 149, November 11 1954.

56 As in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Madrid the nave was left in semi-darkenss while hidden golden windows surrounded the abside concave wall and produced the illusion of it being detached and floating.

57 "El arte español triunfa en el mundo*," El Alcazar*, s/f; "Arte Español en el mundo" *La Actualidad Española*, November 11, 1954; "Un premio Internacional para la arquitectura española*," El Español*, s/f; "Un nuevo templo vallisoletano ha merecido

most conspicuous in a series of awards granted to Spanish architecture, adding to the Gold Medals earned by the Spanish pavilions at the Milan Triennials of 1951, by architect Juan Antonio Coderch, and 1954 by Ramón Vazquez Molezún. The recognition earned by these projects was not the architects' alone, but were shared with, and to a large extent resulted from, official efforts. This much was acknowledged in an event on February 2, 1955, when the Colegio de Arquitectos (Architects Chamber) in Madrid paid them homage for the "intervention in the success" that architecture was experiencing outside of Spain.[58] There, Fisac, Coderch, and Molezún were honored along with the General Secretary of Cultural Relations, Luis Garcia de Llera, and lauded by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Alberto Martín Artajo. In his closing speech at the event, Martín Artajo acknowledged the symbiotic relationship established between architects and Foreign Affairs, and the service architecture provided to the state's program of cultural expansion. He stated: "Abroad, Spain finds the echo of your aid, your support, and your collaboration, while your own prestige expands throughout all of the countries."[59]

It was not just architecture, but the specific language provided by Fisac, Coderch, and Molezún that was identified as able to generate cultural prestige abroad, and to do so with a certain effect and cohesion. After attending the celebration at the Architects Chamber, the writer Victor de la Serna published in *ABC* his review of the "precious laurelling" that "young Spaniards" were conquering abroad, under the title, "Glory and Scandal of the New Architecture." Without leaving aside the triumphal and exalting narrative characteristics of Franquista media, de la Serna legitimized the modernist language that these architects were embracing as the new national style. In an article

---

la mas alta distinción," *El Norte de Castilla*, January 26, 1955; Oriol Bohigas, "La ultima obra de Miguel Fisac," *Destino* 917, 1955; "Medalla de oro en la Exposicion Internacional de Arte Sacro," January 15, 1955; "Un arquitector español triunfa en la Exposición de Arte Sacro de Viena," January 18, 1955; "Medalla de oro para Miguel Fisac"*ABC* January 20, 1955; Revista Nacional de Arquitectura 155 (1954):7; press clips in Archivo Fisac. Alos covered in a "Sesion Critica de Arquitectura," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 157 (1955): 10-19.

58 "Discurso del Dr. Martín Artajo en el homenjae a varios arquitectos y artistas" *ABC*, February 2, 1955, 23.

59 Ibid.

that can very well be read as echoing the logic by which architects and officials had celebrated Fisac's, Coderch's and Molezún's exhibition architecture a few days before, de la Serna wrote:

> The architecture of our time, the architectural expression of our days, is functional. Good architecture of all times has always been functional—made to serve man in each epoch, according to his spirit and needs. [This architecture] has finally taken command in Spain. And no sooner did it come out in the world, then it began to cut fresh and scented laurels, laurels that a few young hands placed in the venerable forehead of a community of architects of universal stature. [60]

Admitting to the urgency of the "new architecture," what de la Serna found essential to allow to modernism was the "universality" it achieved while being, in his understanding, eminently European.[61] In this way, a modernist architectural language held the potential to carry essentialist values bound to a "spirit," a particular "piece of land," and a "cultural elite."[62] More importantly, it had taken the rest of Europe by surprise. With this architecture, "Spain is suddenly ahead, before the rest of Europe in new architecture, in new interior design, in new sculpture." In this way, art and architecture were seen as taking the lead in positioning Spain within Europe, a lead that other disciplines ought to follow. "Hopefully—de la Serna wrote—the name of Spain will begin to be heard in the world in the domain of other techniques as well."[63]

This synthesis of internationalist aspirations and localism was codified in terms of a new style, namely, "Spanish neo-empiricism."[64] The term and the style itself were the offspring of José Luis Sert's variant on modern architecture, of Northern European modernism, and of the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. Since at least 1949, the Dirección General de la Arquitectura, had introduced organicism as the alternative to orthodox functionalism and historicism, mainly through its journal

60 Victor de la Serna,"Gloria y escandalo de la Nueva Arquitectura," *ABC*, February 6, 1955, 7.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid, 8.

63 de la Serna," Gloria y Escandalo," 8.

64 "España, en la inquietud mundial por crear una arquitectura moderna," *YA*, 1955, author and date unknows, press clips in Archivo Fisac.

BDGA and also in a series of lectures organized in the Architects Chamber of Barcelona.[65] In 1949, BDGA published Zevi's lecture for the 1st APAO meeting, "Organic Architecture and its Critics," highlighting the Italian's ideas on the crisis of rationalism and call to revise the techno-determinism of functionalism in the name of "moral and physical renovation" of architecture, ideas he presented in person in May of 1950 in a lecture he gave in Barcelona.[66] A year later, in April of 1951, Alvar Aalto lectured on the same venue and in Madrid, highly influential events from who was deemed as representative the "most modern of modernist tendencies in architecture, post-functionalism otherwise commonly known as organic architecture." Relevant for the ideas that would later inform the design of the Expo 58 pavilion, Aalto's lecture was titled "Elasticity in architectural construction," where he called for an architecture in "harmony with man's dignity."[67] In Aalto, elasticity referred to the possibility of a myriad of forms arising from the same building elements as they ought to adapt to the needs of the users and conditions of the site, leading to what a Spanish critic interpreted as "lessons on humanity" through architecture and Aalto himself expressed in his definition that "the main task of architecture is to humanize the Machine Age." [68]

The impact of Aalto was most immediate on Coderch, who later described Aalto's talk as a "serene and deep ode to true human knowledge, to decency and common sense," and was a month away from opening his stand for the Milan Triennale in May of 1951.[69] Coderch's exhibit was small,

65 Lecture series initiated in the spring of 1949, when Barcelona held the V National Congress of Architects, and with the renown two lectures by Alberto Sartoris, "Orientaciones de la arquitectura contemporanea," where he called for a humanistic revision to functionalism, and "Las Fuentes de la nueva arquitectra," a lecture he opened with Giuseppe Terragno's Casa del Fascio in Como; *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 11-12 (1950): 38-55.

66 Lecture on May 25, 1950, followed by a lecture by Eugeni d'ors a few days before, as reported in *La Vanguardia*, May 26, 1950, 11. On the reception of Zevis' message to "overcome rationalism," see "Zevi dice…" *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 13 (1950): 250-25l.

67 The Barcelona lecture took place on April 6, 1951, as reported in *La Vanguardia*, April 7, 1951, 11. See also, Antonio de Moragas "El Arquitecto Alvar Aalto" *Destino* 713, April 7, 1951, and José Maria Sostres, *Opiniones sobre arquitectura* (Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos y Aparejadores, 1983). See also Jose Carlos de San Antonio *Gomez, "*El viaje de Alvar Aalto a España en 1951: luces y sombras," *in Viajes en la transición de la arquitectura española hacia la modernidad. Actas* (Pmplona: T6 Ediciones, 2010). Nikolaus Pevsner lectured on May 16 of 1952, *La Vanguardia*, May 17, 1952, 13,

68 Alvar Aalto, "Between Humanism and Materialism" in *Alvar Aalto in his Own Words*, 179.

69 *La Vanguardia* , November 30, 1982.

with a low table holding a few traditional objects framed by three wall exhibits, but his interpretation of Aalto was unequivocal in the undulating shape of the table and use of wooden screens **[Fig.3.15]**. Gio Ponti and Oriol Bohigas, whom we will encounter in depth in chapter four, reviewed and praised the Milan Triennale for the journals *Blanco y Negro* and *Destino*, the latter also calling attention to the Finnish stand, by Reima Pietilä, where a series of tables were disposed at different heights and with glass reflective surfaces, a possible referent for Corrales and Molezún in Brussels.[70]

Organicism was also promoted by the Directorate General of Architecture, mainly through the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and in both of its journals, the Bulletin, *BDGA,* and *Revista Nacional de Architecture*.[71] In November of 1951, *RNA* published a graphic report of Wright's retrospective exhibition in the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence earlier that year, an article produced by Vázquez Molezún after visiting the show, and most likely also the Triennale, and possibly meeting Wright.[72] Whichever the referent, Fisac, Coderch and Molezún not only seized organicism on their own terms, but also were perceived to have done so for the regime's cultural purposes and in ways that allowed Spain to "join the worldwide anxiety" of global modernization, all the while keeping "with nationalist zeal and traditional inspiration."[73] More urgently, the organicist approach kept "Man" at the center of the picture. Fisac's championing of modernism in particular had for some time taken a humanist bent that, as discussed in chapter one, was intertwined with the articulation of a new spirituality. Without exception, the many interviews and press articles on Fisac that followed the Vienna prize stressed his

70 Alberto Pireddu, "Fragmentos de un autoretrato. Sobre la participacion de España en la Triennale di Milano (1933-1973)" and Lola Rodriguez Diaz "La incursion española en la disciplina expositiva. Las Trienales de Milan de 1951, 1954 y 1957" both in Las exposiciones de la arquitectura y la arquitectura de las exposiciones, 551-558, 583-590; Oriol Bohigas, "En torno a la Trienale de Milan," *Destino*, XX, 1951. Gio Ponti reviewed Coderch's pavilion in 'espana en la Trienal de Milan, " *ABC,* October 21, 1951, 29.

71 Angel Isaac, "Los invariantes castizos y el Manifiesto de la Alhambra" *Goya. Revista de Arte* 264 (1998): 180. Isaac suggests organicims might have been promoted officially for purposes of cultural propaganda outside of Spain, an argument I try to prove here as unambiguous.

72 Marta Garcia Alonso, "Aquellos maravillosos años. Experiencias de Vazquez Molezún en Roma," in *Modelos alemanes e italianos para España en los años de posguerra. Actas,* 193. Molezún was responsible for a photo review of the exhibition published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 118 (1951): 27-29.

73 "España en la inquietud mundial por crear una arquitectura moderna" *Ya*, 1955.

self-designated human functionalism. Fisac continued to promote "the phenomenon called modern architecture" only in so far as its aim was to "keep man happy."[74]

As discussed before, Fisac's humanist modernism had been mostly manifest in his experiential approach and sensory quality of the interiors. During the 1950s, as he worked for Albareda in the CSIC expansion and possibly also echoing Oiza's ideas on technology, Fisac shifted his emphasis from style and experience to questions of technology and materilas. On February 17, 1956, he gave a conference lecture in Madrid on the relationships between man, technique, and architecture. Sponsored by the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica and held at the Technical Institute of Construction and Concrete, an institution dependent on the CSIC, Fisac's talk was titled "Aesthetic Eloquence of Structure."[75] In it, Fisac urged architects to guide structural design by a one-to-one relationship between forms and loads, a relationship that ought to prevail over aesthetic considerations but should above all be subordinate to human scale and human needs. "It is necessary," Fisac said, "that aesthetics be made subject to technique, and that technique be made subject to man."[76] With these ideas and his own celebrated designs, Fisac established a path for an architecture that could be modern and universal, part of the Europeanist process of cultural and technological modernization as understood by de la Serna, but also inherently nationalist and man-oriented—precisely the traits sought after for Expo 58.

3.4 Flexibility, Grid, Transparency and the Westernization of Fascism

Fisac most likely oversaw the competition brief launched for the design of the Spanish pavilion a few weeks after this talk, in March 1956, and thus it should be no surprise that most of the

74 Interview with Jose de Castro Arines, "Para Fisac, la arquitectura ha de decir cosas de su tiempo," unidentified newspaper, February 2, 1955; seel also Iinterview with Manuel Selles flores "La arquitectura parte del hombre," *Construccion*, 1956, and "Fisac y la humanizacion de la Arquitectura," press clippings in Archivo Fisac.

75 Reported in *YA* and *ABC*, February 18, 1956, press clippings in FF.

76 *ABC*, February 18, 1956.

entries catered to Fisac's man-to-technique request. The competition brief called for a preliminary design of the pavilion and summarized the main points of Feduchi's report regarding the site and building system, emphasizing the need for a demountable structure and for keeping construction costs low. In addition, and given how little had yet been decided about the interior exhibit or the program, the brief asked for "elasticity" in the solution, a direct quotation to Aalto's lectures a few years back.[77] Elasticity and flexibility, or the capability of adapting to change, thus became the keywords of the design: flexibility in terms of the building being able to accommodate to the slope of the site and its vegetation; flexibility in terms of its programmatic indeterminacy; flexibility in terms of the pavilion's afterlife, which might imply demounting and rebuilding the pavilion elsewhere and for other purposes. Eight teams submitted their designs, all with a clear understanding that the call for indeterminacy and versatility entailed a particular language. As noted in *RNA*: "The coincidence of criteria among the entries, the similarities in perspective, is remarkable… In these changing times, it is very positive that all of the works follow a similar architectural norm." [78]

The new normal was the recourse to the grid. Of the eight competing design teams, six adopted the grid in one way or another, all in combination with steel and glass construction systems.[79] One was Corrales and Molezún's module system that resulted in a cellular hexagonal grid **[Fig.3.16]**. The other five resorted to the more traditional Cartesian grid, or the two dimensional grid based on square units that resulted in versions of the glass box that would eventually populate the grounds of the fair. A direct reference for most of the projects in the competition was Mies van der

77 Competition brief outlined in "Pabellon Español en Bruselas," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 175 (1956): 13. See also summary fo the brief in Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún, "Memoria General. Pabellon de Bruselas," in Legado Molezún, signature A001759, D017.

78 Ibid.

79 The other two, one by E.Beltran and R.A de Corral and nother by a tema led by Carlos Sobrini, resorted to open irregular plans built through a system of large scale structural porticos, the latter rather conventional and arranged in a n irregular plan and the former in the form of V-shaped columns that cantilevered over a rectangular volume and with a transparent circular tower with ascending section on one end. Both proposals would certainly have been attuned with other pavilions in Brussels, but possibly stroke the jury as expensive and at odds with their requisite for a demountable structure. All entries appear in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 175 (1958): 13-22.

Rohe, whose work had been shown in mid-October of 1955 in the exhibition "Arte moderno en los Estados Unidos," as noted in the previous chapter and part of the II Biennale of Hispanoamerican Art. As well as the "austere schematism" of Mies' works, it showed works by Frank Lloyd Wright, Philip Johnson, and Richard Neutra. The small scale and domestic work of these architects was praised in the Spanish media as the "humanist" variants of the logic of rationalization and modularity less favorably resolved by SOM in its skyscrapers.[80]

The entry to the competition by Rafael Leoz and his design team proposed two sets of rectangular volumes in which slabs floated above the slope of the site and were supported by a subtle perimeter colonnade **[Fig.3.17]**. Reminiscent of the Farnsworth house, the plan in this project was free of interior supports and partitions and was aptly gridded with a quadrangular pattern. The plan also included a curved line running through the building, intended to represent the versatile and easy circulation the building would allow for. The team led by Manuel Barbero also used this device, where a free-floating line is set in contradistinction with the gridded architecture to evoke multiple circulation and programmatic possibilities **[Fig.3.18]**. This building adapted the grid also to the displacements in section of the site, resulting in a matt building of sorts, as did the pavilion by the team led by Pablo Pintado, which was composed of steel triangulated porticoed volumes of several heights and dimensions **[Fig.3.19]**. The design by Rafael Aburto was less acute in its use of the grid in plan, but resolved the elevation through a modular curtain wall **[Fig.3.20]**. A collage of the interior—half drawing, half picture, and citing Mies's collages—showed rectangular surfaces hanging from a three-dimensional roof structure. Most conspicuous in referencing Mies and his 1929 Barcelona

80 José Camón Aznar. "Arte norteamericano moderno," *ABC*, October 18, 1955, 17. For Camon Aznar and others Mies, Neutra and Wright were defended as the "humanist" variants to the logic of rationalization prevalent in skyspcraper peorjects, alos in La Vanguardia, OIctober 14, 1955, 10. For a detailed account of the impact of North American art, and to a lesser extent architecture at the time, see Miguel Cabañas Bravo, "Presencia e influencia en España del Arte Americano a través de las Bienales Hispanoamericas," in *El Arte foráneo en España: presencia e influencia*, ed. by Migule Cabañas Bravo (MAdrid: CSIC, 2005): 467-484; and Genoveva Tussel "La internacionalización del arte abstracto español: el intercambio de exposiciones con los Estados Unidos (1950-1964)", *Espacio, tiempo y forma* 16 (2003): 230

Pavilion was the proposal by Carlos de Miguel, where the plan included a series of screens loosely dividing an otherwise undefined interior **[Fig.3.21]**.

On May 9, 1956, the design by Corrales and Molezún was announced as the winner. The one aspect that distinguished their project from the rest of those in the competition was their take on grid by means of a hexagonal module system. By virtue of being non-orthogonal and stepped, the grid defined a space that was open and allowed for a total vision of the interior, but was nothing like the universal space proper to orthogonal and planar grids. The hexagonal grid allowed for a larger range of different but equally generated patterns, whereby a single element provided the logic of every single one of the elements of the building: the logic of the whole, the logic of the structure, and the logic of its aesthetic. This holistic approach however did not produce a generic space. On the contrary, the displacement in section and lighting solution —where the height difference between the parasols allowed for clerestory lighting—produced an extremely vibrant and complex interior. The cellular solution was all the more efficient in terms of production, in the sense that the graphic definition and construction system of one module already defined the whole of the project, or rather, pre-defined all its possible iterations. Corrales and Molezún dedicated one of the two competition boards to drawing one of the hexagonal elements in full detail, down to the construction assembly of the in-laid paneling of the hexagons, and the sewage and foundation system **[Fig.3.22]**. These drawings not only provided evidence of the project's feasibility and efficiency, but were also testament to the elasticity of the system, as the principle of flexibility also applied to the process of production, the program, and the potential reproducibility of the building.

This solution was the result of the architects' on-going investigation in exhibit architecture and spatial grids in a series of projects, particularly led by Vazquez Molezún, that merit some attention as precursory to the Expo 58 pavilion. In the summer of 1952, while Molezún was on a three-year fellowship at the Beaux-Arts Academy in Rome, Molezún had designed the Museum of

Contemporary Art and Exhibition Hall, a project that was granted the 1953 National Prize of Architecture. Discussed in one of Carlos de Miguel's Critical Sessions in October 1954 and published in *RNA* soon thereafter, the Museum of Contemporary Art was a three volume V-shape composition six stories high designed as a three-dimensional steel grid structure of 3.5 x 3.5 x 7 meters rotated at 45 degrees **[Fig.3.23]**.[81] The geometry resulted in a series of articulated cubicles set diagonally on the site and that received light from two sides and the roof, as they cantilevered over each other. As seen in the documentation of the project, what appears most significant to Molezún was the study of a one-to-one relationship between geometry, structure, and light. He rendered the drawings of the façade with heavy light and shadow contrasts and photographed a structural cage-like model repeatedly with various light angles and projections. In one of the plans he noted that the system allowed for "a basilical and zenithal light" for the exhibition spaces, which he deemed most appropriate for modern art.[82]

Molezún had been invited to design the set for the Exhibition on Spanish Medieval Sacred Art in 1953 and thereafter two pavilions which Spain presented at the 1954 Milan Triennial, the national pavilion in which he displayed a number of Chillida sculptures in steel, and a pavilion dedicated to the National Rail Company, Talgo. At the same time, Molezún teamed up with Corrales to design a school at Herrera del Pisuerga, for which they devised a series of alternating triangular structural beams for the roof that allowed the light to enter through the interstices between them **[Fig.3.24]**. Their competition entry for the Science University Building in Barcelona of 1955 explored the figure of the grid by combining an orthogonal grid of 4 x 6 meters for the laboratory areas with a series of

81 "Sesión Critica de Arquitectura," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 154 (1954): 15.

82 Ramon Vazquez Molezún, "Museo de Arte Contemporaneo," 16-23. LEgado Molezún. Interestingly Luis Moya was one of the jury members that granted Molezún's Museum the National Prize of Architecture on the basis of its novel geometric solution, in terms not too different from the ones he would argue for soon thereafter when granting the National Prize of Architecture to the Camino Chapel.

pavilions on an octagonal grid for the classrooms.[83] Their exhibition work continued with the design for a Telecommunications Exhibition in January 1956, set in the Crystal Palace in Madrid and for which they were joined by the architect Javier Carvajal. For this project they broke the Cartesian grid with a triangulated system of tubular steel, tensile, and fabrics that organized the circulation of the visitors around isolated pedestals holding electronic products. In this work, structure and lighting were meant to evoke the dynamism of the subject matter, and break with the symmetrical and classic space in which the exhibition was set. Simultaneously with their design for the Expo 58 competition, Corrales and Molezún worked with de la Sota in the school pavilion in Miraflores, the outskirts of Madrid, where a bare wooden roof beam cantilevered over the heavy slope of the site and the floor plan was displaced in section and stone carved in order to open up the space of the classroom **[Fig.3.25]**.

In their 1956 design for the Expo 58 pavilion, Corrales and Molezún developed many of the strategies explored in these precedents, such as the reliance on a non-orthogonal geometry; the dialectic between an exposed roof structure with a rugged base faced in ceramics. Combined with clerestory lighting, this system allowed for "absolute flexibility and adaptability," a trope that became the most fundamental conceptual and formal aspect of the design. The architects legitimized this idea as a straightforward response to the conditions of the site, the directives of the competition brief, and to the fact that there was not yet a clear program for the interior exhibition. In effect, they were charged with designing an empty container. In the report on the execution project, submitted in October 1956, they wrote:

> The site has areas of green mass and trees that need to be preserved. According to the competition brief, we ought to build 70% of the areas, which means the building must surround the [tree] lines. As a consequence of these characteristics [of the site] in plan and section, the problem becomes one of finding a roof system that offers enough elasticity, both

83 They apply the octoginal geometry to a houisng project in "Proyecto de vivienda de renta limitada Rosalia de Castro," 1956. Unpublished project. Legado Molezún.

> horizontally and vertically. Such elasticity was also recommended by not having, at the moment, a list of the materials that will be exhibited.[84]

Corrales and Molezún explained their design in these terms repeatedly, in reports for and meetings with the Committee as well as the media, even appearing on national television, alongside Fisac, to present their design, most likely in these same straightforward, logic-of-the-conditions narrative **[Fig.3.26]**.[85] For the architects, the ultimate value of the project, and what the hexagonal module-grid provided for was an ability to take on any form and contain any exhibit.

And yet, for all of its potential for change, through the subsequent process of building and exhibit design, Corrales and Molezún proved reluctant to modify any aspect of their project. Put differently, ambiguity, openness, and the possibility of change were the values to preserve. Construction of the pavilion began in January 1957. In late February, the Committee announced a second competition for the design on the exhibit.[86] With a little more than a month to present proposals, which were due April 13, Corrales and Molezún decided to participate in the competition on the basis, or so they argued, of preventing other designers from filling up their pavilion and breaking up the "spatial fluidity they were looking to create."[87] Contradictory as this might sound, they had one goal in mind: to preserve the flexibility of the pavilion. For this, it was crucial for Corrales and Molezún to keep the pavilion empty. This did not imply, however, a lack of design. On the contrary, for purposes of exhibit design they expanded their team to include other architects, visual artists, filmmakers, and cultural critics such as de la Sota, Carvajal, Oiza, Chillida, Jose Maria de Labra, Jorge Oteiza, and Luis Garcia Berlanga.[88] I will later return to the exhibit in some detail, but it is

84 Corrales and Molezún, "Memoria."

85 In 1957 they appear in TVE alongside Fisac to explain the project, surely in these terms as also echoed in Miguel Fisac's review of Expo 58, "Exposicion Universal de Bruselas" *Blanco y Negro*, April 19, 19, 1958, 38-41. Canovas, *Pabellon de Bruselas '58*, 10

86 Feduchi goves a detailed account of the competition process in "Archipiélago hexagonal," 103-106

87 Joaquin Vaquero-Turcios, in conversation with Feduchi, in ibid, 104.

88 Also in the initial team were Luis Romany, Amadeo Gabino, Carlos Pascual de Lara. Canovas, *Pabellon de Bruselas '58*, 197.

important to note how in their conversations with the design team and the eventual set-up of the exhibit, Corrales and Molezún were very emphatic about not having objects blocking the overall view of the space or written signs that could compromise its message.[89] In a letter to philosopher of aesthetics Jose Maria Valverde, one of the most influential voices in the initial stages of the exhibit design, when seeking his collaboration, Corrales explained the nature of the "elastic roof" upon which the pavilion was based and noted that the main problematic for the exhibition, other than defining a theme, was to be faithful to the "very particular character" of the building. For this, he wrote: "It is essential to preserve the transparency of the whole... therefore, it seems that vertical panels, often necessary for the purposes of exhibition, are not appropriate."[90]

The exhibit was thus meant to be either on the walls along the perimeter, set on low tables, or occupy the space ephemerally, as in the dance shows, films and the food. The emptiness of the pavilion was a cause of disagreement with officials in the Spanish delegation after the opening, and a series of panels, flowerpots, and other folklore paraphernalia were eventually installed against the architects' wishes.[91] Paradoxically, this move overturned much of the aesthetic and political potential of the pavilion. But in setting up the exhibition, and in its initial reception, they emphasized that the pavilion should remain a hollowed-out arena **[Fig.3.1]**. The lack of objects was not meant to lead to a blank space, but rather to allow the spatial quality of the hexagonal grid system to take perceptual priority. The grid combined with the emptiness and multiple reflections was intended to challenge the conventional figure-ground relationship in order to avoid any clear separation between container and contained. Thus, the pavilion itself, in its emptiness and flexibility, was the principal object of exhibit.

89 Feduchi, "Archipielago hexagonal," 104.

90 Letter from Jose Antonio Corrales to Jose-Maria Valverde, March 1st, 1957; op.cit.Canovas, *Pabellón de Bruselas '58,* 198.

91 Feduchi, "Archipielago hexagonal," 118.

Within the space of the pavilion, Corrales and Molezún looked to emphasize a holistic but textured and vibrant interior. This was an effect of the leveling of the floor, the seemingly random supports, and the light-shadow pattern of the roof. The pavilion provided for a multitude of perspectival experiences augmented by the reflection of the roof in the surface of the tables housing the exhibit. While not a glass building strictly speaking, it was this spatial quality that allowed Corrales and Molezún—and eventually the pavilion's reviewers—to think of its design in terms of transparency. This mode can perhaps be best understood in terms of the phenomenal transparency that Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky were articulating around that time: an illusionistic transparency that results from ambivalent relations, spatial layering, and plays of light. While Rowe and Slutzky considered either the translation of cubist layering into architecture through a study of façades or the volumetric plays in the work of Le Corbusier when moving on to the stratification of three-dimensional space, and that was perhaps the limitation of their analytical proposal, Corrales and Molezún's pavilion was an example of spatial stratification in space itself.[92] For the structure of the building produced transparency.

Also unlike Rowe and Slutzky's, Corrales and Molezún's attitude towards transparency was not so much formal as it was political. In their opening statement adressing the exhibition project, following the reference to the 1937 pavilion they explained their faith in the pavilion as an object of Franquista diplomacy, and the role that transparency played to this end:

> This moment is also similar, almost equal, to two other moments that were fundamental in our history: the fight against Islam and the Counter-Reformation. We should propose the Spanish pavilion's thematic with a certain subtlety so as not to be confrontational toward other participant countries…. We should highlight what unites us with the current world, emphasizing current spiritual and material contributions and providing a bright and neutral

92 Rowe and Slutzky's two essays on "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal," first published in 1963 and 1971, are reprinted in *The Light Construction Reader* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002), 91-114, which includes several critiques to their proposal. Detlef Mertins provided an alternative reading of modernist transparency and void in *Modernity Unbound* (London: Architecture Association, 2011), 16-87. Joan Ockman's review of Mertin's book counter argued for the lasting value of phenomenal transparency as an analytical concept for modernism in "Momento Mertins," *Architects Newspaper,* November 14th, 2011.

> ambiance … At no time should the diaphanous quality of the pavilion or its total vision disappear. [93]

The design team thus made it clear that the political purpose and the new times called less for explicit content to fill in the pavilion's structure, as in 1937, than for there to be a "subtle" message to be embedded in the "ambiance." The objective was to avoid confrontation with politically charged issues and to project a sense of neutrality and tolerance on the part of the regime. In a swift, one-to-one Dorsian correspondence between form and politics, they opted for a transparent and open space.

Whichever the political allegiances of the various members of the design team, the connection they suggested between transparent "neutral space," and the "political moment" proved how well attuned the proposal was to the contingencies of Franquismo with regard to foreign policy. After the end of World War II and the defeat of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, Franco faced a geopolitical scenario substantially different from the one that had backed him in the late 1930s. The 1945 Postdam Agreement had denied Spain membership in the UN on the basis of its fascist and authoritarian stance, and this was followed early in 1946 by a series of resolutions to censure the Franco regime and recommend the return of diplomats from Madrid. Soon after, France and the United Kingdom excluded Spain from taking part in the Marshall Plan.[94] These events defined the ostracism of Franquismo's first decade, broken only by the Argentinean government of Juan Perón, and the autarchy promoted by Falange that eventually resulted in the undermining of the Spanish economy. Franco remained relatively oblivious to the international isolation and repeatedly claimed to be adhering to the ideological core of the regime, particularly with regard to Catholic and general anti-Communist stance.

---

93 "Anteproyecto de instalación y funcionamiento" op.cit *Pabellón de Bruselas'58,* 199.

94 Previously, Spain had been excluded from the San Francisco conference in 1945. Termis Soto, *Renunciando a todo*, 18. As well as Franquismo's fascist pedigree, the Republican exile played a significant role in diminishing the perception of the regime outside of Spain. For Anti-Franco policies in London and Washington see Payne, *The Franco Regime*,338-343.

Many within the government, however, realized that for Franquismo to survive, it needed to gain both economic assurance and political legitimacy from the outside. The appointment in 1945 of Martín-Artajo as Minister of Foreign Affairs signaled a new direction in the regime's foreign policy, one in which realignment with the West and Spain's integration into transnational organizations became the priority, precisely as a shift in global opinion turned antifascism into anti-Communism. The US soon set aside its reservations about the dictatorship, and the Department of State began to redefine its policy toward Spain as early as 1948. This was orchestrated by a pro-Franco pressure group in Washington that included Catholic and anti-Communist congressmen and military and economic lobbyists who argued for the reactivation of economic and diplomatic relationships, especially with regard to market transactions in the private sphere, financial aid to the government, and military interests regarding Western defense.[95] US acceptance proceeded at a moderate pace, as President Truman largely rejected policy changes toward Spain. But the endurance of Franco, the failure of the international community to undermine his rule in the ten years that he had been in power, and the reevaluation of the regime's ideological value in terms of Cold War dynamics gradually weakened anti-Franco arguments. The progress of the Korean War specifically fueled the interest in revisiting US policies towards Spain on the basis of military defense and triggered a contentious debate in the US Senate about Spanish loans.[96]

In the midst of the revision of US relations, on October 31, 1950, the UN canceled its diplomatic ban and accorded Spain the right to request access to transnational organizations. In the years that followed, Martín-Artajo and the Spanish lobby in Washington coordinated the nomination of Spain for entry to the UN.[97] While this effort failed at first, they were successful in bringing to

95 Led by former Minister of Foreign Affairs and ambassador to Washington Jose de Lequerica, Termis Soto, *Renunciando a todo*, 22-23; "Congress and Franco Spain" in Philip J. Briggs, *Making American Foreign Policy: President-Congress Relations from the Second World War to the Post Cold War Era* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), 55-60.

96 Termis Soto, *Renunciando a todo*, 25.

97 Ibid, 37

fruition a bilateral agreement with the US. Signed in September 1953, the Pact of Madrid provided a military agreement, whereby the United States was to construct and use several military bases throughout the peninsula while providing financial assistance to Franco's regime.[98] Almost simultaneously with the Pact of Madrid, in August 1953, Martín-Artajo signed a new Concordat with the Vatican that provided full recognition to Franco's government by the Roman Church, and sanctioned the confessional nature of the State and the monopoly of Catholicism.[99] The two agreements were not unrelated at an ideological level, for what sustained the regime's anti-Communism, in Franquista rhetoric, was the structural role played in the regime by Catholicism.[100] The two pacts were readily mobilized in the media as evidence of moral and political legitimacy. Moreover, they triggered an agenda seeking full international reinsertion. In the summer of 1955, Spain petitioned to enter the UN on the basis of support from the US and many of the Latin American countries. Spain's acceptance into the organization after a contentious vote on December 14, 1955 served as the ultimate ratification of the regime's claim to legitimacy, both at home and abroad. There followed a period when the regime sought to strengthen its ties to the US and establish new alliances with Western Europe. In 1955, Spain also joined the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the International Labor Organization, first as observer and in 1958 as an associate

98 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 343.

99 This was particularly relevant for Franco and a personal achievement for Martín Artajo, whose Catholic credentials included the presidency of Catholic Action for nineteen years prior to his becomining Ministry of Foreign Affairs

100 Alberto Martin-Artajo, "Las Constantes de Nuestra Política Exterior" *Arbor* 40:151-152 (1958): 336. The connection between anti-communims and Catholciism was not lost on US public opinion, see "Abroad. Now that the Siege Has Been Lifted," *New York Times*, February 9, 1952, where the reporter notes "Anti-communism is the base on which the regime rests at home and the key to its policy abroad…It explains in part, but not entirely, the cooperation of the Church. It xplains whu outside nations as well as Spaniards hesitate to do anything to disturb the stability of a Government that claims the alternative to its total control is communism or chaos." Later, it published a series of five "Reports on Spain" by Herbert Matthews in reaction to, and in orde to analyse the impact of US Aid to Spain, where the relvance of CAtholcism in Spainsh culture and politics did not go unnoticed. September 17-21, 1956. "Report V," noted what a "moral value" the 1953 Agreemetnts added to Fraqnuismo but also how religion played in the negotiations, and more specifically how the country's stake in different Catholic denominatios presented a challenge: "One of the difficualties in the negotiations for the bases was that the hierarchy of the Spanihs Church objected to the fact that so many Portestants were going to be introduced into Catholic Spain." *New York Times*, September 20, 1956.

member, becoming a full member of the former in 1959. In July 1958 Spain was admitted to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.[101]

The intensive political maneuverings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enter the world, so to speak, contrasted with the "lack of interest" on the part of Franco toward democratic and liberal values and dynamics. Political historian Termis Soto has put Franco's ideological stance regarding Western rapprochement in terms of a notion of "wait and see," wherein a strategy of non-action based on simply emphasizing the Catholic and anti-Communist underpinnings of the regime would eventually attest to its being historically justified.[102] For all the initial demands made by the US State Department for changes to be made to Spain's ruling system, the US-Spain agreement was based on a "stable friendship," a relationship in which both sides claimed to support each other without forcing or surrendering their own fundamental, and apparently opposite, principles. That is, Franco was able to keep on asserting the "glory of the Movement" and his centralization of power while in collaboration with the country standing as yardstick of freedom and democracy.[103]

But for all the leverage that history and the development of the Cold War procured for Franquismo vis-à-vis the West, its fascist and authoritarian pedigree remained a troublesome liability. It was widely understood that the regime ought to attenuate its image to the outside and to redefine, if only rhetorically, the terms of its ruling system. The challenge was bluntly put a few years later, in 1962, in a letter to Franco by the then Ambassador to Washington, when explaining the continuing efforts to sustain American support, he noted the need to debunk the "idea" that Franquismo was a totalitarian dictatorship, "which is deeply rooted here." Instead, it was necessary to construct the "idea" of a different type of "leadership," and of Franco as a "leader who attempts to guide Spain in response to the division, the wounds, and the stubbornness of the Civil War, toward

101 Termis Soto, *Renunciando a todo*, 68.
102 Ibid, 141.
103 Ibid, 31.

a particular formula of freedom." The notion of freedom was interpreted as a particularly eccentric western value, but one to which the regime ought to comply in some way. The letter continued:

> The idea of "freedom" is like a second religion in this country, even for Catholics . . . . That is why, here, I insist on the fact that Spain has never been, and will never become, a totalitarian country, but is a country that looks for and tries to establish its own form and meaning of freedom . . .. In other words, it is about demolishing the myth of "Franco the dictator."[104]

The intent was of course less about demystification—Franco was and remained the locus of dictatorial power and the state encompassed all spheres of public and private life—than about re-imagining Franquismo. The challenge, as put in the quote above, was to appear to live up to the Western conception of freedom.

Franquismo was thus gradually redefined in terms of a power system of the so-called "organic democracy." Installed as a consequence of the Civil War, Fraqnuismo was thus presented as distinct to the country's history and to a presumed essential characteristiof the nation and, perhaps more critically, as a self-appointed system of power, that is, agreed upon by Spaniards by means of war. The relationship here with architectural organicism, which as we have seen was mobilized by the Directorate General of Architecture for purposes of propaganda, was mainly allegorical but also effective. Through the notion "organic democracy," the regime ought to project itself politically as neutral to the East/West conflicts, and with Franco transformed from a military fascist to a benevolent Catholic leader, responsible for a Spain flourishing economically and, most importantly, at peace. Peace, in turn, was conceptualized in terms of religion.[105] The dictatorship was refurbished in terms of a political order where freedom was simply different, based on a system of Catholic

104 "Frente a la idea, aqui arraigadisma, de una Dictadura de tipo totalitario, la de un "leadership" politico que trata de conducir a España, sobre la division, las heridas y el encono de una Guerra civil, a una formula de libertad en el orde....La idea de libertad, de "freedom," es como la seguanda religion en este pais, incluso para los catolicos…Por eso inisto aqui en la verdadde que españa no ha sido, ni sera, un pais totaltario, sini un pais que busca y trata de establecer su propia forma y sentido de libertad….Se trataria en otras palabras, de derribar el mito del "dictador Franco," para sustituirlo por el Padre de la patria y restaurador de sus libertades públicas." Letter from Antonio Guarrigeus to Franco, June 1962, in *Las Cartas de Franco, La correspondencia desconocida que marco el destino de España* (Kindle edition) Capitulo 31

105 Geddis, *The Cold War*, 161.

institutions, which included the government.[106] This rhetorical deviation was part of the ending of the Falange's leadership in the government and the establishment of the technocratic state discussed in the previous chapter, a process that transformed governing dynamics, the power elites and certain values, but that was never intended to put the regime's core ideological raison d'être in jeopardy.[107] This masquerade was performed mostly through a cultural front, through what was understood by the Foreign Affairs officials as most resilient to global political changes and foreign reaction.[108] As others have also argued, the objective in these events was to portray the image of progress and success by means of the "disappearance of exterior" signals of Franquismo, in a series of "sacrifices of appearance" that would submit to the regime's apparent lack of an ideological stance.[109]

Accordingly, the pavilion's emptiness aimed at asserting the neutrality of the regime. The transparency that Corrales and Molezún so strongly wished to preserve was intended as a signifier of the country's loosening ideology, an analogue of political and cultural neutrality. In connecting form to politics, even if to warrant the depoliticization of form, Corrales and Molezún certainly revealed remnants of D'Ors's Morphology of Culture, detailed in chapter one, with its premise that architectural form bears moral and political values. The parallel between their argument for architectural neutrality and the concurrent political agenda was neither accidental nor ineffective. As we have seen, the planning of the pavilion spanned from the moment Spain presented its candidacy for UN membership, in the summer of 1955, to the summer of 1958, or the moment the regime was accepted into various other international organizations and was dealing with renewing its agreements with the US. These events and the planning of Expo 58 not only happened to share a

106 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 337-338

107 Gómez-Escalonilla, *Imperios de Papel*, 403.

108In his seminal study on the foreign cultural politics of Franquismo, cultural historian Lorenzo Gómez Escalonilla has noted how it was through art exhibitions, biennials, academic events, and other cultural events that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs looked to suggest a softening of the dictatorship. Ibid, 142.

109 Termis Soto, *Renunciando a todo*, 28.

moment in time; they shared the same governing apparatus as well. The Expo 58 Committee had been formed under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and within the policies and structures of Acción Cultural championed by Pérez-Embid; Martín Artajo had publically claimed the architecture of Fisac and Molezún for the purposes of his agenda, with the Expo 58 pavilion also earning Spain a Golden Medal and international prestige; notably, the very same officials who were on the Committee participated, contemporaneously, in the negotiations to gain support for UN membership.[110]

It was in the reception by the international media that the pavilion most clearly met the mark of the Franquista masquerade. The reviews contained only a faint shadow of Franquismo and assumed a country that was honest, as metaphorized by the structure's lack of cladding, and above all oriented to progress, as in the novel formal solution and in the use of the most rationalist of planning devices, the modular grid. Most telling, perhaps, was J.M. Richards' account of the pavilion in his selection of six "outstanding pavilions" for *Architectural Record*. Like others, Richards recognized the building's emptiness and "transparency in all directions" as the main sources of its "charm." [111] This charm, at least as Richards saw it was reenacted in the drawing by Kenneth Browne that accompanied the article **[Fig.3.27].** A sketch perspective of the interior looking up from the entry to the cafeteria, the drawing shows an animated, sophisticated, and crowded scene of lounging and drinking, with women wearing fitted black dresses and fashionable jewelry. The Spanish pavilion thus served as a site for a relaxed, cosmopolitan Western scene. The image just about suggested that Spain could now claim its place within that world. And it did, without apparent resistance, in terms of the pavilion's actual location in the fair. Built at the southeast end of the foreign section, Spain's pavilion bordered those of Switzerland, Monaco, and the Great Britain **[Fig.3.28]**. None of the

110 Marques de Santa Cruz, for instance, was in the meetings alongside Ministry of Exterior Martin-Artajo with the US State Dept in the negotiations for the agreements, and later of Spain's entry in NATO and the UN.

111 Richards, "Six Outstanding Pavilions," 114.

delegations from these countries, epitomes of European democracy, expressed concern for being placed near Franquista Spain, which Communist Yugoslavia had previously done.[112] For Spain was above all else in the context of the Cold War, not Communist. Emptied out and apparently freed from the burdens of ideology, in its location as much as in its media reception, Spain seemed poised to take its place within a post-fascist and democratic Western world.[113]

3.5 Pavilion as Church: The Exhibition and the Politics of Hispanism

It is through another, less public image of the pavilion that the underlying content of the void begins to surface. One of Corrales' favorite pictures, a photograph he took himself soon after the opening and kept in his archives, shows a Dutch nun visiting the pavilion **[Fig.3.29]**. Shot from below, her lone figure, clad in black vestment and cross, stands against the hexagonal pattern of the roof and leans forward slightly, looking down at one of the tables as if in prayer. Nothing like the image in *Architectural Record*, the scene arguably fulfilled Corrales and Molezún's deepest aspirations. For the pavilion was actually intended to function atmospherically—at least by the architects—as a church. To unpack this argument, we must look closer at the exhibit, scant and illusive as it was, and at the various narratives that it produced. Prior to launching the exhibit design competition of 1957, the intergovernmental committee had drafted a series of preliminary programs in a back and forth between members from the different ministries. Intended to define a theme that portrayed "Spanish life," one of these programs, or *Anteproyecto* and the one that was possibly distributed for purposes of the competition, put the emphasis on the "geographic character" of the country.[114] With an essentialist and long-durée type of approach, the committee planned sections themed after different

112 Yugoslavia, for instance, refused to neighbor Spain on the basis of ideological discord, as shown by Vladimir Kulić in his chapter to this book.

113 Tony Judt, *Postwar*, 504.

114 "Anteproyecto elaborado por la Ponencia de Informacion y Turismo, Educacion Nacional y Comercio," op.cit. in *Pabellón de Bruselas '58*, 197.

landscapes and climates, and proposed "sun" as running theme.[115] Different exhibit areas would relate to the sun, the country's various regions and historical episodes. Vague and random as the proposal was, it singled out an aspect that ought to underpin "each and every one of the sections" and be "forcefully highlighted" through the exhibit. This was the "the spiritual meaning of Spain through history. [116]

That this request assumed the slippage between spirituality and religion was not lost on Corrales and Molezún's design team. While elaborating the program for the competition and in their correspondence with collaborators, Corrales and Molezún often referred to their design in terms of a cult space and wrote of a building that inspired transcendence, meditation and ultimately a spiritual experience.[117] In the text submitted for the competition entry, they framed their response to the fair's motto for a "more humane world" with a primary theme, put as follows: "Spain defends the values of the spirit, the only values that can give meaning to the work and technical progress of the world of the future."[118] Notably, they pointed to "light" as the most appropriate "symbol" of the spirit, thus effectively engaging with the sun-theme and vindicating the structure of the pavilion as source of light and light-control. While they claimed to advocate for a non-denominational spirit—"the generic form (of spiritualism) obliged by the character of the fair," they noted the "religious reach" of their proposal.

What filled the Spanish pavilion more specifically was Catholicism. Furthermore, the relationship of aesthetics to religion advanced in the pavilion built in the discourse on sacred architecture developed in the prior decade, as mainly set out by Fisac and discussed in chapter one.

115 This was an equivalent, as noted in the draft, to Deutschland's choice of "water" as the defining force of the nation ibid

116 It was structures around four main ideas related to the Sun:"Search of Sun," "Happiness of Sun," Scape from the Sun: Water," and the "Enjoyment of Sun." The text also suggested to bring the spiritual aspect under the rubric of "Spain: crucible and center of cultures." This referred not only to the various cultural traditions within the Spanish region but also to the country's former colonies "Anteproyecto elaborado por la Ponencia…," 198.

117 "Memoria de la instalación interior," op.cit *Pabellón de Bruselas'58,* 143-146.

118 Ibid,143.

In Brussels, they explained their exhibition in terms of an experience of "spiritual ascendance," whereby the visitor would gradually transcend from "matter to spirit." The point quite literally reverberated Oiza's claims for a new sacred monumentality a few years earlier, since he was one of the members of the design team, as were Jose Luis Romany and Alejandro de la Sota.[119] As Oiza had called forth in 1952 in his talks and later in 1954 in the design of the Camino Chapel, the idea behind the 1958 pavilion was to "give technical progress true human meaning, commencing with the most concrete and material reality in order to elevate the world."[120] This divine realism of sorts translated into an exhibit divided in two sections, one leading to the other in "ascendancy," meant as both spatial and spiritual **[Fig.3.30]**. The first, occupying the north half of the building and titled "Present Reality of Spain," was meant to show Spain "as is" through three sections. The first dealt with geography and climate, under the title "land" and framed as the most essentialist defining element of the country; the second on "Labor" showed the productive face of the country showing products of its agriculture, craft, and more current, its industry; and, finally, the section "Fiesta" gathered aspects of popular culture with predominance of ideas and experiences of rest and leisure **[Fig.3.31]**. The latter were reinforced in the cafeteria and the stage, where typical food would be served, where visitors could rest, "contemplate," and enjoy the folkloric dancers who performed regularly.[121]

As the visitor passed the cafeteria and the stage, to the southern end of the pavilion was the second section, titled "Hope for a Future World." The idea in the second section was to present the country's projection onto the future as the result of the country's long-durée values and traditions, which it exhibited in the first section. The culmination of this narrative was articulated in no ambiguous terms, as the themes for the very last group of tables were: mystics and ascetics, Spanish saints, Vitoria-Suarez-Trento (referring to the Vatican Councils), and finally, Catholic art and

119 As will be seen in the next chapter, Corrales and Molezún were not strangers to church design either.
120 Ibid,143.
121 Ibid, 144.

architecture. The very last table made it clear that Catholicism was the ultimate goal of the exhibition. It also asserted the primary role of sacred art and architecture to make the point. Notably, the images installed on the last table ranged from reliefs of medieval chapels to the collage of the Camino Chapel **[Fig.1.1]**.

This second part of the exhibit also included an area for "meditation," with only chairs for the visitor to sit, rest and contemplate the space, what would provoke "spiritual fantasies" and some sort of transcendental state of "dreaming ascendance."[122] With this, the theme of the pavilion became experiential. The idea of light as the design device that both run through the exhibit and conveyed the religious transcendence of matter (and technology) was further articulated in a final object: a metallic structure of "symbolic and abstract character" that emerged form the broken floor and toward an open ceiling and was illuminated by ascending rays of light. With this, the visitor could become clearly aware of the "light that transcends matter, from down and up…until it reaches a painful luminosity."[123] It is in the ubiquity of Catholicism in the exhibit and the architects' emphasis on transcendence that we can interpret their aspiration to emulate a church, as opposed to other forms of spirituality.

Unsurprisingly, Fisac was the main advocate of the entry presented by Corrales and Molezún's team. While the narrative of the exhibit responded to the Committee's requests quite precisely, the argument was not emphatic enough for some of its members, amongst them Sánchez Mazas and Camón Aznar, who also realized that the content of the exhibit remained loosely defined. Before deciding on the competition winner, out of four entries, the Committee gave Corrales and Molezún the option to resubmit their proposal, most likely following the recommendation of Fisac. Far from rejecting the focus on "inherent" Spanish spirituality, the revised proposal delineated an

122 Ibid, 146.
123 Ibid.

alternative and rather more oblique mode of overlaying the exhibit with it. Their objective for this revised proposal was to "tone down" the grandiloquent terms through which the Committee had initially framed the main theme.[124]

The team led by Corrales and Molezún was announced as winner 27 June of 1957 and over the following months, they worked closely with the Committee to decide on details and scope of the exhibit program. After Sánchez Mazas travelled to Brussels and learned of the projects by other nations, he asked, for instance, to emphasize the idea of the "projection" of Spain. In the course of several conversations and two official meetings in August 1st and August 8th, Committee members, advisors and designers discussed the exhibition project and drafted a new Anteproyecto, a version that took on the themes of spirituality and projection head on. It was in this revised and consensual Anteproyecto that the Spanish delegation harked back to the 1937 pavilion of "Red Spain," as quoted above, and proposed "subtlety" regarding the thematic of the pavilion, and neutrality and brightness for the space.[125] There, the link of spirituality with religion and historical development was made explicit. Moreover, it was made political. For the countries that could feel confronted by the pavilion if they had chosen to engage "polemics" upfront, as in 1937, were "Muslim and Protestant." Moreover, they equated the "current political moment" to two historical episodes during which Catholicism was the country's ideological drive and basis for imperial expansionism, the conquest of Islamic Iberia and the Counterreformation.

This second text on the exhibition project also expanded its program, at least in writing, with more detailed images and themes that would portray Spanish regions, geography, costumes and

124 As also noted by one of the members of the design team, Joaquin Vaquero Turcios, in later recollections of the process of design that span between the initial propsal, sent in Apri, and June, when the Committee decided on the winning team "Que es España?" in *Pabellon de España de la Exposicion Universal de Bruselas*, Serie Arquitecturas Ausentes del Siglo XX, (Madrid: Rueda,2004), 55.

125 "Anteproyecto elaborado por la Ponencia…," 198. From the existing documentation, it is unclear to know who exactly signed this document. The terms in which the pavilion is described, including a description of openness and transparency, leads me to belief this was the document rewritten by the design tema and submitted in time for the Committee to make the final decision on the competition.

historical episodes.[126] It included a section titled "Spain: crucible and center of cultures," as had been suggested initially, where they questioned, "What is Spain? What does Spain mean in the History of Humanity?...What can best represent what survives in us and forms the base (of Spain) at all levels, in a historical, telluric and temperamental constant?" Varying references to the folkloric followed this line of questioning. But an unambiguous answer was provided in the closing paragraphs of the project, where the design team resorted back to explaining the bipartite organization of the exhibit layout, one on what the Spaniard "is" and the second on what Spain ought to project to the world and the future. There, again, was Spain's religiosity. As they wrote at its closing:

> Faced with the dramatic fight implied in the current stage of human evolution, Spain is ready to play its part… To offer the world her faith, her faith in destiny and human dignity, her serene and solid spirituality… Modern technology must inevitable penetrate Spain in this second phase of industrial revolution that now begins, a phase immensely more dramatic and humane than the first one. The destiny of humanity will be determine by the dialectic between faith and the realization of the hopes (of modernization), by the extent to which faith gets to lead and control the realization of these hopes and the extent to which the reality of these hopes leave their mark in faith.[127]

In the narrative of the projects no least, the running theme of the exhibit was made clear: Catholicism as not only the essence of the country, but also the driving force of the country as the historical agent of global evangelization. Still more importantly, they framed Catholicism as the value system necessary to face, and take control over, the challenges and hopes of modernization.

In November of 1957, Corrales, Molezún and their team of designers, which composition varied through the months, submitted the final set of drawings for the exhibit. This layout varied slightly from the initial proposal, mainly in that the tables took their definite hexagonal shape and the few panels and standing elements were eradicated, including the final allegorical sculpture of metal and light **[Fig.3.32]**. Some of the images previously planned also disappeared, most significantly the panel proposed by sculptor Jorge Oteiza of a scaled-up portion of the *Guernica* and

126 As divided in four related ections called air, fire, land, and air

127 "Anteproyecto elaborado por la Ponencia…," 202.

which was suppressed by Sánchez-Mazas early on the process. Again, the ghost of 1937 was all too powerful and the Committee never meant conjure it up completely. The distribution of the exhibit in two sections—the "real" and the "projection"—remained, as did the final tables and their religious themes **[Fig.3.33]**. An enclosed hexagonal room was added on the southwest of the pavilion. With a private access and a crypt-like feeling, this space related well to the subject of the painting it was to house: Salvador Dalí's *Santiago el Grande*, an exhilarating celebration of St. James evangelization crusade, atop his monumental horse and underneath a transparent gothic roof and a floating crucifixion **[Fig.3.34-35]**. Meant as the Franquista response to Picasso's *Guernica*, the painting pinpointed the main theme of the exhibition—Spain's inherent religiosity—placed it in the context of global evangelization and emphasized the apostolic nature of Spanish Catholicism.[128] As Corrales and Molezún wrote for the brief essay of the final project, the design objective was clear: to provide an open, serene, and bright space full of "symbolic, poetic and spiritual character" that would contrast the "commercial, material and often vulgar interpretation" often offered by national pavilions.[129] The pavilion was indeed emptied out of things, but was filled up with Catholic Spirit.

With Catholicism framed within the notion of "projection" onto the world and in relation to the prospects of modernization, the pavilion more specifically exhibited Spain as the locus of Evangelization. This ideal discerns the foreign politics of Franquismo in ways more precise than Westernization alone. As noted above, the campaign to approach the West was for the most part formal; one of external appearance intended to mask Franquismo's ulterior ideology. For all of the Westernizing efforts that the pavilion substantiated effectively enough, the regime remained averse to values of democracy and pluralism, however flawed these might have been from the perspective of many in the Western democracies. Franco and his governing officials never intended to adapt to

128 Feduchi, "Archipiélago hexagonal," 111.

129 Typewritten text for the project dated October 1957, Legado Molezún.

and fit in with a given model of modernization—and freedom—that might eventually constitute a democratic wedge within Spanish society. All through the process of Westernization, those in charge of defining the aims of Acción Cultural persevered on a distinct, essentialist, and neo-imperialist agenda. Noted in Pérez Embid's internal reports for the Secretary of Censorship and Propaganda, the purposes of the renewed Junta de Relaciones Culturales proclaimed as much disdain toward the Western democracies as to Eastern Communist systems. The intent of the Junta was to articulate an alternative system led by a "constructive ideological movement, one with universal validity and essentially different from the decadent path that, whether we like it or not, has been followed by both democratic and Marxist countries."[130] The claim echoed a third way that was common to European fascisms, whereby Communism is opposed by embracing a form of progress that likewise repudiates liberalism and democracy. The objective, still, was to conceive of a universally valid value and power system.

What sustained Franquista's universal ideology, and what distinguished it from other European fascisms, was the ideal of Hispanism.[131] A notion long supported by the Spanish right, Casanova has explained the ways in which the intellectual circle of *Arbor* and Pérez Embid promoted the variant of Hispanism that suffused Franquismo in the 1950s. This interpretation of Hispanism, as well as other right-wing movements across Latin American thereafter, drew from the later thinking of political theorist Ramiro de Maeztu and the writings he promoted in the journal *Accion Española* during the early 1930s.[132] A strong critic of the Second Republic and of nineteenth century liberalism, in his 1934 book *Defensa de la Hispanidad* Maeztu had called to awaken the memory of the Spanish

130 "Informe sobre una posible organizacion de la Acción Cultural de España en el Mundo," typewritten draft, January 28th, 1952, 1, in Fondo FPE, signature 003/155/003. On the campaign of the Ministry of Information in which Pérez Embid was involved to study and define "new forms of diplomacy" and "ideology trends" as it pertained to the shifting geopolitics of the period see alos "Plan de Extension de Propaganda Politica," Ministerio de informacion y Turismo, typewritten draft, 2, in Fondo FPE, signature 003/115/112; and "Algunas Ideas sobre las Campañas en el Extranjero contra españa y su regimen, y modo de desvirtuarlas," Ministro de Informacion, September, 1951, Fondo FPE, signature 003/155/014.

131 Escalonilla, *Imperios de papel*, 121.

132 Ibid, 315

Empire and recover the country's "historical mission" of Catholic evangelization.[133] A critic of Hegel through Klaus Hartmann, Maeztu defined the nature of humanity through various levels of "Spirit:" the spirit of the individual; the supra-individual spirit, and this corresponded to Hegel's "objective" spirit known as history that defined the shared characteristic of a nation; and the "objectified" spirit, where the former took on material form. Above all of these levels of spirit, Maeztu identified the "omnipotent Spirit of God, which is infinitely superior to the spirit of a people."[134] Hispanismo for Maeztu was a spirit, the Hispanic Spirit that was not merely "objective" of Spain as a nation and its culture, as Hegel would have it. The Hispanic Spirit for Maeztu was a combination of the first three levels of spirit (what was true in his view of any other national spirit) but also—and distinctively—of the fourth level of spirit. Put simply, Maeztu defined Hispanidad as the bearer of the Spirit of God. In this, "The Hispanic spirit might have been the most elevated and valuable of all national spirits."[135]

Hispanism was not only the spirit of Spaniards per se and the most original contribution of the nation to the world order. In the bearing of God, Maeztu argued, Hispanism was the Spirit proper of humanity at large; it was intrinsically universal. As such, he defined Hispanism in terms of a global humanism of religious origins, with Spain conveying the mission of bringing it onto the world. Maeztu's weaved together Hispanism, Catholicism, Imperialism and Humanism through a historical argument on the rise and fall of a Spanish civilization. He equated the country's times of "maximum strength" with those of "maximum religiosity," what led to "the very peculiar humanism of Spaniards." During these times, he wrote, "Spaniards did not simply adulate each other with the idea of being closer to God than the rest of men. On the contrary, they tasked themselves with bringing other nations the message that God is calling."[136] With the Hispanic Spirit in decline since the mid-

133 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 360.
134 Ramiro de Maeztu, *En Defensa del Espíritu* (Madrid: Rialp, 1958), 151.
135 Ibid,147.
136 Ibid, 147.

eighteenth century alongside the larger decay of humanism, of Catholicisms and of the Spanish Empire, in *Defensa de la Hispanidad* Maeztu called to awaken the project of Hispanism, one that "far from it being ruins and dust, is an edifice half way up" and thus ought to be taken on yet again.[137] To do so, Maeztu offered a series of historical analogies, appealing to the most significant episodes of Spanish colonization and Catholic evangelization. The most "glorious" times for Hispanidad were the Reconquista, the colonization of the Islamic Iberian Peninsula by Christian kingdoms between the 6th and the 15th centuries; the colonial campaign that followed, mostly in Western America but also Northern Africa; and the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, for the central role played by several Spanish orders in the ensuing Counter-Reformation.[138] These were the times of Spain's "historical progress (that) made us offer the Cross to the New World."[139]

Hispanism thus reasserted Spain's cultural and moral hegemony, and sustained the country's "progress" through the global "offering" of the Cross. By the time of Maeztu's revision of Hispanism in the 1930s, and more so during Franquismo, this neo-imperialist project was not proposed in the belligerent and political terms of the past, and was not intended to reclaim a global political hegemony. It was rather framed in terms of the cultural and moral hegemony of Spain based on "spiritual unity" alone.[140] In this way, Maeztu's Hispanic Spirit appealed to an ideological coherence of the world and an essentialist construct of the nation in ways similarly to the German idea of the Volk invoked by the Third Reich. Maeztu's Hispanism was less directly founded on racial than spiritual hegemony. The spiritual claim was obviously also overlaid with racial implications, given that the very

137 Ramiro de Maeztu, Epilogue in *Defensa de la Hsipanidad*. http://hispanidad.tripod.com/maezt.htm

138 Martin Blinkhorn, "Spain: the 'Spanish Problem' and the Imperial Myth," *Journal of Contemporary History* 15-1. Special issue on Imperial Hangovers (1980), 18. On the various and complex mobilizations of Hispanism all the way to the twentieth century see Mabel Moraña, ed. *Ideologies of Hispanism*, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), esp.xi-xiii, 127-130.

139 Referencing 1492 as a moment in which the first two colonial campaigns cohered, in the fall of Granada and Columbus first trip to the Americas and under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs Queen Isabelle of Castille and King Ferdinand of Aragon, Maeztu wote: "The same year we brought the Cross to the Alhambra we discovered the New Continent. It was on October 12th, the same day of the Marian apparition to Santiago. Maeztu, "Epilogo"

140 Blinkhorn, "The 'Spanish Problem' and the Imperial Myth," 19.

historical definition of Catholic Spain and its colonial campaign had been determined through the abolition or the acculturation of Islam and of polytheists religions in Latin America, and thus of the indigenous races related to them. Maeztu addressed race, or "racial unity" as secondary to the process of "spiritual unity," allowing for racial hybridizing and mestizaje in so far as it conformed to Catholic Hispanic rule. Still, Spain was to retain the command of the so-called spiritual "brotherhood", and with it racial and cultural hegemony.[141]

Maeztu's urge to reconsider Hispanism as the teleology of the nation was folded into Franquista rhetoric, policies, and institutions. This was most clearly established in terms of the relationship with Latin America and through the so-called Hermandad de Naciones Hispánicas (Brotherhood of Hispanic Nations) a virtual institution that Franco and Martín-Artajo often referred to in their speeches after 1945. [142] A few months after he was replaced as Minister, Martín Artajo laid out the parameters of his foreign policy in the previous decade in terms of the spiritual "mission" of the country and its will to Hispanism.[143] By then, Artajo was able to trace and celebrate the acceptance of Spain in the European Community and the westernization of the country that he had invested so much on. For Artajo, this process ratified the ideological integrity of regime, since Westernization, or what was referred to as Europeanization, was meant to grant Spain the role of "guarding" the "whole of the Western World," especially against the "Soviet danger." [144] The

141 Maeztu, "Epilogo,"

142 See selection of speeches, Francisco Franco, "Hacia la comunidad Hispánica de naciones: discursos desde 1945 ahsta 1955."

143 Martín Artajo, "Constantes de nuestra politica exterior," 338. The article's very title, "Constants in Our Foreign Policy," points to the emphasis Franco placed on "independence" from foreign political trends and the aim to define an idiosyncrasy to the regime. The "brotherhood" was more clearly promoted through the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, but it often expanded beyond Latin America to include other "European races." In the late 1930s, this was the case of Germany and Portugal, the nations that had accompanied Spain during her imperial campaign. In Latin America, sectors of the right embraced Hispanism and the relation with the franqusita Falange as a way to counter the Pan-american project that claimed hemispheric alliance with the United States, and its model of economic and political liberalism. Ricardo Pérez-Monfort, *Hispanismo y Falange: Los sueños de la derecha Española* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), 22-24.

144 Martín Artajo, "Constantes de nuestra politica exterior," 343.

international capacity as peacekeeper was grounded on the nation's structural Catholicism and its global historical alliances.

This double bound ideal, where essentialist principles of Hispanism and Spanish Catholic traditionalism were compatible with the integration of the country in an internationalist project of progress, was best put by Pérez Embid as "Hispanization in the Ends and Europeanization in the Means."[145] This formula represented a synthesis of tradition and modernity different from the more typical dialogical interaction between one and the other. Casanova has also explained the ways in which Pérez Embid's synthesis of tradition and modernity—or of Hispanization and Westernization—implied a juxtaposition of both principles in ways that led to a radical revision of both. Embid's Hispanism was a departure from traditionalism as much as his idea of Westernization was more than simply a "varnish of modernity" over traditionalism.[146] The formula was rather based on disassociating "the means" from "the ends," thus opening up for instrumental rationalization of the means that established the ends as permanent, immutable, and universally valid set of principles—and thus closed to debate.[147] These, the Catholic and evangelical principles of Hispanism, could in turn thrive under any and all changing historical circumstances, as was the case of the country's reintegration in the international community and the rationalization of the economy and the administration, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Pérez Embid's motto thus implied an illusion that the project of Hispanism could instrumentally use the European means for its own ends and with the expressed purpose of maintaining itself unchanged. In other words, instrumental rationalization was meant to uphold traditional values. As leader of the intellectual group around *Arbor* and a prolific publisher and

145 Florentino Pérez-Embid, "Anteporyecto de principios generales para la política cultural del Ministerio, en la acción ideological," typewritten draft, August 24, 1951, 6, Fondo FPE. Casanova discussed Pérez-Embid's twofold ideal in detail.
146 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 263. The cllaim on the "varnish of modernity" was by Laín Entralgo at the time, in the Laín Entralgo- Calvo Serer debate on the "problem of Spain," which Casanova also details.
147 Ibid, 264.

lecturer, Pérez Embid's ideas were public enough. And he was explicit in folding his double-bound ideal in the agenda of Accción Cultural. One of his first reports as General Director of Propaganda, written in August of 1951 and titled "General Principles for the Cultural Politics in Ideological Action," calls specifically to "update, develop and disseminate the Christian system of ideas that is the vital principle of our culture." The claim is part of a section of the "Politics of Spirit," which follows sections on interior and exterior politics. Closing the report, he specifically framed the imbrication of the Hispanist Catholic Spirit with modernization:

> The technical advances of material life in Spain must be put to the service of what has proven to be a permanent skill in our attitude through history. The old opposition between Spain and Europe can be resolved today for our culture in a fortunate synthesis: Hispanism in the ends and Europeinization in the means.[148]

In Corrales and Molezún's narrative of the exhibition project and in the images and objects selected for the interior of the pavilion, they drew on this synthetic argument of Hispanism. In the final draft of the exhibition project, the design team wrote about representing a moment in the history of Spain analogous to the Reconquista and the Counterreformation, they specifically targeted the Anglo-Saxon and the Arab worlds through their denominations—Muslim and Protestant countries—and as those to which Franquismo ought to correspond with. It was in the void of the pavilion where Pérez Embid's "Politics of Spirit" unfolded in rather more intricate ways. In so far as the pavilion's emptiness was not only intended as Franquimo's smoke screen of the regime's potential for modernization but was also filled with Hispanic Spirit, it was the architecture itself that best performed the juxtaposition of the Hispanization will of the regime with its Westernizing impetus.

It is important to stress the argument here is on the program of Evangelization advanced on the pavilion and how this interpreted the notion of Hispanidad, and not on "Spanishness" alone. To

148 Pérez-Embid, "Anteproyeco de principios generales…," 6.

be sure, the pavilion projected an essential conception of the nation. "Spain" was constructed in Corrales and Molezún's pavilion through a rather typical combination of modernity and tradition, whereby a modernist and neutral container displays traditional objects, materials and aesthetic experiences. This approach was long adopted for the purposes of International Exhibitions through which the universalism of the one serves as background for the localism or folklore of the other, in an attempt to project the image of a country that is culturally distinct and true to itself while also part of the international drive for progress. It was the strategy deployed by Sert and Lacasa in Paris in 1937, as well as by Coderch and Molezún in Milan in 1951 and 1954, and by so many others at Expo 58. In Corrales and Molezún's pavilion also, the "Spanishness" of Spain was enacted through a series of traditional objects that filled the exhibition. But in 1958, these objects took on less of the material quality of the botijo and the wicker furniture that filled Sert's and Coderch's displays, than a performative and ephemeral quality through popular dances, traditional food, and films **[Fig.3.36]**. The decision to exhibit "Spain" through events rather than objects was, as already noted, part of the concern for keeping the interior of the pavilion unobstructed. And it was precisely there, in the spatial void left by the absence of physical manifestations of "Spain," that the project of Evangelization unfolded; where the Hispanic Spirit took on built form and effectively filled the void. While Flamenco dancing, tapas, and eventually flowers and other folklorist paraphernalia were indeed shown in Brussels to construe "Spain," it was the series of other architectural strategies that worked toward the additional program of Hispanization.[149]

3.6 Mosque as Pavilion: Learning from Islam and the Space of Hispanism

What, then, made the architecture of the pavilion Hispanist in this sense? In 1944, Pérez Embid had proposed a thread of Hispansim through architectural form that would eventually, and in

149 As noted by Casanova, this idea pertains to a non-traditional conception of the sysnthesis of tradition and modernity.

a revised manner, underpin Corrales and Molezún's design. In his first book, an architectural history titled *El Mudéjarismo en la arquitectura Portuguesa en la época Manuelina* **[Fig.3.37]**, Pérez Embid had studied the phenomenon of the expansion of Mudéjar architecture in the Portuguese empire.[150] Mudéjar referred to the style developed throughout the Iberian Peninsula during the so-called *convivencia* (cohabitation), the period following the Reconquista when Christian Kingdoms allowed Muslims of Al-Andalus to retain cultural traditions and practice Islam and were recognized as Mudéjares. By the mid-sixteenth century, citizens with Islamic precedents were forced to convert, be expelled, or killed, and became known as Moriscos. The Mudéjar style was coined much later, in the mid-nineteenth century to define the architectural language that hybridized formal and technical devices from Islamic architecture for purposes of Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance architectural styles and building typologies. Therefore, Mudéjar as style assessed less the condition of coexistence of Islam and Christianity than the later condition of Christian hegemony, as it signaled the utilization of Islamic tropes to early Christian architecture.[151] In this, Mudéjar could be argued as the aesthetic manifest of Hispanism, as it appropriated Islamic architecture to provide a distinct aesthetic of the emerging Spanish Catholic empire born in Castille and expanded first through the Peninsula and later to Europe and Latin America.[152] Mudéjar thus translated into architecture the project of evangelization.

150 Florentino Pérez-Embid, *El mudejarismo en la Arquitectura Portuguesa en la Epoca Manuelina* (Madrid: CSIC, 1955) a section of the book, and fiers essay of architecture by Pérez-Embid fist appeared as "La Portada Manuelina de Almonaster La Real" Arbor 17:64 (1944): 270-278.

151 Juan Calatrava, "Paradigma islámico e historia de la arquitectura española: de las exposiciones universales al Manifiesto de la Alhambra" in *Las exposiciones de arquitectura y la arquitectura de las exposiciones. La arquitectura eapañola y las exposiciones internacionales* (1929-1975), 28. Mudéjar as the essence of Spanish spirit had been promoted since Amador de los Rios in the mid nineteeth century. On recent critical revisions of the mobilsation of "mudejar," see Cynthia Robinson scholarship and especially, *Interrogating Iberian Frontiers: A Cross-Disciplinary Research Symposium on Mudéjar History, Religion, Art and Literature*, special issue of *Medieval Encounters* 12.3 (2006)

152 In his work thereafter, Pérez-Embid moved away from art and architecture and toward broader cultural and political arguments of Hispanism and the expansion of the Spanish empire in Latin America. He lectured on these topics often in the late 1940 and 1950, in events sponsored by the ICH and often sharing stage with his friend and Opus Dei fellow Fisac. This argument on Mudéjar architecture was also supported at the time by Expo 58 Committee advisor Camón Aznar.

This argument on Mudéjar underpined Corrales and Molezún's design, for it was as an object of neomudéjar architecture that the pavilion was effectively Hispanist. Despite the ubiquity of Catholicism within the exhibition and in the narrative of the project, Corrales and Molezún's typological and spatial referent was, in fact, a mosque. In their private and public explanations of the pavilion, before and after Expo 58, they invariably equated the space of the pavilion with a "great natural mosque." [153] The reference was also noted in the international reception of the pavilion. Most significant in this regard was the way in which the interior space reminisced the hypostyle gridded interior of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, the religious center of Al-Andalus prior to the thirteenth century in the city South of Spain **[Fig.3.38]**. Corrales and Molezún also decided on the triangular ceramic terrazzo for purposes of an "oriental character."[154] And yet, the ulterior spirituality it was meant to promote was Catholic. It was in this way that the pavilion specifically recalled the country's history of religious conquest, and in a certain way reenacted it. For it was in the Córdoba Mosque, where one of the foundational moments of Hispanism took place as a cathedral literally colonized the building in 1236 and just as the emerging Spanish nation displaced Islam.

The pavilion thus reinterpreted Mudéjar architecture and its Hispanist ambitions in rather sophisticated and modernizing ways, advancing an aesthetic to Pérez-Embid's vision. Architecture of Islam had long been a fixture of World Fairs ever since Owen Jones asked to paint the interior of Joseph Paxton's 1851 crystal palace after the chromatic system derived from his ornamental studies of the Alhambra, the palace-fortress of the Emirate of Granada, the southern city of the Iberian Peninsula.[155] Zeynep Çelik has called attention to the ways in which the representation of Eastern cultures and nations in World Fairs in the late nineteenth century typically evoked the most romantic

153 Letter from Corrales to Jose Maria Valverde, March 1st 1957, op.cit. Canovas, *Pabellon de Bruselas Expo'58,* 199.
154 Ibid
155 Calatrava, "Paradigma islámico," 30. See also Juan Calatrava, "La Alhambra y el orientalismo arquitectónico, " in *El Manifiesto de la Alhambra: 50 años depués. El monumento y la arquitectura contemporánea,* ed. by Angel Isaac (Granada: Consejeria de Cultura, 2003), 12-65.

elements of Islamic architecture as ways to represent the "other" that would help construct the modern and rational cultural hegemony of the Western nation-state **[Fig.3.39]**.[156] But as was noted by Edward Said at one point, the Orientalist discourse of Central Europe took a slightly different turn in the case of Spain: a nation born from the colonization of Islam by Christian kingdoms in the very Iberian territory.[157] This distinction is twofold. On the one hand, the "oriental" in Spain was not to be portrayed or perceived as the irrational, magical, non-modern and far away Eastern Other against which the rational and modern nation-state could project its hegemony. In Spain, Islam was part of the historical evolution of the metropolis *in its very land*. On the other hand, Spain itself was often "orientalized" by Western Europeans, displaced south and located within Africa as part of nineteenth century political discourse that suppressed the Spanish empire in what was referred to as the Legend of Black Spain.[158]

In other words, from the perspective of Spain, the question of the Orient was on how to submerge the legacy of Islam within the formation of a distinct image of the modern nation. In Spain the challenge vis-à-vis Islam was not simply to construct Islam as the "other," but to nationalize it. This was the very idea behind the concept Mudéjar in architecture. Architectural historian Juan Calatrava has detailed the various ways in which Islamic architecture was integrated in the Spanish narrative of nationalism since the eighteenth century. Whether by inclusion or exclusion, the role of the architectural heritage of Iberian Islam was central to definitions of a national character and architectural style both in the historiography and in the national pavilions for World Fairs. In architectural histories, positions varied from those who overlooked the Islamic heritage in order to

156 Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient. Architecture of Islam at Nineteeth-Century Fairs* (Los Angeles. University of California Press, 1992)

157 Edward Said, "Prologuo a la nueva edición española, in *Orientalismo* , trans by Maria Luisa Fuentes (Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2003), 9.

158 Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 3. See also Eduardo Subirtas, ed. *Americo Castro y la revision de la memoria: el Islam en España* (Madrid: Libertarias, 2003)

align Spain with the rest of Europe, and thus date the nascense of the nation to the beginning of the end of Islam in the region in 722, to those who echoed the Orientalist discourse of Western Europe. This implied a romantic and anti-modern portrayal of Islam for the purposes of giving distinction to national identity— an approach also fed by European Orientalists such as in Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* and Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales.* A similarly romantic approach was typical in the design of national pavilions. In the Universal Exhibitions in Paris in 1878 and 1889, for instance, Spanish pavilions mimicked Islamic architecture in what has been called "explosions of Alhambrism."[159] The 1910 Brussels Exhibition included a replica of the renowned Patio de los Leones of the Alhambra by architect and preservationist of the Alhambra Modesto Cendoya **[Fig.3.40]**. As Calatrava has explained, these were attempts to speak the language of European orientalism while claiming the nationalization of Islam.

Another approach identified the very traits of Western reason as latent in Islamic architecture, as it had been the case in Owen Jones in his comparison of the Alhambra with the Parthenon, and his inclusion of an Alhambra court in the Crystal Palace of 1851.[160] In Spain, the merger of Islam and reason allowed to articulate a distinct mode of Spanish rationalism. This was typical in the interpretation of Gothic Mudéjar and the impetus behind several architectural histories and studies written in the mid nineteenth century that attempted to fully integrate Islamic architecture in the narrative of a national modern architecture.[161] The argument on the inner rationalism *and* nationalism of Islamic architecture leaped from the histories to a theory of architecture in the 1920 and 1930s through Leopoldo Torres Balbás, an architect and theoretician who replaced Cendoya at the Alhambra. In his writings, and as the founder on modern historic

159 Calatrava, "Paradigma Islámico", 31.

160 Calatrava, "Paradigma Islámico," 30, he points to the reference of Spanish Islamic architecture in Owen Jones. *Design, Ornament, Architecture and Theory in an Age in Transition (*New York, Rizzoli, 2006)

161 Calatrava,"Paradigma Islámico," 28-29

preservation in Spain, Torres Balbás called to move away from romantic pastiche and discern the values inherent to Islamic architecture not in the ornament alone, with its overwhelming aesthetic dimension, but in its volumetric, spatial, compositional and material dimensions.[162] Following, he designed a regional pavilion for the 1929 Seville Exhibition in the form of a stripped-down and non-ornamental version of the Islamic patio **[Fig.3.41]**.

The pavilion presented by Spain some thirty years later in Brussels likewise referred to Islamic architecture through a series of design strategies that were rather spatial, abstractions of features of Islamic architecture rather than romantic reexaminations and literal quotation of ornamental traits. Put simply, Corrales and Molezún 1958 interpretation of Islamic architecture was notably modern. To understand the ways in which Corrales and Molezún's design articulated a modern Mudéjar architecture of sorts, we must look at the theoretical work of Fernando Chueca-Goitia. An architect and architectural historian, and a disciple of Torres Balbás, Chueca-Goitia worked to define the architectural character that would be national and modern, while alternative to the concurrent national historicism. While steering away from the better known cultural agenda of the regime, Chueca Goitia claimed an essentialist search for the cultural, racial and formal ethos of the country. And he identified the architecture of Iberian Islam as essential to this process.

His seminal 1947 book, *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española (Castizos Invariables in Spanish Architecture)*, set to identify distinct and transhistorical aspects of a supposedly Spanish architecture; what the author termed the "invariables *castizos"* **[Fig.3.42]**. The book was a reaction to Bernard Bevan's *History of Spanish Architecture*, a 1938 book that Chueca-Goitia was translating at the time that argued that a Spanish architecture properly speaking could hardly be identified. For Bevan, buildings in Spain were compound of styles, unfinished traditions and techniques historically

162 Juan Calatrava, "Leopoldo Torres Balbás. Architectural restoration and the idea of "tradition" in Early Twentieth Century Spain," trans. by María González Pendás, Future Anterior IV-2 (2007): 41-45.

brought from outside cultures and civilizations. Put simply, Spain lacked genius loci. Bevan meant his argument as a celebration of hybridization, but it was also related to contemporary interpretations on the decline of Spain as an imperial power and as a cultural center and a broad Western European campaign against Spain, which framed it as a nation lacking an autochthonous culture. This was certainly how Chueca interpreted it, and thus claimed the existence not only of a series of essential values of the country's "historical spirit," but also of an architecture that was the "greatest forms of expression" of such values.[163]

Chueca-Goitia divided the book in two parts: the first laid out the theoretical frame of his argument and the second was dedicated to architectural analysis proper. The argument on invariables drew mostly from d'Ors's ideas on the Eons and Morphology of Culture, which Chueca-Goitia claimed to take further by looking more closely at architecture and, by so doing, identifying the essence of the country. Architectural form for Chueca-Goitia was always also symbolic, a compound of form and content he considered the "most powerful instrument to characterize that what is collective, historic, telluric, and a above all spiritual" in direct reference to d'Ors and echoing Ramiro de Maeztu.[164] In his use of the term castizo however, Chueca-Goitia drew directly from philosopher Miguel de Unamuno, a main figure of the Generación del 98. This was the literary group that reacted to the loss of the colonies and final blow to the Spanihs Empire in 1898 with a callback to the land and a revisionist critic of Spanish culture. Unamuno had argued for the nation's "eternal traditions" and "intrahistory," which he defined in terms of "eternal essence and truth" that were above and beyond history, politics and culture.[165] Unamuno coded these values around the notion of

163 Fernando Chueca-Goitia, *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española* (Madrid: Dossat, 1947), 11.
164 Ibid, 22.
165 Ibid. 7. For an influential study of Islamic architecture from the perspective of the relationship between geometry and spiritual and cosmological ideals see the work in the late 1960s and 1970s of the Brittish Keith Critchlow, especially *Islamic Patterns. An Analytical and Cosmological Approach* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976) Critchlow was a lecturer in the Architectural Association and his anaylis on the geometries of Islamic architecture was in part a response to, or an appropiation of, the scientific deployment of geometry by the likes of Buckminster Fuller. For critical analysis of the social

"casta," a concept that implied a sense of racial and cultural identity inherent to the land—especially of Castille, in the center of Spain. Unamuno's ideas were ubiquitous in Spanish culture by the 1930s and Chueca Goitia quoted him often, going as far as identifying buildings themselves as repositories of the country's "intrahistory" and Castizo character. Chueca-Goitia rounded off his morphology of castizo essence with the mathematical theories of Cassius Jackson Keysser from his 1922 book *Mathematical Philosophy*. This allowed him to differentiate "invariables" from d'Ors's "constants." For Chueca-Goitia, "invariables" pertained essentially a mathematical term and thus held certain flexibility to adapt through circumstances and time. More critically, invariables were geometrical and thus architecture best held the potential to embody them.

The second part of the book was Chueca-Goitia's architectural analysis. In it, he looked to "discover" these *castizo* invariables through and within the built environment. His approach was a formalist one, whereby he addressed architecture in terms of space, volume, composition, and ornament. He deemed the eminently formal analysis of buildings as more efficient than other modes of analysis such as stylistic or historical.[166] The historical argument was however embedded in the structure and subject of the book, which second section opened with a study of the architecture of Spanish Islam. Tellingly, the distinctive aspect of Spanish culture was its "origin" on Islam. Here, Chueca-Goitia made the distinction between the architecture of Iberian Islam and Spanish architecture. Although he also noted the one was essential to the other and valued Spanish culture as a crossroad of East and West, his main point was to identify Castizo as founded *on* Iberian Islam and its demise, that is, as emerging from the moment of the Reconquista. While he argued the of Reconquista as a process of "marriage" between two different "spiritual and formal worlds," he

---

and political history of Islamic art and architecture, especially in the context of Spain, see the work of Jerrilynn Dodds, for instance, *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992) and A*rchitecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 1990) and the seminal literature by Oleg Grabbar, beginning with *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)

166 In this, Chueca-Goitia related to and somewhat advanced Rudolf Wittkower's argument in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Warburg Institute, 1949)

however valued it as the process through which Catholic spirituality and political hegemony had taken over.[167]

Chueca-Goitia stressed this point through the structure of the book itself. The opening section was an analysis on the spatial, volumetric and ornamental traits developed for Mosques and Islamic palaces, which was followed by an analysis of Spanish architecture whereby variants of those traits were deployed in Churches, Chapels and Cathedrals. In this way, the book was a formalist analysis of the formation of Mudéjar architecture that argued for the architecture of Islamic Iberia as holding the "guts" of many of the "invariable" aspects of Spanish architecture. But these only turned into the essence of Spain with the advent of Christianism.[168]

For the purposes of understanding Corrales and Molezún's interpretation of Chueca-Goitia, we must look at his reflections on space. For Chueca-Goitia, space held the inner value of architecture, where volume, composition and ornament acting as the external expressions of space.[169] His method thus began with an analysis of space, and more specifically of the conception of the space/time duality as developed in Islamic architecture. Chueca-Goitia countered the notion of space in Islamic architecture to the western notion of space. He considered the latter as Euclidean, closed and holistic, while in Islamic architecture space was a discontinuous succession of open forms **[Fig.3.43]**. He likened this with quantum physics. The "quantic Moorish space" then, was not based on central perspective and clear boundaries but rather on "obfuscate vision" and unclear limits.[170] Spatial leaps and the loss of a "sense of continuity" were the effect, architecturally, of a successive stratification of planes **[Fig.3.44]**. These were conformed by screens of archeries and geometric vaults that rested on columns, which also worked as visual filters **[Fig.3.45]**. The "most noble and

167 Chueca-Goitia, *Invariantes Castizos,* 25, 49.
168 Ibid, 50.
169 Ibid,11.
170 Ibid, 37.

significant" examples of Islamic space was, unsurprisingly, the Córdoba Mosque and he also used many images and spatial analysis from the Alhambra.[171] These led Chueca-Goitia to identify remnants of such a conception of space in various medieval churches and Gothic Cathedrals across Spain **[Fig.3.46]**. Most clearly for Chueca-Goitia, the accumulation of hexagonal and octagonal chapels in the perimeters of the classic cross plans of churches and Cathedrals proved the existence of a distinct "Hispanic space of Islamic roots."[172]

The challenge still remained as to how to translate the "invariables," decoded from Islamic and Christian medieval architecture, into a new, modernist Spanish architecture, as Chueca-Goitia had set himself in the prologue of the book. For this purpose, Chueca-Goitia devised a project that involved several other colleagues and had a larger impact in the architecture culture of the time.[173] In 1952, he launched a public invitation in the pages of the Journal of the General Directorship of Architecture, *BDGA*, for a trip to Granada, South of Spain, to visit the Alhambra. The impetus for this trip was not only to reflect on what was "essential" about Spanish architecture by looking at the most significant monument of the region, but also on the "direction" of an autochthonous modernist architecture. The trip took place in October of 1952 in the form of a Sesión Crítica promoted by Carlos de Miguel. It gathered twenty-four architects in the Alhambra for three days. Part of the conversations and a series of conclusions from the meeting were later drafted by Chueca-Goitia under the title *Manifesto de la Alhambra* (Alhambra Manifesto), published widely in 1953.[174] The intention of the document was as unequivocal as its title: to appropriate Islamic architecture for the purposes of defining a new and modernizing architecture **[Fig.3.47]**.

171 Ibid, 38, 42.

172 Ibid, 52

173 Isaac, "Los invariantes castizos y el Manifiesto de la la Alhamabra," 175.

174 First published as "Sesión Critica: La Alhambra," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 136 (1953): 12-50, and later that year edited by Fernando Chueca Goitia as *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* (Madrid: DGA, Ministerio de la Gobernación, 1953) The event was widely covered as in "Manifiesto de la Alhambra" por 24 arquitectos españoles," *Al-Andalus : revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada,* 18.2 (1953), 261-270.

The idea followed Le Corbusier and Sert in their various claims to identify the essence of modernism in the Mediterranean and its vernacular architecture. Chueca-Goitia not only targeted a universally valid modernism, but also an essentially Spanish one. With the Alhambra as a "formidable deposit of essential architecture," following *Invariantes*, Chueca-Goitia asked to approach the compound from an eminently formalist perspective. This implied the substitution of history as a value, with the value of architectural form alone. For the Alhambra, he argued, "has no age: it only has architecture."[175] Devoid of history, the Alhambra was also void of its religious connotations. Moreover, rather than looking at the Alhambra from a romantic perspective, he asked to look at it from a "cubist perspective" and learn from intrinsic architectural values. It was through these that one could discern the "Alhambra's inherent modernity." Over the course of the three-day meeting, as Chueca-Goitia argued, the group "discovered" the ways in which the Alhambra related to the "current and most advanced architecture."[176]

While the exercise was claimed as one of contemplation and analysis of the Alhambra, the Manifesto reads as a retrofitting exercise, whereby principles of organicism were first laid out and then legitimized in the Alhambra. For instance, Frank Lloyd Wright, was the only architect mentioned in the Manifesto. The group thus coded the modernist values of the Alhambra in terms of its scale and the "man-module" of the spaces; the asymmetric and organic composition of the plans; the "purity and honesty" of its volumes; the "maximum honesty" in the use of material and the ways in which these were always presented "naked," without "mixtification" and in the more efficient way possible; and finally the integration of the garden and the very idea of landscape into the building.

175 Chueca Goitia, "Manifiesto de la Alhambra," in *Arquitectura Española Contemporanea. Documentos, escritos, testimonios*, 361.

176 Ibid.

For this latter point, the manifesto called attention to the ways in which the Alhambra invented a landscape "by force of geometry" and by accentuating the "poetic enchantment" of water.[177]

In short, *learning from* Islamic architecture best served Chueca-Goitia's purposes of national self-affirmation and the definition of an architecture that brought together notions of race and religion—a castiza architecture that was essentially, also, modern. The move was readily adopted among architects. After 1952, Fisac, who participated in the trip, often referred to Islamic architecture as a referent for his sought-after "humanist functionalism." Corrales and Molezún did not attend the trip, but their design for the 1958 pavilion still gave form to many of the precepts laid out in the Manifesto that resulted from it.[178] The landscaping and open composition of the plans; the hexagon geometry and scale; the gridded interior and stratification of the space; and the "honest" use of materials, as they were displayed bare, all referred to the Alhambra Manifesto. The reflective surfaces of the tables also, those that mirrored the roof-structure of the pavilion and pinpointed its void, recalled the water of the Alhambra patios, as did the pools by the exterior margins of the pavilion. When Corrales and Molezún referred to the pavilion as a natural mosque, they were nothing short of attempting the "quantum Moorish space" defined by Chueca-Goitia.

In this manner, the pavilion overlaid Islamic formal referents with Catholic content and modernist technologies. It was in this way that the pavilion expanded Chueca-Goitia's mode of modernist Mudéjar into Pérez-Embid's politics of Hispanism. The Mosque to Pavilion to Church operation that was performed in the pavilion's void presented Spain's historical role in the mission of global evangelization as the essence of the country; an essence that was capable of taking on modern form. Still more importantly, it presented Spain's abstract version of Catholicism as the value system that could redeem the spiritual emptiness of the modernizing world. For the objective was

177 Ibid, 363.

178 While Corrales and Molezún did not participate in the Alhambra meeting, the event and its conclusions were inescapable to the culture of architecture.

not only to juxtapose Hispanization with Westernization, but to synthesize the two; to Hispanicize modernity, so to speak.

In the context of Expo 58, this message could appear as a delusion of a marginal regime, and certainly as a deviation from the guidelines of a fair framed mainly within the bipolar dynamics of the Cold War. This would certainly be the case if we understood the call for "a new humanism," as was the fair's motto, along the lines of Enlightenment humanism and the autonomy of the subject from divine forces. But the ideals emerging in 1958 vis-à-vis progress, the prospects of technology and the geopolitics of the Cold War were in fact strongly colored by spirituality. When the Expo 58 commission called for nations to take part of the fair, its General Commissioner, Georges Moens de Ferning, wrote: "Under the banner of Man, the Brussels Exhibition aims to present a compendium of the material *and spiritual wealth* of a world in constant progress."[179] Although the organizers' call for spiritual capital was vague and stated in neutral terms, the favoring of a religious form of spirituality—and more explicitly Catholic—was made evident at the Square of Nations **[Fig.3.48]**. There, the pavilion of the Vatican, *Civitas Dei*, occupied the coveted site across the street from the Soviet and American pavilions. The lesson to be drawn from the prominent platform given to the Vatican was clear: the global war on scientific and technological progress was to be brought under the banner God.[180]

This connotation was not lost on the Spanish delegation and this was the interpretation that the Franquista media provided of *Civitas Dei.* The construction of the Vatican pavilion was closely followed in the Spanish press, as was the messages of its general commissioner, Father Jan Joos **[Fig.3.49]**. Spaniards also contributed to the construction of *Civitas Dei* financially, through a

179 Propaganda Services of Expo 58, invitation brochure in Spanish, AGA, Signature 81-10593.

180 Although the intention was to represent the worldwide church and not just the Vatican, the Catholic Church was invited as a nation (the Holy See). Rika Devos, "Het Vaticaanse paviljoen op Expo 58 en de moderne religieuze kunst in België," *Trajecta* 10, no. 3 (2001): 244-63. The Protestant Church also had its pavilion, located in the Belgian Section; the International Bible Society was in the Mundial Section; and in the Colonial Section, a pavilion was devoted to the Christian missions.

worldwide donation campaign for which Spain was the largest fundraiser, and a Spanish sub-committee was in charge of curating a section of the Vatican exhibiiont. Naturally, this was the section on *Evangelization* and Spain also lent several art objects for the exhibition *Imago Christi*. In this manner, *Civitas Dei* further pinpointed the message embedded in Corrales and Molezún's pavilion and expanded the across the grounds of the fair. The Vatican pavilion in and of itself, and Spain's participation in it only validated, to the Franquista press at least, the claim that Catholicism was the ideological force to be reckoned with in the context of the Cold War and the uncertain prospects of modernization. After all, the confrontation between atheism and God was at the core of the systemic rivalry between Soviet communism and US capitalism.[181] For Franco, Catholicism not only provided the basis for his structural ideology, but also it was a demonstration to the western world of the regime's anti-communism. With this, the regime was right to be considered part of the West and its structures of progress.

The question of how to put progress and modernism in the service of the Catholic Church was pressing at this moment—the exhibitions and peculiar aesthetics of *Civitas Dei* were a testament to a debate that would soon culminate in the Second Vatican Council. But from the perspective of Spain's participation in Expo 58 what was crucial was the reverse question: namely, how Catholicism was (finally) to be recognized as the value system able to rescue the world from the shortcomings of modernization. That was the objective behind Pérez-Embid's double bound ideal. And as was put in a press commentary on Expo 58, a commentary that echoed Joos' ideas **[Fig.3.50]**: "God could not be absent from the arrogant and pretentious display of human progress**,** and the Catholic Church has something to say about happiness: It cannot be attained merely through material progress."[182] What Franquismo, through its pavilion, had to say about progress was, precisely, that Catholicism, and not

181 Jonathan Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 9.

182 *La Vanguardia*, January 15, 1958, 4. The synthesis of Catholicism and modernism became the signature of Franquismo in world's fairs, as in New York in 1964.

technology alone, was the means for the redemption of the modern world. For in the end the objective of the pavilion was—as it had been for the Camino Chapel a few years earlier— to consecrate technology, to imbue modernism with spiritual values. If Catholicism's historical opponent was materialism, in Brussels God was given the chance to provide redemption from it.

In the ways in which the architects folded this message into their design and found a fitting context at Expo 58, they proved acutely aware of the ambiguity inherent in the aestheticization of politics, and of modernism's potential to carry on with Franquismo's ambivalent agenda. This awareness was largely lost on the architectural media—and here is where the Spanish commission might have claimed an advantage. In the end, critics like Zevi and others were largely blinded to the significance of the regime's self-representation by the pavilion's "emptiness." The obsessive reiteration of the structure was but a mirror-effect, an illusion whereby the image of a country ripe for aesthetic and technological modernization sustained the deception of social and political freedom. The mirage was essential as the regime was seeking realignment with the West even as its reactionary apparatus endured. Capitalizing on the broad misrecognition of the politics of modernism—or the assumption of modernism's lack of politics—designers of the Spanish pavilion filled its void with the Franquista attempt to take over the process of modernization through God. This, in turn, happened to fit neatly into the narrative of Expo 58 and the widespread uneasiness about the emergence of a dehumanized—read non-spiritual—technological society. It is to the religious agenda that underpinned a particularly influential discourse on man and humanism in the context of Spain that I now turn to.

Fig.3.1: Interior view, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

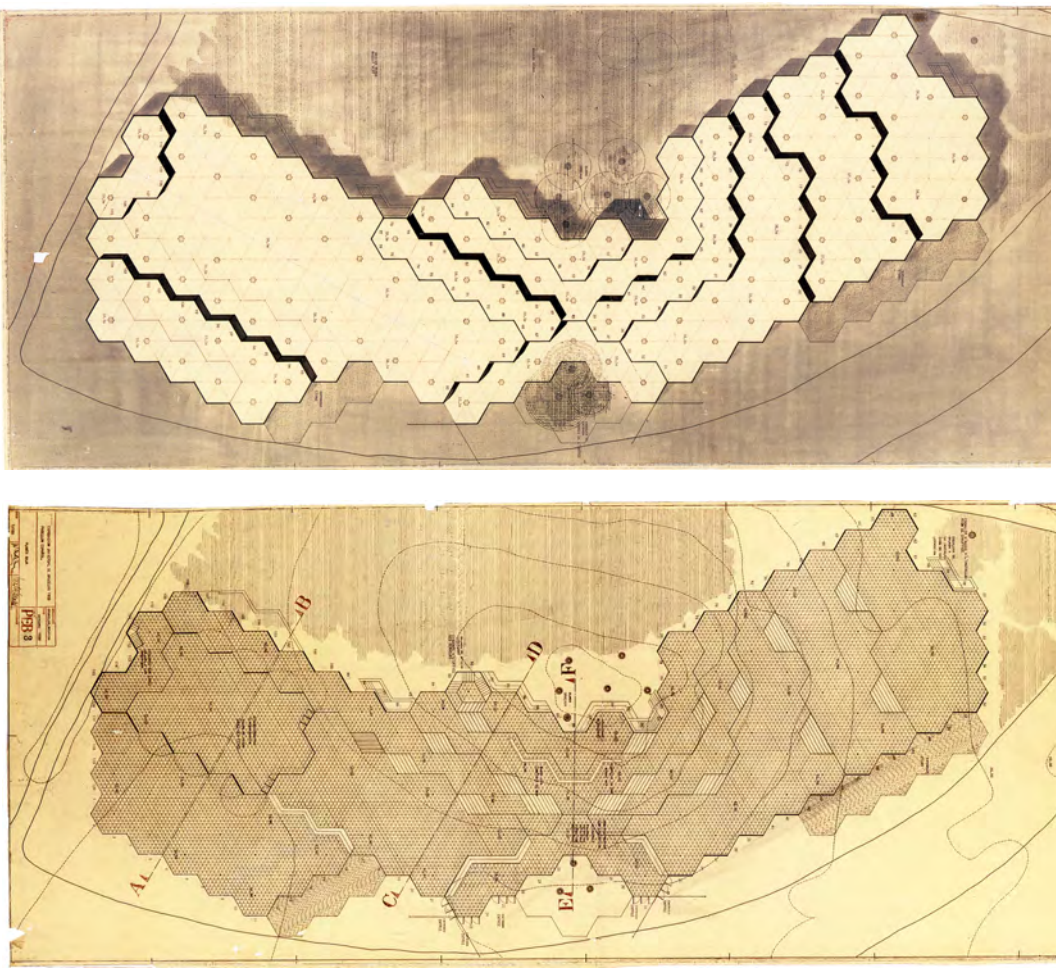


Fig.3.2: Plans, October 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

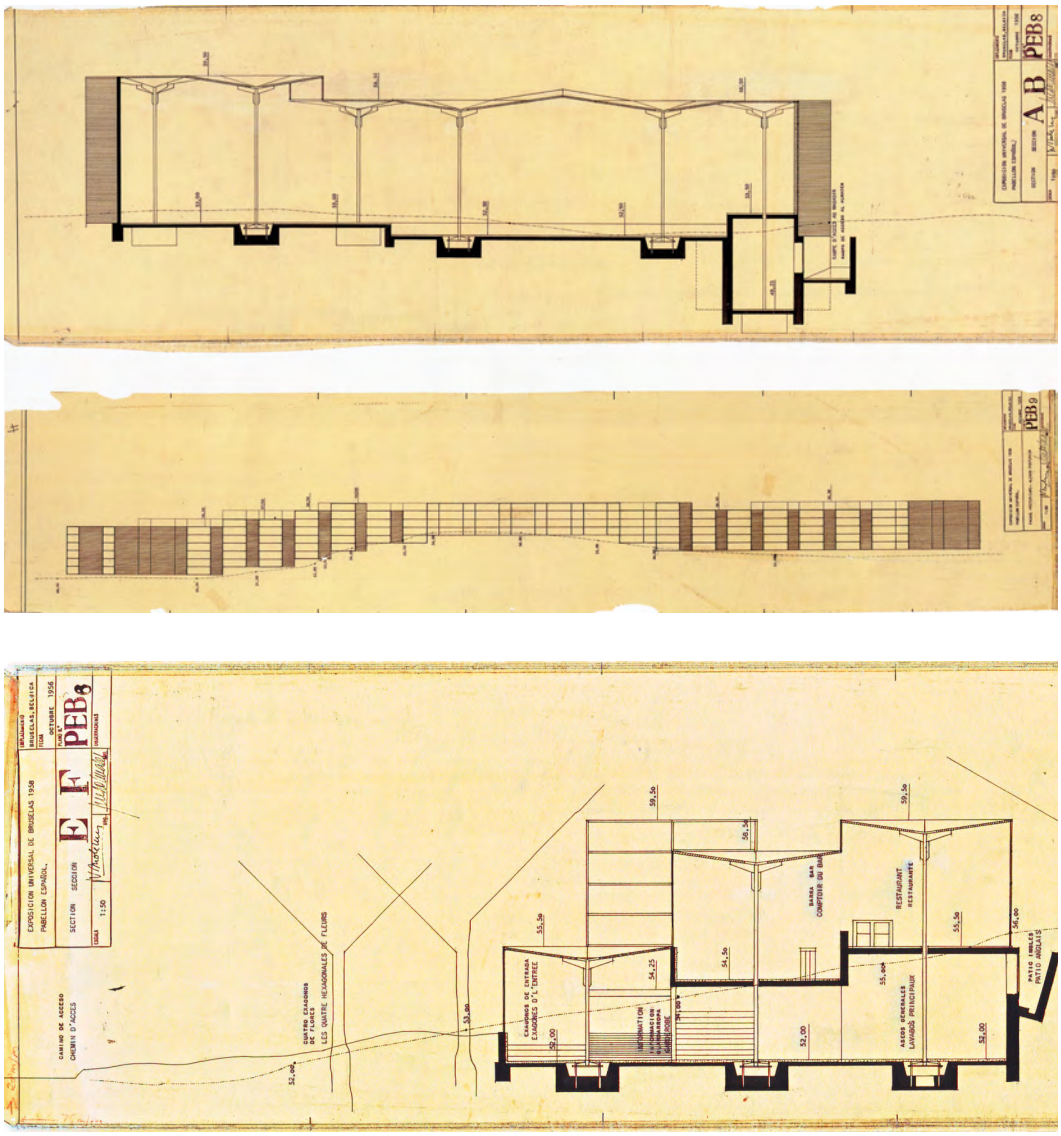


Fig.3.3: Sections, October 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.4: Interior view, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.5: View from the outside-in, at night, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.6: Interior view, with exhibition tables, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.7: Interior view, with tables reflecting the clerestory light, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.8: Outside view with reflecting pools on southeast perimeter, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

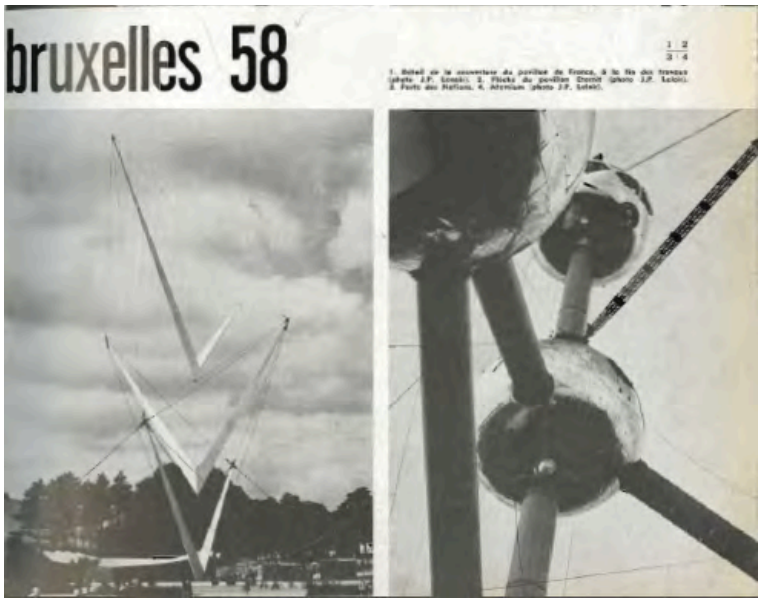


Fig.3.9: Detail of the Atomium at Expo 58 (above right) as published in *L'architecture d'ajourdhui*, summer of 1958.

Fig.3.10: Interior view of the French pavilion at Expo 58, by Gustav Gillet.

Fig.3.11: Outside view. Spanish Republican pavilion at the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, Paris, 1937, by José Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa. Photograph by Ronnes-Ruan.

Held for Copyright

Fig.3.11: Outside view. Spanish Republican pavilion at the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, Paris, 1937, by José Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa. Photograph by Ronnes-Ruan.

Held for Copyright

Fig.3.13: Interior view, across the central courtyard. The Guernica and La Font the Mercuri are towards the back left. Spanish Republican pavilion at the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, Paris, 1937, by Jose Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa. Photograph by François Kollar.

Fig.3.14: Exterior view of front façade. Museum of America for the Ministry of Education, Madrid, 1941-1954, by Luis Martínez Feduchi and Luis Moya.

...el conjunto del pabellón español en la Trienal de Milán, con un frontal románico-navarro-aragonés, siglo XII, del Ayuntam... de Barcelona, y un cuadro de Juan Miró. Arquitecto, José Antonio Coderch.

ESPAÑA EN LA TRIENAL DE MILAN

El ilustre arquitecto italiano Gio Ponti, que a través de las magníficas revistas "Stile" y "Domus" ha dado a conocer tantas obras maestras de la arquitectura y del arte italiano a los jóvenes arquitectos españoles, publica en "Domus", con motivo de la Novena Trienal de Milán, el artículo siguiente sobre la participación de España en este certamen de decoración moderna:

ESPAÑA está presente en el Arte y en la Cultura moderna de una manera propia y particular: ninguna escuela, ninguna teoría, ninguna polémica, ningún movimiento; pero Picasso, Miró, Dalí, Juan Gris, García Lorca son españoles. En la Arquitectura moderna, ningún programa, ninguna vanguardia teórica, pero la más moderna y esencial pureza arquitectónica existe en la anónima construcción popular de Ibiza; y Gaudí, el más extraordinario arquitecto del último siglo, es español. España, podríamos decir, es en el arte aristocrática y popular, no democrática: es una aristocracia de temperamento, no educado, sino nacido directamente, como un milagro, de un terreno popular anónimo, prodigiosamente potente y lleno de inventiva y de poesía. El pueblo español lanza fuera, como guijarros, pedazos de sus propias entrañas: Picasso, Miró, Dalí...

Esta es la España que el arquitecto Coderch ha tratado de presentar en la Trienale—y esto es, efectivamente, el emocionante fenómeno español para los otros países—. Con una serie de estupendas fotografías de Gaudí y

Otro de los paneles españoles en l... de Milán, con ejemplos muy carac... de viejas cerámicas populares, que... la atención por su moderni...

Coderch y Valls y la arquitectura... de Ibiza), y con una colección d... excepción, desde dos tablas de M... los inimitables picassianos "x... ballos, toros, hombres y pájaros... desde los bellísimos fragmentos... y escultura del siglo XII a las f... cabezas de toro de paja para los... juegan a las corridas, desde los... porrones de dos picos a la es...

Fig.3.15: Interior photographs. Spanish stand for the Milan Triennale, 1951, by Juan Antonio Coderch. As published in *Blanco y Negro*, October 21, 1959.

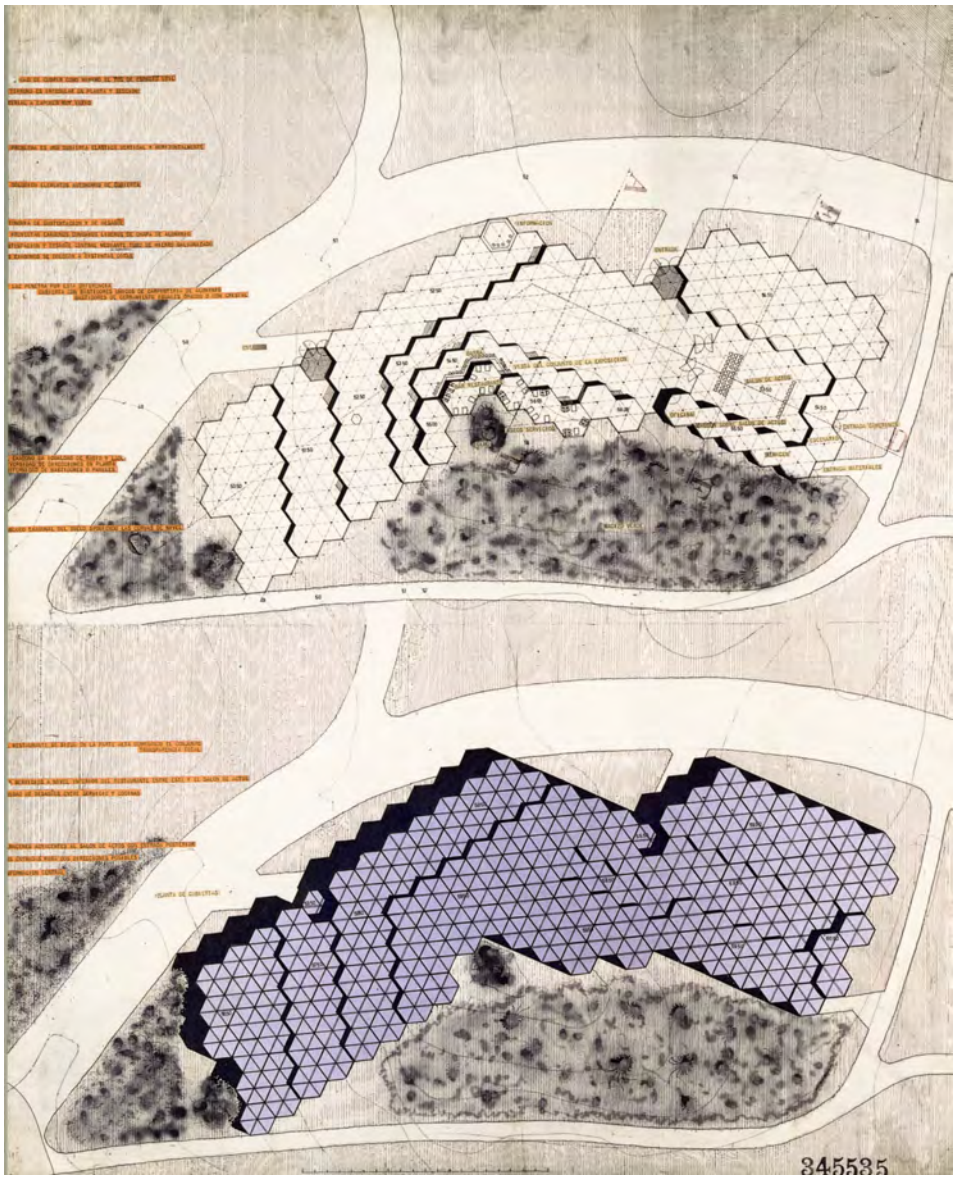


Fig.3.16: Plans, competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

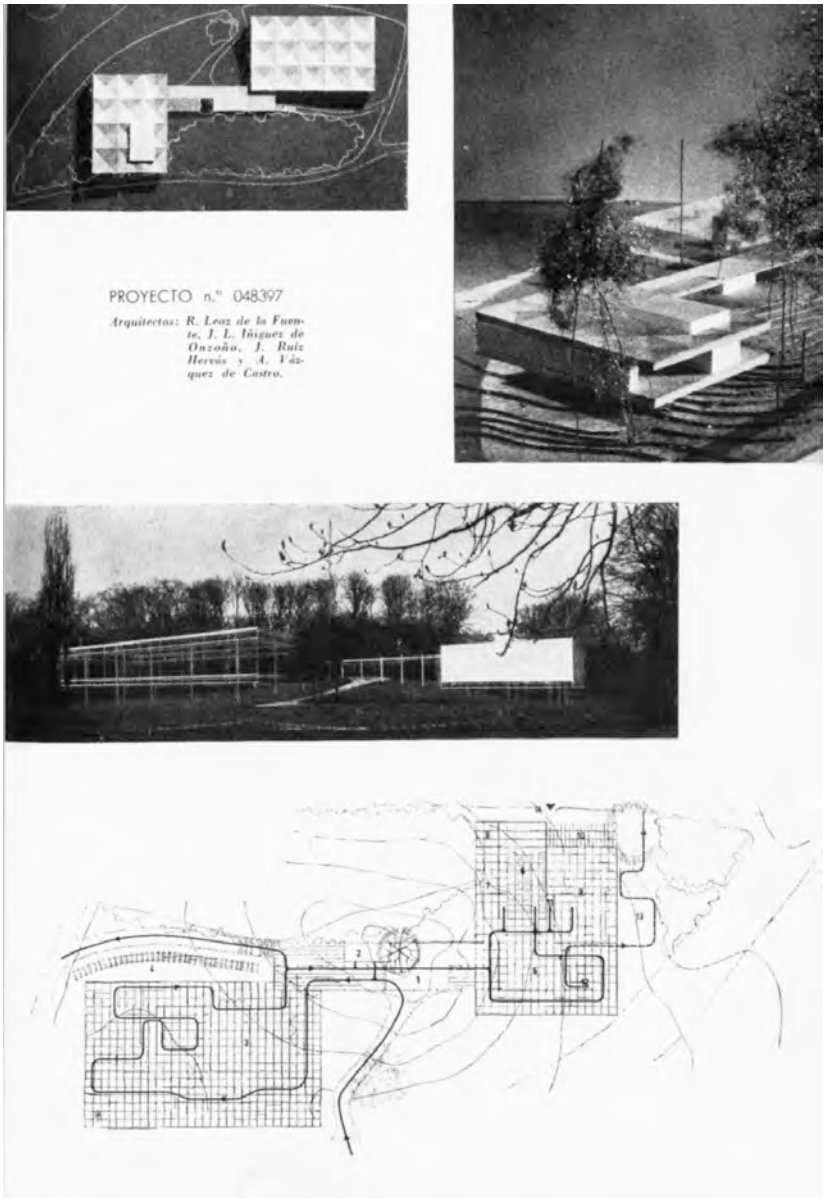


Fig.3.17: Competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, by Rafael Leoz and team.

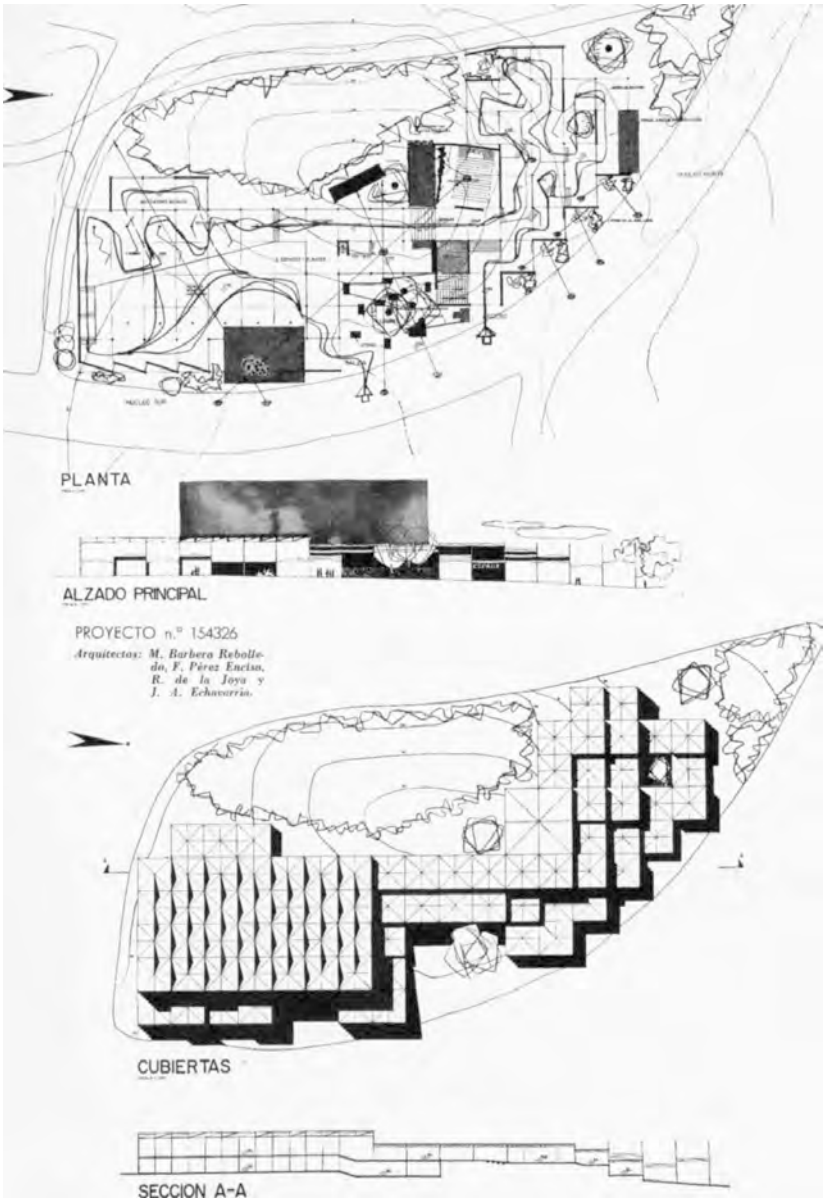


Fig.3.18: Competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, by Manuel Barbero and team.

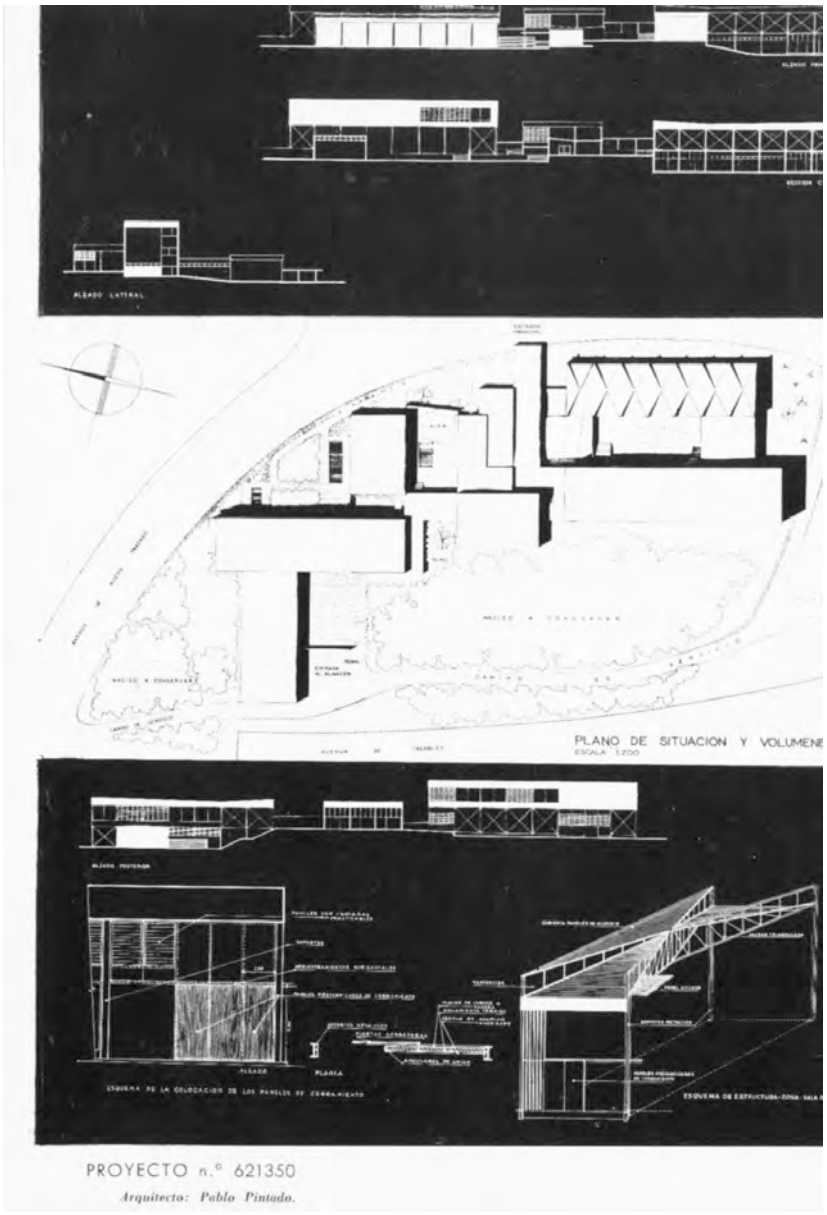


Fig.3.19: Competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, by Pablo Pintado and team.

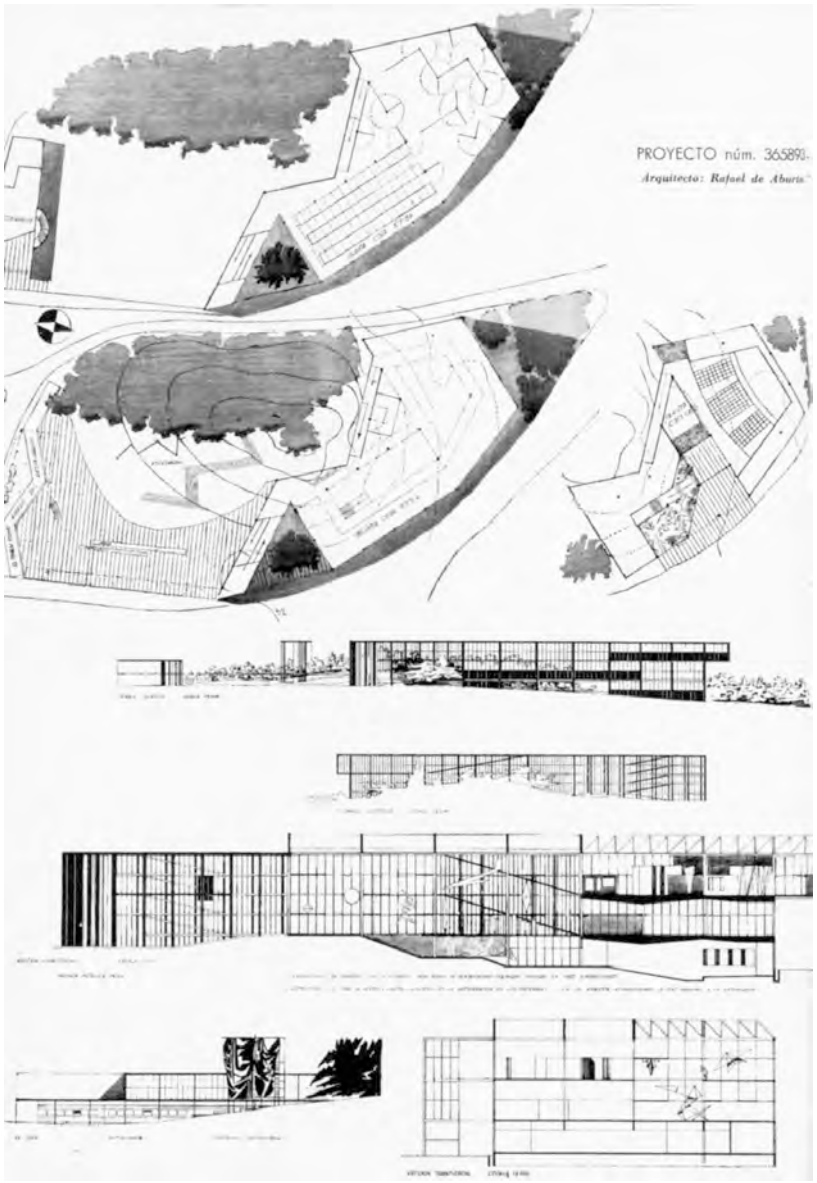


Fig.3.20: Competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, by Rafael Aburto.

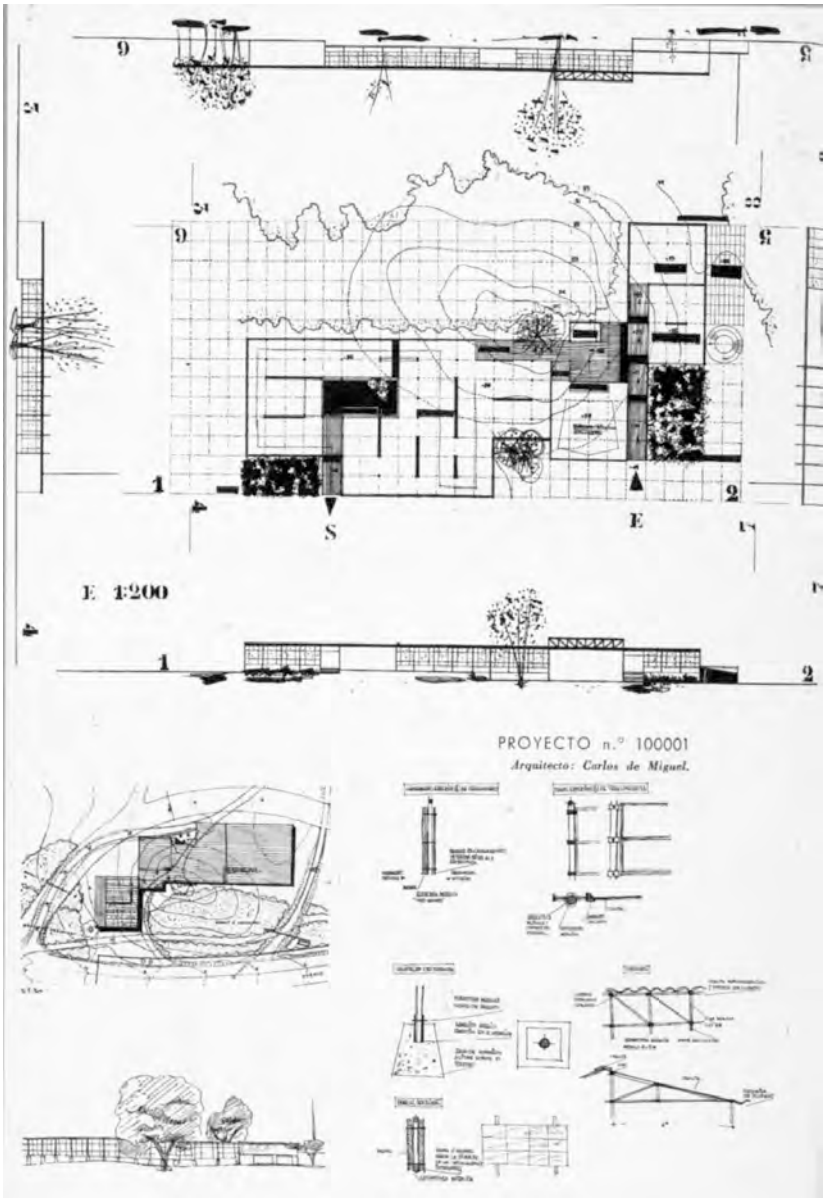


Fig.3.21: Competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, by Carlos de Miguel.

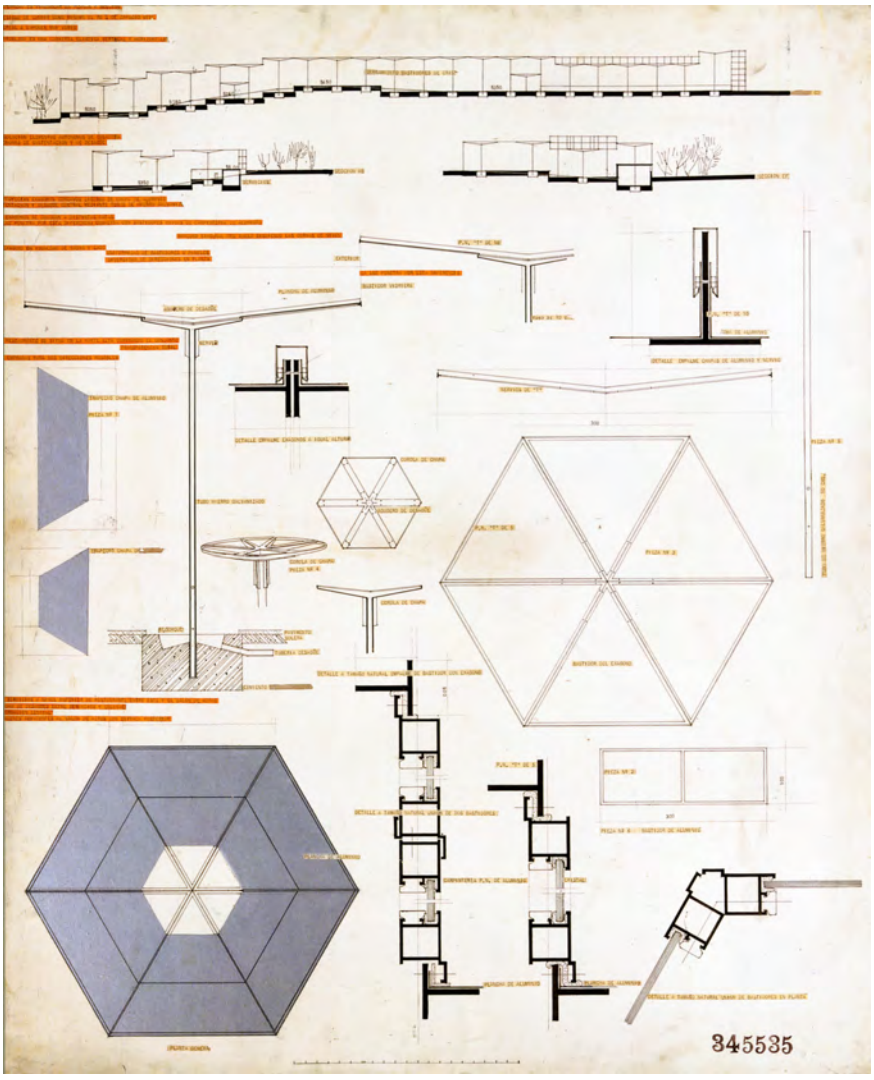


Fig.3.22: Detail of hexagonal unit, competition board, est. April 1956. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

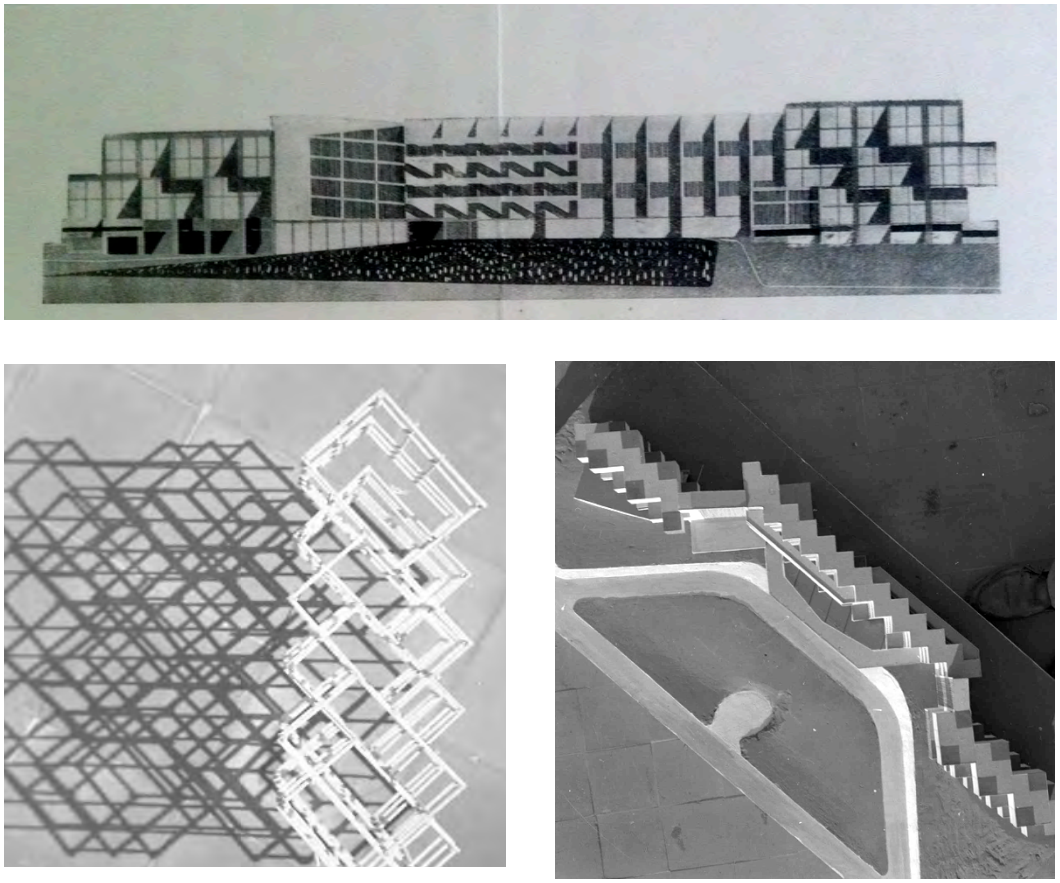


Fig.3.23: Elevation drawing (above), structural model with light study (below left), model from above (below right). Museum of Contemporary Art, Madrid, 1953, by Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. Degree project for Rome Academy Fellowship and National Prize of Architecture.

Fig.3.24: Interior view. Dominican School, Herrera del Pisuerga, 1954, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.25: Exterior view. Mountain Pavilion, Miraflores, Madrid, by José Antonio Corrales, Ramón Vázquez-Molezún and Alejandro de la Sota.

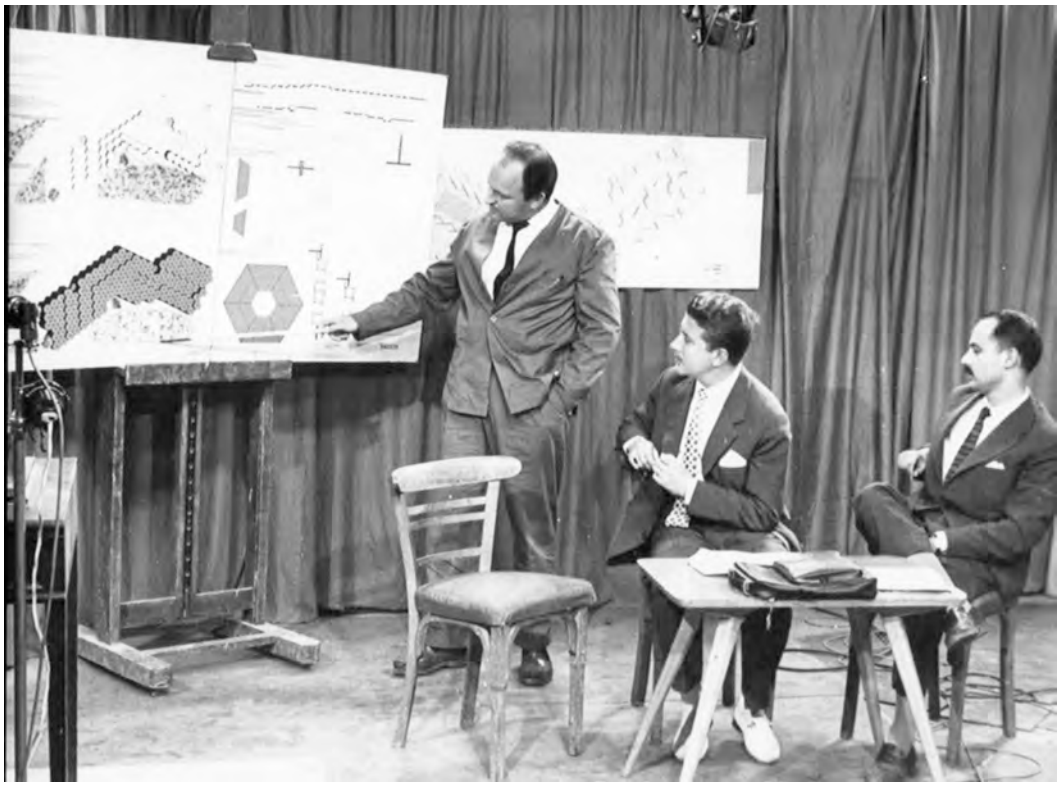


Fig.3.26: From left to right: Ramón Vázquez-Molezún, José Antonio Corrales, and Miguel Fisac, presenting the competition boards for the Spanish pavilion at Expo 58 in National Television, TVE, 1957.

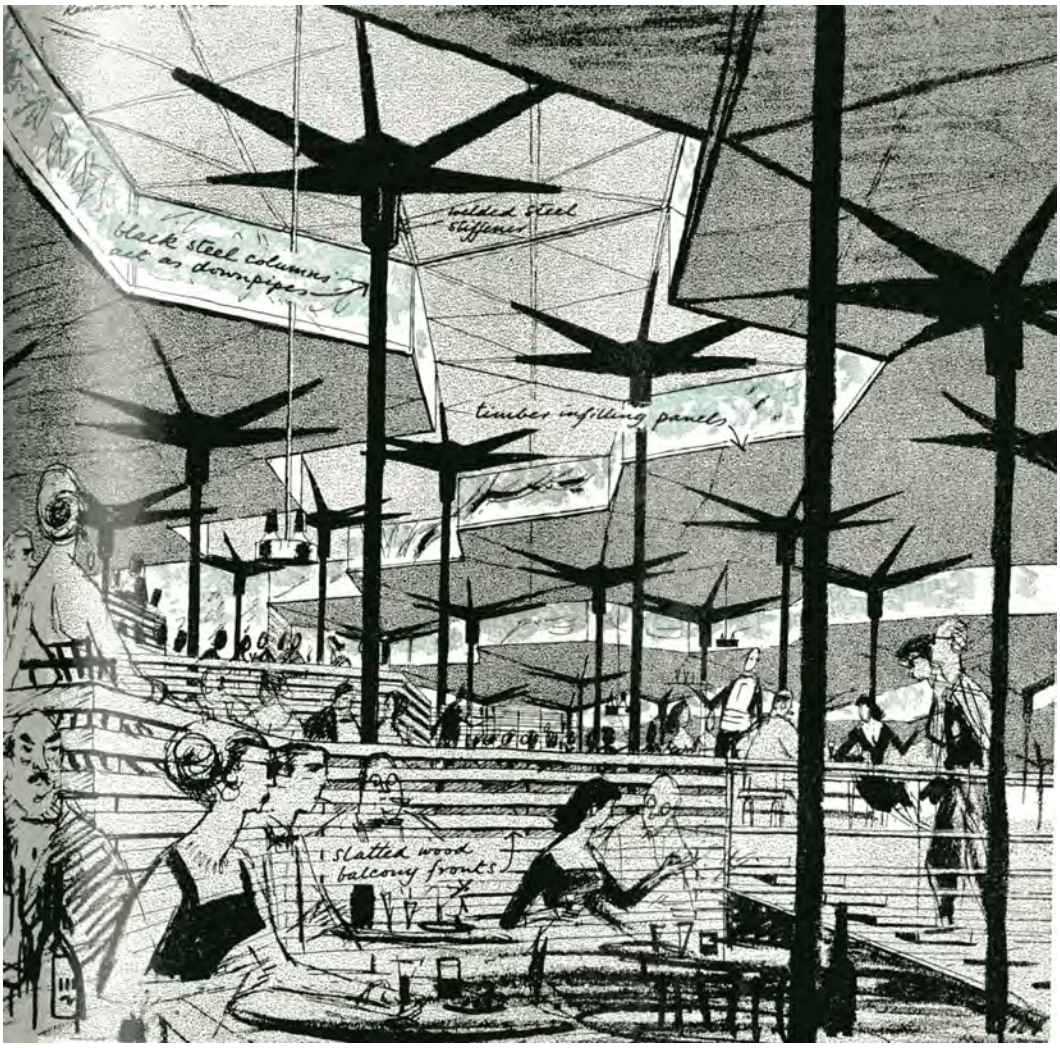
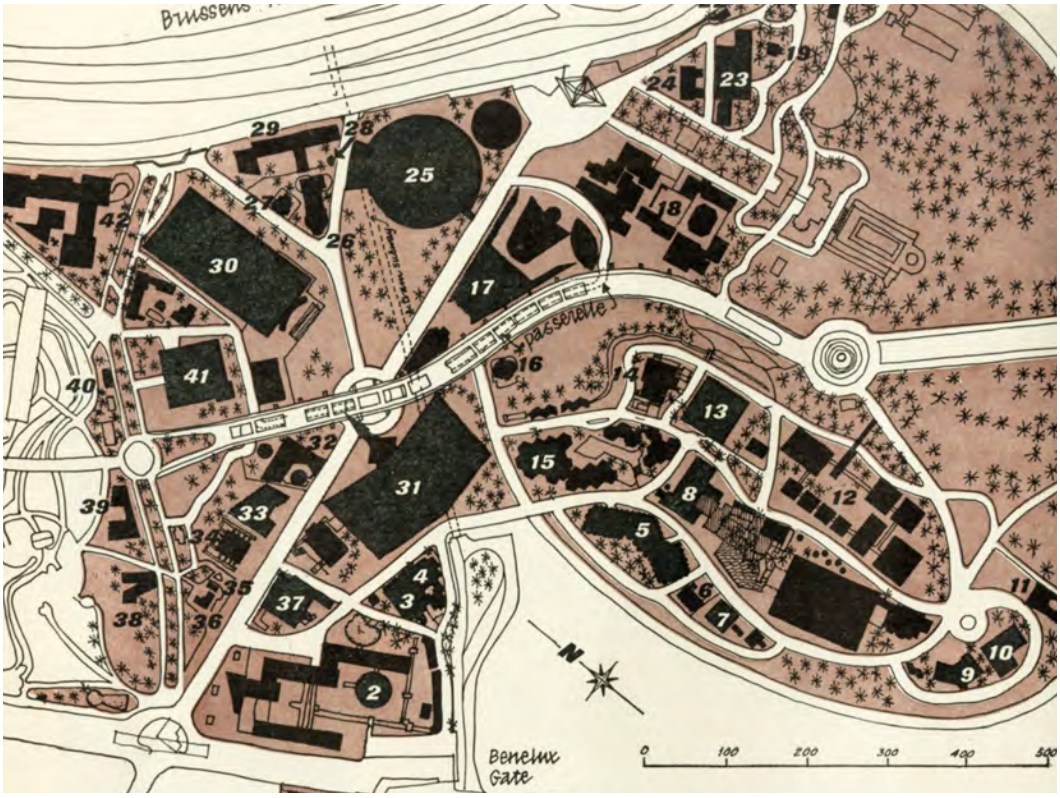


Fig.3.27: Drawing of interior view, 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, summer of 1958, by Kenneth Browne. As published in *Architectural Review* 124, 1958, p.114.



1. Luxembourg *R. Maillet and P. Reuter*
2. The Netherlands *J. H. van den Broeck, J. B. Bakema, J. W. C. Boks, and G. T. Rietveld*
3. Tunisia *V. Valensi and R. Bouroout*
4. Morocco *A. Faroui and H. Delval*
5. Spain *R. Vasquez-Molezun and J. A. Corrales*
6. Monaco *Ch. Gamba*
7. Turkey *U. Izgi, M. Türkmen, H. Sensoy and I. Türeyin*
8. Great Britain *H. Lobb & Partners (Government pavilion and site architects), Royal College of Art, G. & U. Bowyer, E. D. Mills (industrial pavilion) and James Gardner (chief designer)*
9. Venezuela *D. Savino*
10. Mexico *R. M. Alcerreca and P. Ramirez Vasquez*
11. Brazil *S. Bernades*
12. West Germany *Egon Eiermann and Sep Ruf*
13. Portugal *P. Cid*
14. Jugoslavia *V. Richter*
15. Switzerland *W. Gantenbein*
16. Siam *B. Sumpaitsiri*
17. The Vatican *P. Rome*
18. Italy *L. Belgiojoso, I. Gardella, A. Luccichenti, V. Monaco, E. Peressutti, G. Perugini, L. Quaroni, E. Rogers and U. Sacco*
19. Phillipines *F. Glaluah and E. S. San Juan*
20. Cambodia *A. Boudart*
21. Ecuador
22. Dominican Republic *A. Barrez*
23. Japan *K. Mayekawa*
24. Iran *A. A. Sadegh*
25. U.S.A. *E. D. Stone (interior by R. Rudofsky)*
26. Egypt, Syria and Iraq *Sayed Kerim*
27. Sudan
28. Saudi Arabia *Sayed Kerim*
29. Hungary *L. Gadoros*
30. Russia *Y. Abramov, A. Borisski, V. Doubov and A. Polanski (Y. Rashevitch and K. Vassilieva, engineers)*
31. France *G. Gillet (P. Sonrel, consultant)*
32. Argentina *R. Quiroz and F. C. Sobate*
33. Finland *R. Pietilä (interior by Tapio Wirkkala)*
34. Norway *S. Fehn*
35. Andorra
36. San Marino *E. Dassin and L. Moment*
37. Austria *K. Schwanzer*
38. Liechtenstein *B. Ospelt and H. Rheinberger*
39. Israel *A. El-Hanani and A. Sharon*
40. Nicaragua *A. Barrez*
41. Canada *Charles Greenl*
42. Czechoslovaki *F. Cubr, J. Hra Z. Pokorny*

Looking towards the foreign section f Benelux gate; centre-left The Netherl Morocco behind.

Fig.3.28: Site plan of the Foreign Section of Expo 58, summer of 1958. 5: Spain; 15: Switzerland; 8: Great Britain; 6: Monaco; 14: Yugoslav; 31: France; 15: United States; 30: USSR; 17: Vatican, *Civitas Dei*.

Fig.3.29: Interior view, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. Photograph by Juan Antonio Corrales.

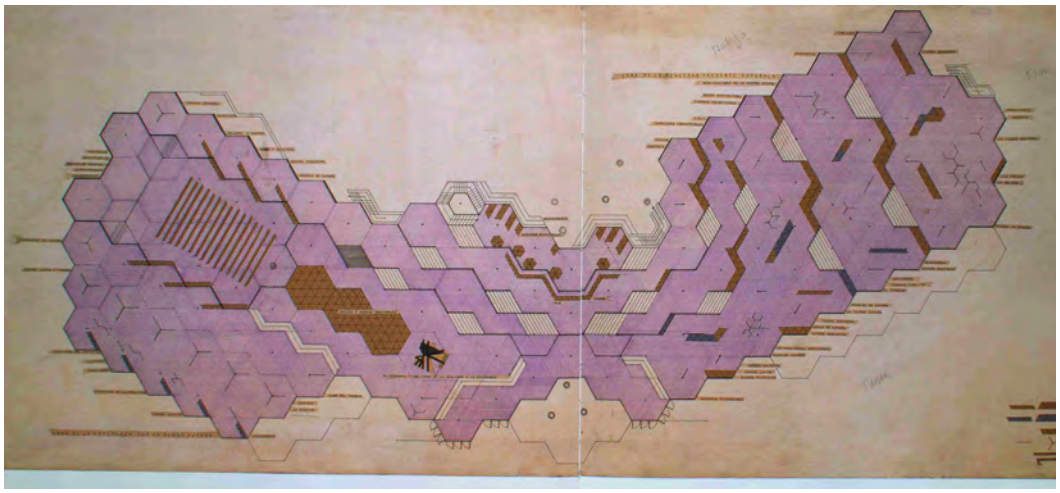


Fig.3.30: Exhibit floorplan, competition board, March-April 1957. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. Exhibit design by José Antonio Corrales, Ramón Vázquez-Molezún, Jorge Oteiza, José Maria Valverde, Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Alejandro de la Sota, Jose Maria de Labra, Luis Gracia Berlanga, Joaquin Vaquero Turcios, Luis Romany, Amadeo Gabino, and others.

Fig.3.31: Interior elevations section “Fiesta,” competition board, March-April 1957. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. Exhibit design by José Antonio Corrales, Ramón Vázquez-Molezún, Jorge Oteiza, José Maria Valverde, Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Alejandro de la Sota, Jose Maria de Labra, Luis Gracia Berlanga, Joaquin Vaquero Turcios, Luis Romany, Amadeo Gabino, and others.

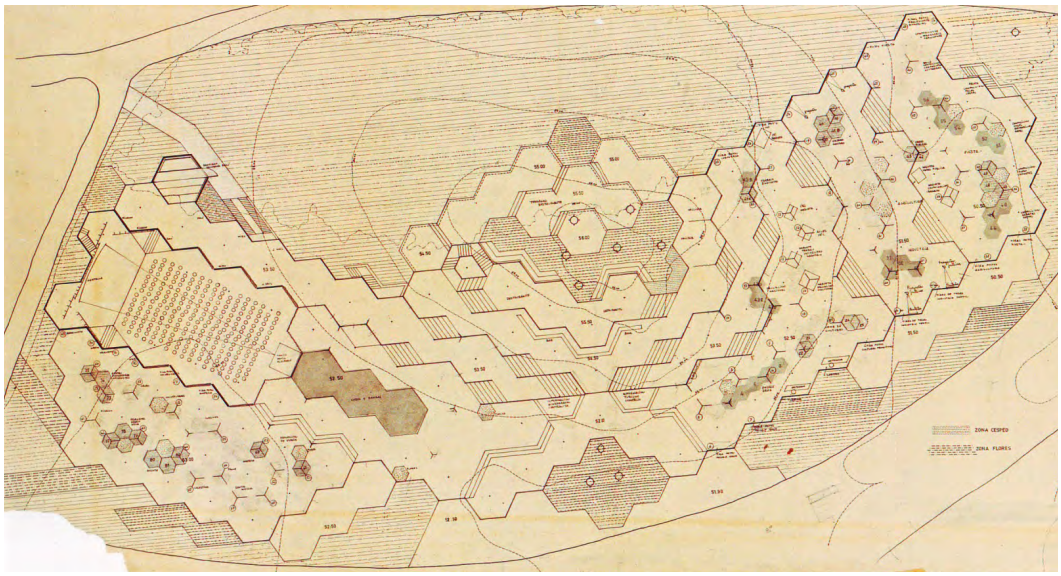


Fig.3.32: Exhibit floorplan, final design, November 1957. Divided on two sections: to the right “Real Spain,” to the left “Porjection of Spain into the future.” On the far left is the enclosed auditorium; in front of auditorium is the open stage; above it, is the Dalí room; and below the auditorium are final tables; the cafeteria in in the center north, across from the entrance on the center south. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. Exhibit design led by José Antonio Corrales, Ramón Vázquez-Molezún, Jorge Oteiza, José Maria Valverde, and others.

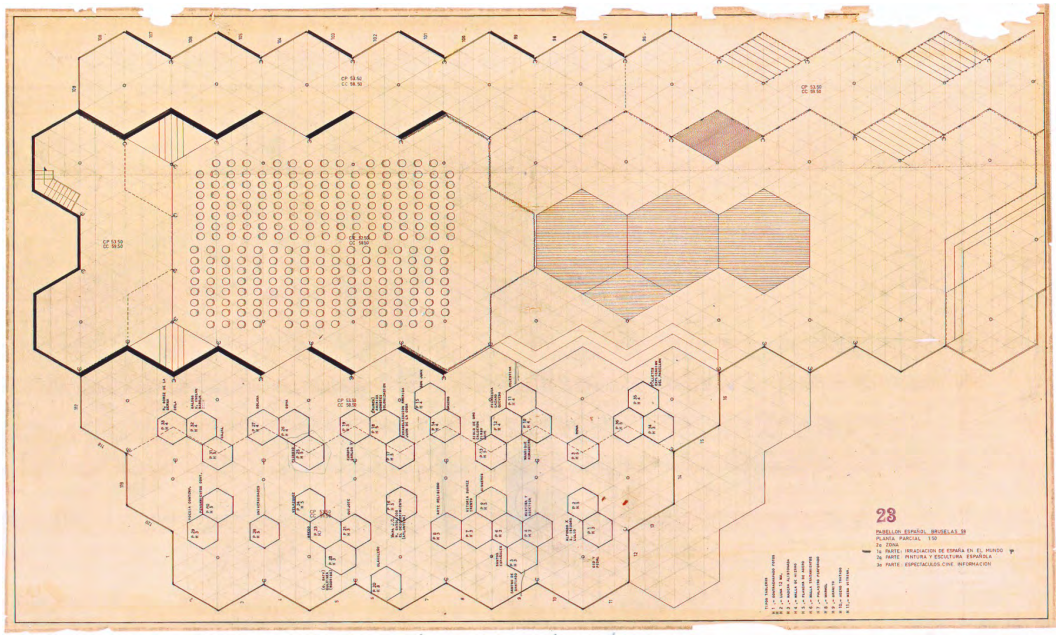


Fig.3.33: Exhibit floorplan, detail of final set of tables, final design, November 1957. On the far left, enclosed auditorium; in fornt of auditorium is the open stage; above it is the Dalí room; and below the auditorium are final tables; the cafeteria in in the center north, across from the entrance on the center south. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. Exhibit design led by José Antonio Corrales, Ramón Vázquez-Molezún, Jorge Oteiza, José Maria Valverde, and others.

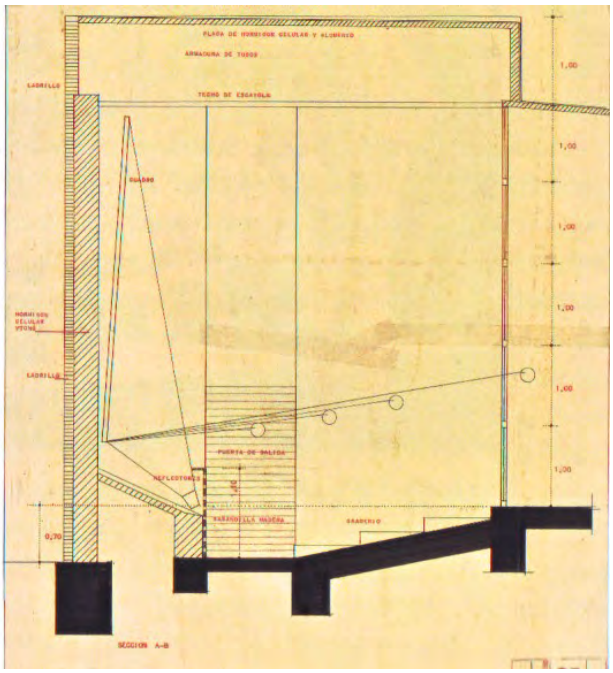


Fig.3.34: Section, Dalí Room, November 1957. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

Fig.3.35: “Santiago el Grande,” 1957, Salvador Dalí.

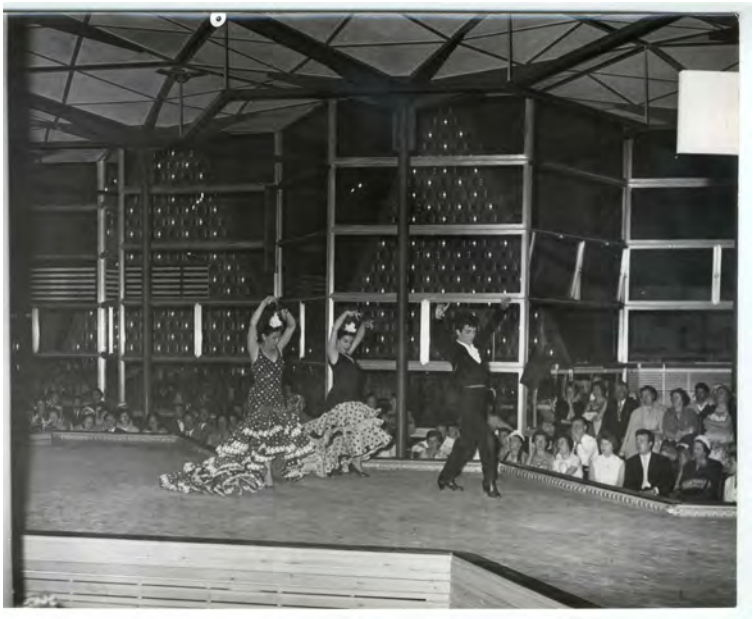


Fig.3.36: Interior views during traditional dance performances, summer of 1958. Spanish pavilion at Expo 58, 1956-58, by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún.

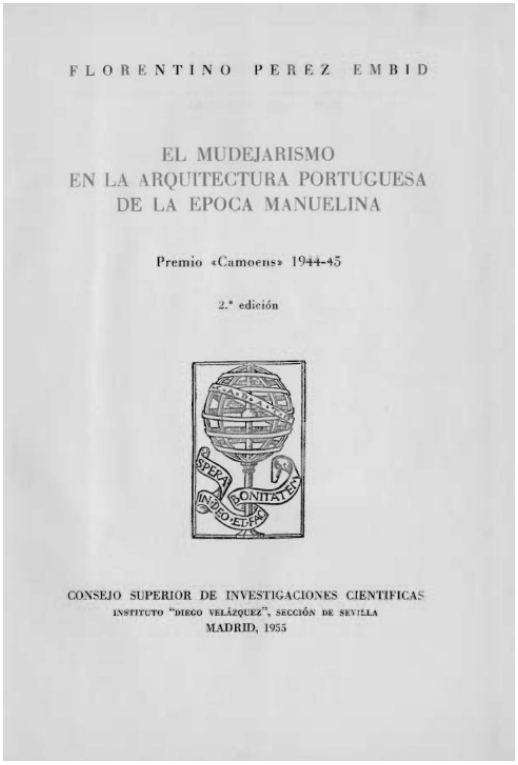


Fig.3.37: Cover, El *Mudéjarismo en la arquitectura Portuguesa en la época Manuelina*, 1944-55, Florentino Pérez-Embid.

LÁMINA IV

CÓRDOBA: Interior de la mezquita. Perspectivas múltiples. Ausencia de focalidad. A la vista, el espacio se va propagando por saltos entre los planos sustentantes de las dobles arquerías. Antes de encontrar el límite del espacio, la vista se ofusca.

CÓRDOBA: Fachada del Mihrab y Capilla de la Macsura. Las necesidades constructivas — soportar las bóvedas estrelladas — y las intenciones artísticas se conjugan admirablemente en estos planos porosos de sustentación que fraccionan el espacio, matizándolo de misteriosas luces.

Fig.3.38: Perspectival drawings of the Cordoba Mosque, as published in *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*, 1947, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia.

Fig.3.39: Exterior views of Persian Pavilion at the Universal Exhibitions of Paris, 1878 (above) and Paris, 1900 (below).

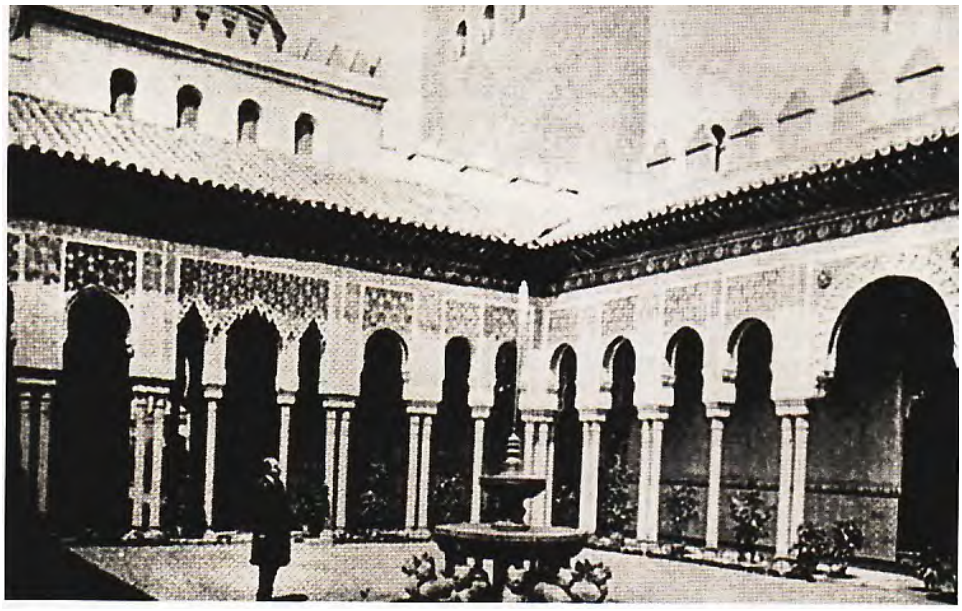


Fig.3.40: View of the courtyward, reproduction of the Court of the Lions of the Alhambra, Spanish pavillion at the Universal Exhibition of Brussels, 1910, by Modesto Cendoya.

Fig.3.41: View of the courtyard, regional pavilion at the universal Exhibition in Seville, 1929, by Leopoldo Torres-Balbás.

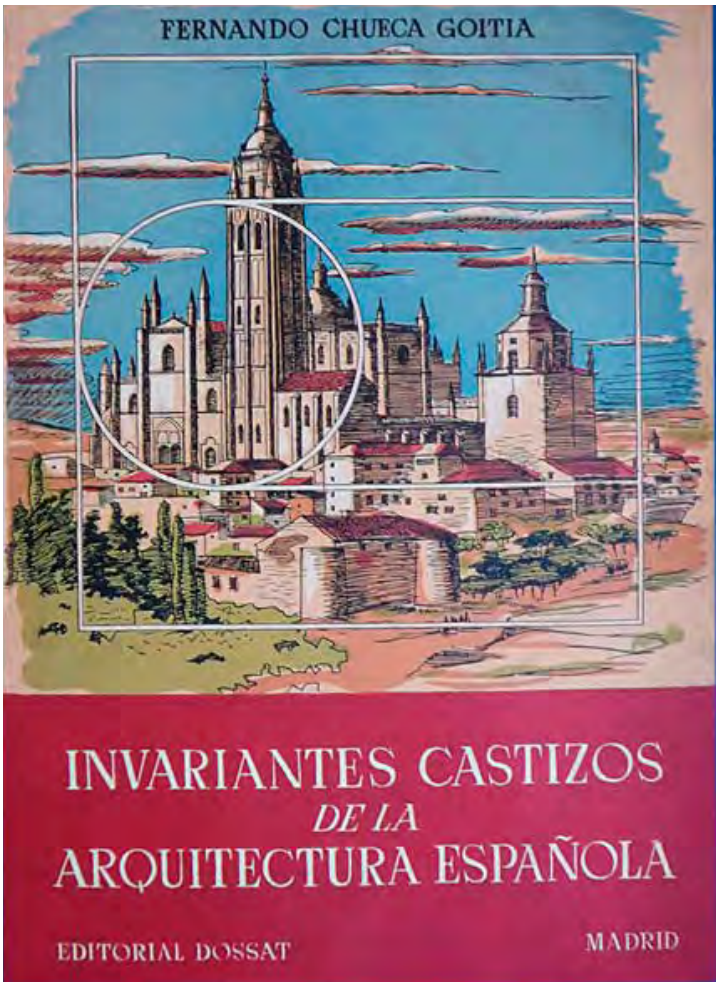


Fig.3.42: Cover, *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*, 1947, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia.

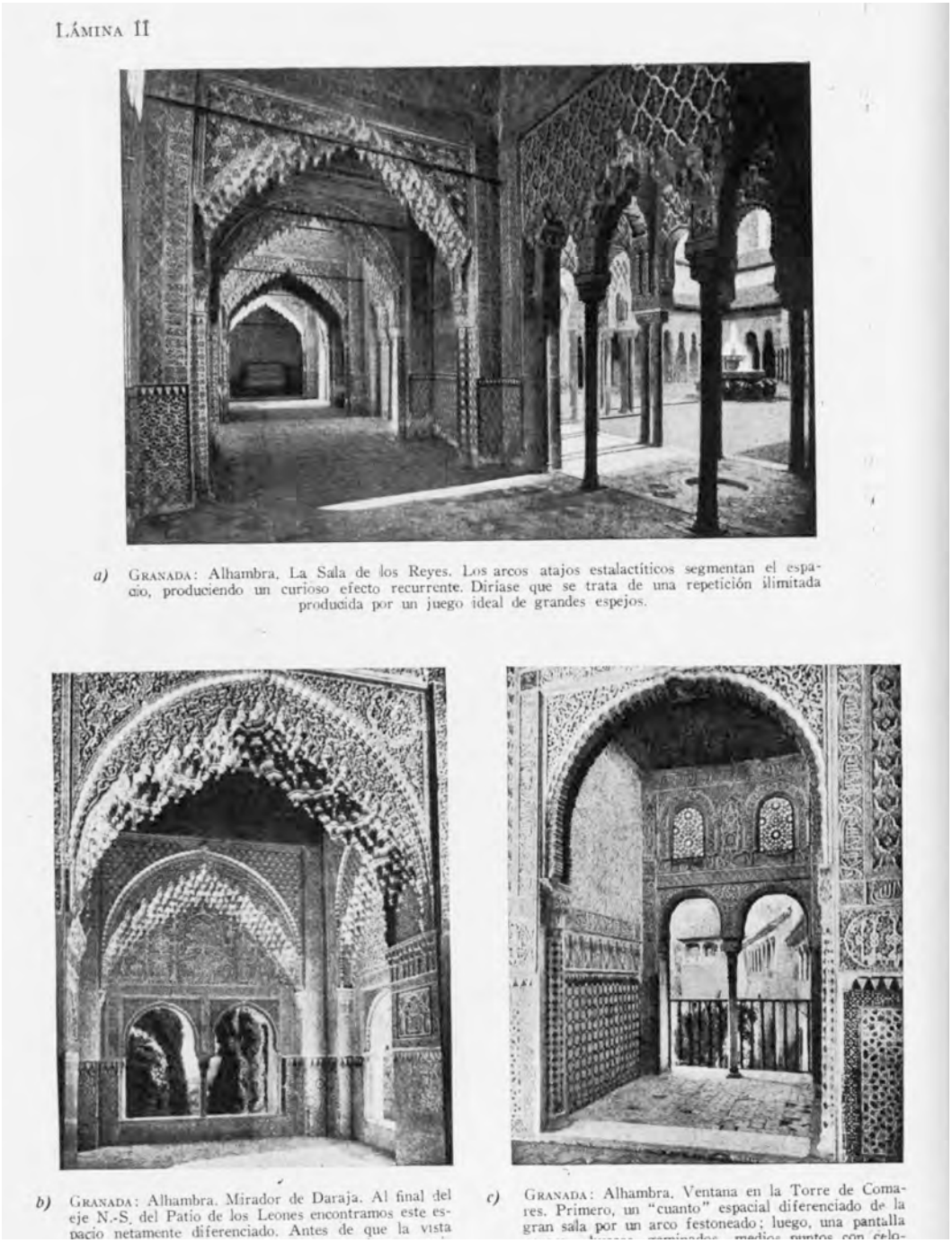


Fig.3.43: Court of the Kings in the Alhambra, Granada. As published in *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*, 1947, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia, Plate 21.

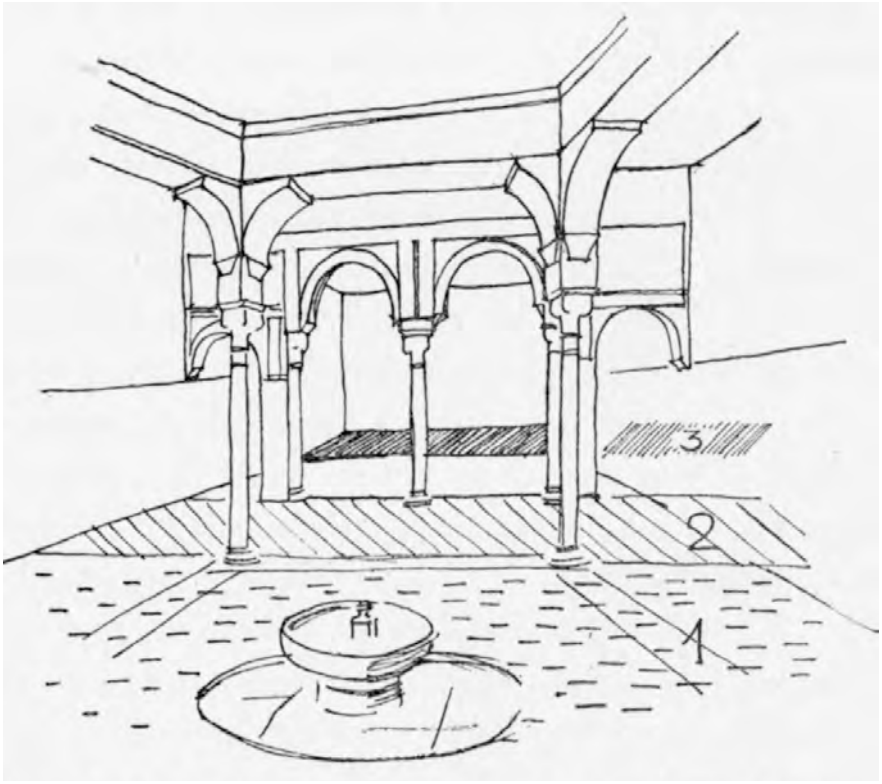


Fig.3.44: “Triple estratification of space, “ perspectival drawing of Court of the Beds in the Alhambra, Granada. As published in *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*, 1947, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia, Figure 3.

.

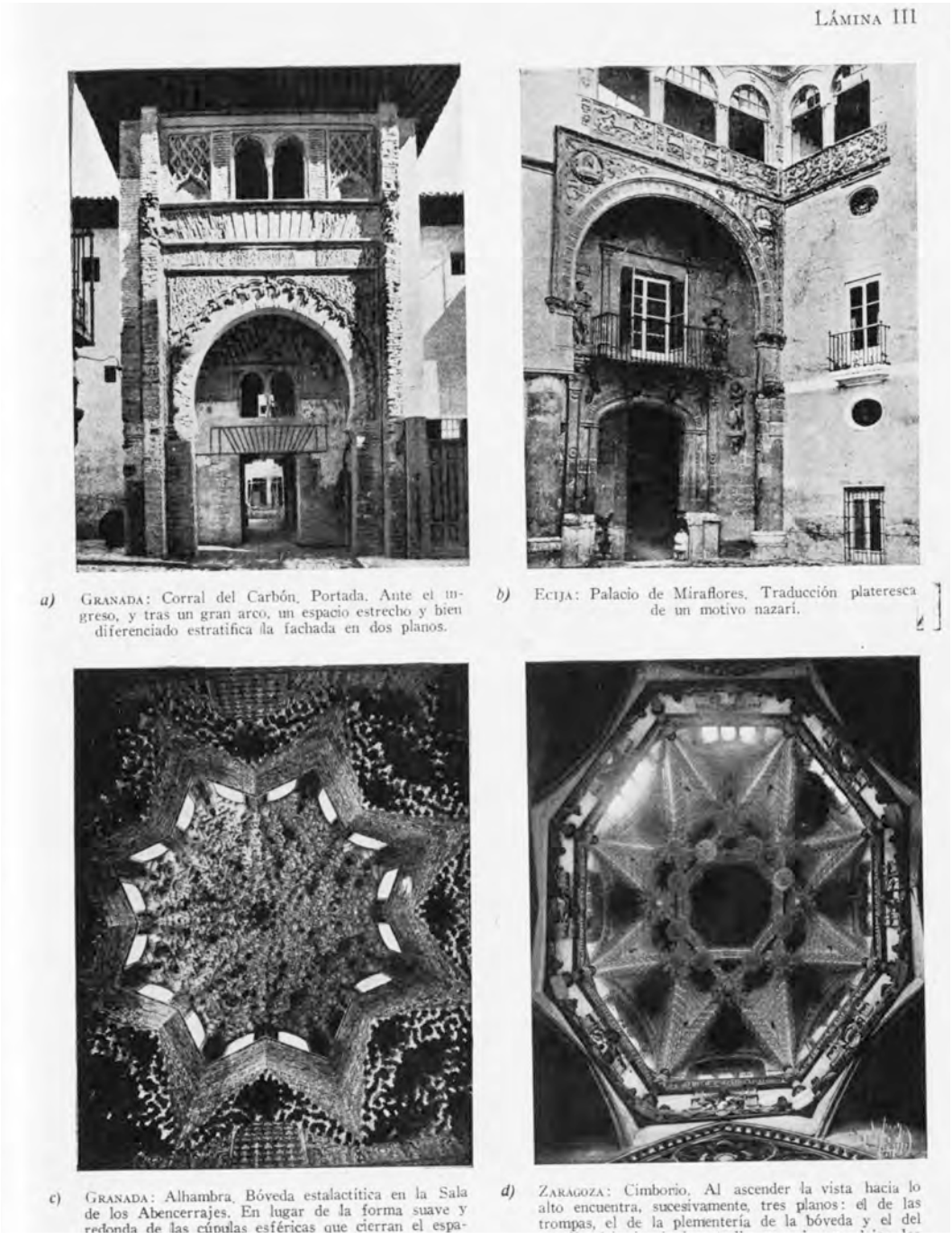


Fig.3.45: Photographs of Islamic architecture in Granada and Ecija. As published in *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*, 1947, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia, Plate 3.

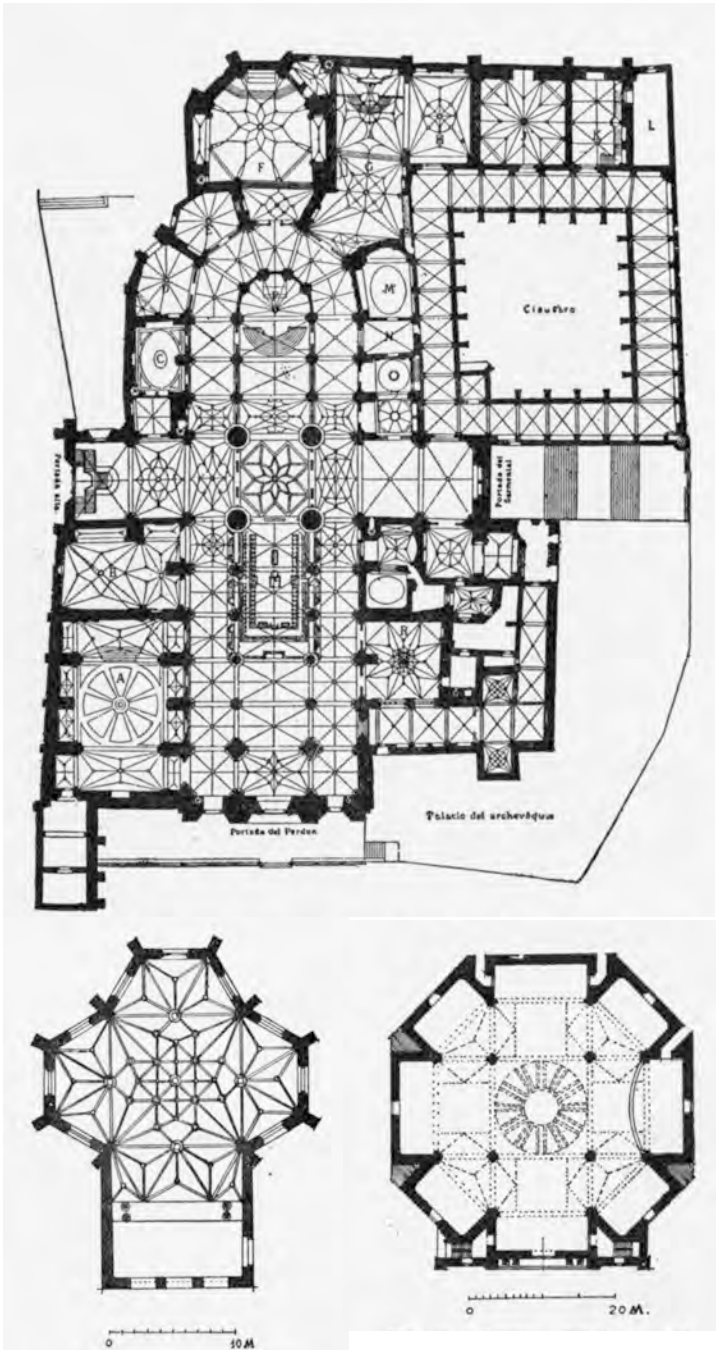


Fig.3.46: Floorplans of chapels and cathedrals from Medieval Spain: Burgos Cathedral (above), Chapel of Horse Rubi de Bracamonte, Avila (below left), and San Lorenzo Church, Burgos (below right). As published in *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*, 1947, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia.

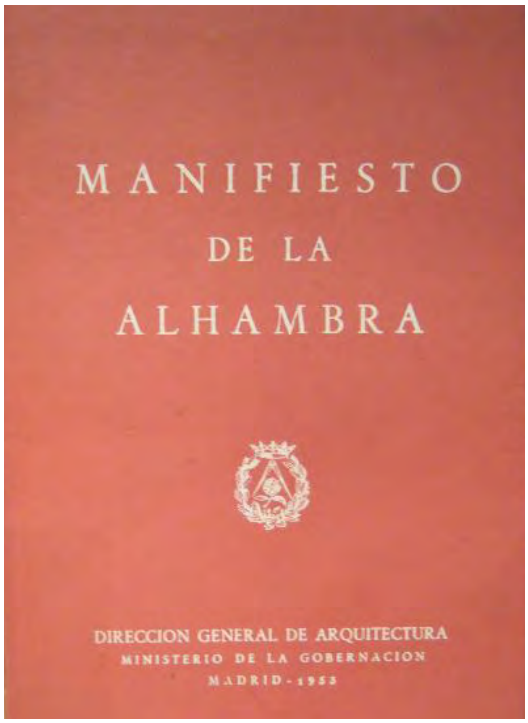


Fig.3.47: Cover and countercover, *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, 1953, by Fernando Chueca-Goitia.

.

Fig.3.48: Aerial view, “Square of Nations” on the Foreign Section of Expo 58, summer of 1958. Center top, Vatican, *Civitas Dei*; to its left, United States; below it, USSR.

ABC EN BRUSELAS

LA CIUDAD DE DIOS

BAJO el azul primaveral, el muro blanco y reverberante de la "Civitas Dei", o pabellón de la Santa Sede, es una realidad física y un símbolo. Igual que "La Ciudad de Dios", de San Agustín, esta obra es apologética y dialéctica, histórica y simbólica. Y pretende, como el gran filósofo, mostrar la esperanza y la salvación de los hombres en un esquema religioso que se convierte en historia.

Me ha extrañado que en los folletos anunciadores del Comisariado General del Vaticano, tan pulcros, tan primorosos, no se haya reparado en este paralelismo, porque es el de mayor fuste y grandiosidad en que podía encuadrarse la propaganda del pabellón.

La "Civitas Dei" constituye, en cierto modo, una realización plástica y gráfica del agustiniano tratado "De civitate Dei". El pabellón trata de ser una respuesta al problema del hombre y la historia.

El gigante mimbo justifica a los cristianos ante la acusación pagana de que ellos eran los responsables de la decadencia de Roma y del saqueo de la ciudad por Alarico: pero además presenta al mundo como teatro de una lucha entre el bien y el mal, y a la especie humana, como una familia cuyo destino es celestial y no terrenal.

Yo diría que la diferencia esencial entre el sentido del pabellón ruso y el sentido del pabellón del Vaticano es, en fin de cuentas, que mientras en el primero el hombre aparece miembro de una sola ciudad, en el segundo lo es de las dos: la terrenal y la eterna. Y esto, y no otra cosa, significa, a la postre, el ingente monumento de Agustino, como le llamaban nuestros clásicos. En él se dramatiza la historia con esplendor indefectible a propósito del problema que planteaba la ruina de Roma.

La grandiosa "Civitas Dei" de la Exposición de Bruselas mira, pues, a la Jerusalén inmortal, aunque sin olvidar la vida perecedera. Tan no la olvida, que parece levantada bajo la preocupación acuciante de ser nuevos y actuales. "El Catolicismo no es pieza de museo de los siglos pasados", dice uno de los folletos del pabellón. En lo cual está todo el mundo de acuerdo, menos algunos tontos y algunos sectarios.

Pero el temor de no aparecer al día ha llevado a extremos de gusto discutible. Por de pronto, en la arquitectura, más fina, eso sí, que la de los vulgarísimos pabellones de Estados Unidos y de Rusia. También quiero discrepar de dos Cristos—uno de ellos sobre el altar de la capilla pequeña, en la que a veces se encuentra expuesto el Santísimo—, que están concebidos y realizados bajo la superstición de "lo moderno", como si lo moderno fuera un término absoluto.

He oído explicar a Millán Puelles, nuestro agudo filósofo, que cuando se otorga al término moderno—esencialmente relativo—una significación absoluta, se le convierte en un arma arrojadiza: es algo que se esgrime cara a lo demás por afirmar que no lo es, olvidando que en su momento respectivo cualquier tiempo lo fué. Si una imagen del Salvador, de ayer o de hoy, no tiene intención religiosa, si no sirve de presente, cuando no de motivo, para avivar la fe, la esperanza y la caridad, será todo lo audaz que se quiera, pero de arte religioso andará escaso. Menéndez Pelayo reprochaba a Chateaubriand la ligereza profana y la intemperancia de fantasía con que trató las cosas más altas.

Estas objeciones pueden hacérsele también a la Iglesia grande del pabellón, cuyo trazado y composición no invita a levantar el corazón a Dios y pedirle mercedes. No me convence el argumento de que por ella pasarán miles o millones de incrédulos. Si ha llamado siempre esencia a lo que constituye una cosa, determinando que sea ella y no otra. Una iglesia es una iglesia y no un garaje. Por la de los Dominicos de Valladolid, debida al gran talento renovador y creador de Miguel Fisac, pueden pasar todos los incrédulos que quieran, y estoy seguro de que la admirarán o respetarán, a no ser que además de incrédulos sean acémilas.

La "Civitas Dei" obedece a un plan: el hombre y Dios. Ya he dicho que este plan tiene agustiniana magnitud. Desde la Creación hasta la expansión del Evangelio hay un sistemático desarrollo de la idea cristiana de la criatura humana, con su felicidad y su dolor, su grandeza y su miseria. A la Creación sigue la Biblia y la vida de Cristo, y luego la Pasión y la Resurrección, la doctrina evangélica y la propagación de la Iglesia.

Consta el pabellón de varios cuerpos, amparados por la muralla todos menos uno y el carillón de alegres campanas. En el cuerpo principal está lo que se llama el palacio de la Exposición, donde la idea central aparece desenvuelta. Muchos y muy buenos objetos de arte han aportado las naciones o minorías católicas y contribuyen al brillo del pabellón. Los pueblos de color, la acción social y la adaptación de la Iglesia son tres aspectos de gran interés.

No puede tampoco dejar de elogiar la colección artística "Imago Christi", en la que se admiran maravillas. La contribución española es allí singularmente satisfactoria. Merecería aparte requiere la sección de "Evangelización, en la cual también se advierte la diligencia y el tacto del comisario de España en la "Civitas", don Antonio Bonet Correa.

"El Pensador", de Rodin, ha sido prestado por Francia y es una simbólica y elocuentísima expresión de la actitud del hombre actual, porque la gran escultura no revela sólo meditación, sino preocupación.

La iglesia y la capilla forman cuerpo aparte. Tras él se levanta un cine y un Auditorium, también separados. He visto en el cine las conmovedoras películas del padre Peyton, ese estupendo apóstol del Rosario. Confieso que Mariano Asaña, haciendo de Zacarías, me movía a risa, a pesar de su maestría. Pero las películas tienen ternura innegable.

En el otro extremo hay una edificación de tres plantas: bar, café y restaurante. Están muy concurridos y bien atendidos. Sus precios son moderados. Desde aquellas cajas de cristal se contemplan las modas de Francia, Norteamérica y Rusia. Las argentinas campanas del carillón de la "Civitas" dicen dulcemente su mensaje de paz, como si trataran de alentar el corazón de algún vecino.

J. L. VAZQUEZ-DODERO

Pabellón de la Santa Sede en la Exposición de Bruselas. (Foto Felder.)

Fig.3.49: “La Ciudad de Dios,” with image of Civitas Dei, Vatican Pavilion at Expo 58, directed by Father Jan Joos. As published in ABC, XX.

Fig.3.50: “More knowledge! More power! More prosperity! What does the Bible say?,” Civitas Dei Poster, summer 1958, for Expo 58.

Chapter 4

The Pallars Block for Workers, 1959-63: Morals and Techniques of Housing

4.1 The Eloquent Block

It was precisely in the name of humanism that Oriol Bohigas and Josep Maria Martorell argued for the choices driving their design of the housing block at Carrer de Pallars (Pallars Street) in Barcelona. Designed around the time of Expo 58 and finished in 1959, in their early publications of the project the architects wrote of its providing a "relative humanization of the urban space."[1] A six-floor building destined for 130 housing units, the Pallars block was located on the southeast boundary of the *Eixample*, Ildefonso Cerda's nineteenth century urban grid as it lay over the industrial neighborhood known as Poblenou. The Pallars block occupied the full front of one of the so-called manzanas, the square blocks with chamfered corners that made up Cerda's expansion plan. While looking to follow the original conception of the manzana by building up its perimeter (their original plan had been to build up the whole manzana), thus giving the street an urban dimension, Bohigas and Martorell aimed at breaking the monotony of the front as viewed from the outside **[Fig.4.1]**. To achieve this, they divided the building into six volumes, each with a small patio around which they located the apartments, with two apartments per landing and each landing dislocated by half a floor. These quasi-quadrangular volumes were connected to each other by the nuclei of

1 "Premios FAD," *Arquitectura* 3-28 (1961): 20.

stairwells and laundry terraces, the latter facing the street. As these connecting pieces were set back from the street line, the block appeared as a row of six independent housing units, what was emphasized by the pitched roof of each volume and the slight bending outwards at the center of the unit **[Fig.4.2]**.

In their description of the project, Bohigas and Martorell appealed to the idea of a "humanist" city in which a man-to-architecture connection would be established through scale, composition, and building materials. What best characterized the project was certainly its materiality, in that it made virtually exclusive use of bare brick. They used brick as a typical bearing-wall constructional system, the interior partitions and screens in the façade **[Fig.4.3]**. Their use of concrete was discreet and also always exposed, above window openings and in the beams separating the ground floor from above, and for the stairs. The roofs were built using the traditional *teja*, or bent terracotta tile. The materials and related construction methods were chosen for being "absolutely traditional, abandoning all simulacra of highly industrialized architecture."[2] The "path of tradition and craft" was followed, according to the architects, in order to bring the architecture closer to its users, especially "when faced with problems of extreme economy."[3]

Economy of design was also exemplified in the floor plan. In a little less than 650 square feet, each unit accommodated three bedrooms, one bathroom with a shower, and a living area that opened onto a cornered kitchen with access to a laundry terrace **[Fig.4.4]**. Given the tight dimensions, Bohigas and Martorell minimized the transitional areas and proposed the rather uncommon solution, in the context of Spain at least, of an open kitchen separated only by a curtain from the living area **[Fig.4.5]**. They also used traditional materials within such as terracotta tiles on the floor and wooden window frames. To underscore the austerity of the project, and the idea that

2 Ibid.

3 "Grupo de viviendas para obreros de una factoría metalúrgica," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 44 (1961): 13.

good design could come with a low budget, Bohigas and Martorell furnished a model unit for less than 20,000 pts. (120 euros). They chose standard pieces for the basic furniture, with wood and wicker chairs, a wooden table and headboards, and two designer light fixtures, one by Jose Antonio Coderch and one by Miguel Milá and Federico Correa **[Fig.4.6]**.

In their narrative on the project, Bohigas and Martorell established a relationship between the constraints and choices of the design—traditional materials, tight floor plan, and building composition—along with the "social" dimension of the building. This form-to-society association was noted as crucial when the Pallars housing block received the FAD Prize in 1959. The FAD Prize had been founded a year earlier by the cultural association Fomento de Artes Decorativas (FAD, Promotion of Decorative Arts) with the intent of giving public exposure to the "best architectural and interior designs" of the year, and also educating the population on matters of "new and honest design." The announcement of the award for Bohigas and Martorell's project emphasized these values as well its social dimension in the following terms:

> What is most outstanding about this project is the social approach to the problem (of housing), which implies overcoming a visual criterion that dominates housing design elsewhere in the city. Granting both life and warmth to the complex are the preservation of the idea of the isolated house, as highlighted by the setbacks that animate the façade and rectify its monotony, the use of materials, and the excellent development of the plan.[4]

For those involved in granting the FAD Prize as much as for the architects, the project held less of an aesthetic than a cultural and social value. As already noted, Bohigas and Martorell argued for their "social approach" in terms of austerity, which they considered appropriate for the prospective residents—factory workers—and more broadly the socioeconomic fabric of Poblenou. The Pallars housing block was commissioned by the Ribera Roviras, a prominent family in Barcelona's bourgeoisie and owners of the metallurgic factory Metales y Plateria Ribera, popularly known as Can Culleres (Spoon Factory) **[Fig.4.7]**. Located only three manzanas away from the housing project,

4 "Premios FAD de Arquitectura y Decoracion" *La Vanguardia*, June 8, 1958, 29. For the inaugural FAD prizes, "Los Premios FAD de Arquitectura y Decoración," *Destino*, August 15, 1959, 26.

between Carrer Pallars and Carrer Lutxana **[Fig.4.8]**, the building was destined to house the families of the factory workers. Other industrial owners in the area provided workers' housing, but Can Culleres was regarded as the best, for the social benefits it provided. By 1970, the Ribera family had developed five housing projects in the neighborhood; the one in Pallars being the best regarded, not least through the granting of the FAD prize.[5]

The Ribera family had been Bohigas and Martorell's first client and by the time of the Pallars project they had commissioned the architects' other significant projects, such as the company's clinic, the Clínica de la Mutua Metalurgica, designed in 1955 and completed in 1957, and another housing block on Roger de Flor Street, commissioned in 1954 and completed in 1958 **[Fig.4.9]**.[6] Both were built in the Eixample as well, but north of the Diagonal and thus in a rather more affluent area of the city. The latter was subject to the limitations of Cerdá's manzana, as was the Pallars, and there Bohigas and Martorell had already employed ventilation patios and exposed brick. The composition was, however, rather more rationalist, with clean rectangular volumes, concrete cantilevered balconies, and flat roofs. Notably, the Roger de Flor building lacked the limitations of space and budget of the Pallars housing block, as it was destined for middle-class rental units. More than double the size of the Pallars, the apartments in the Roger de Flor building had separate living and dining areas, a large independent kitchen, a laundry room and terrace, five family bedrooms, and one staff bedroom.

A comparison between the Roger de Flor and Pallars housing blocks helps to illustrate a crucial idea buttressing the latter, namely, that it should not be too modern or much less look modernist. With a low construction budget and maintenance costs, Bohigas and Martorell were

5 Other housing projects commissioned by the Roviras include el Carrer de Llull, 111 and in Carrer de Roc. The granting of the FAD prize for the pallars bloc was cause for elbration in the neighborhood. For an account of housing projects in Poblenou that were developed by indutries see "Les Promocions d'habitatges d'iniciatva patronal al Poblenou," *Icaria* 12 (2007): 10-13, consulted in http://fotos.arxiuhistoricpoblenou.cat/

6 Bohigas describes how his relationship with the Ribera Roviras was facilitated by his uncle, Joan Guardiola, in Oriol Bohigas, *Entusiasmos compartidos y batallas sin cuartel* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1992), 235.

emphatic about the relationship between traditionalist choices and the economic restrictions they imposed by the project. As they wrote in one description:

> Faced with the social relevance of the problem of workers' housing, we did not want to test construction solutions that correspond to high levels of industrial development…For the time being, one must follow the path of tradition and craft when confronted with problems of extreme economy.[7]

It was the association of austerity and tradition that led Bohigas and Martorell to reject a forward-looking approach to their design. For they assumed that a retreat from aspirations to full industrialization was the move that gave the worker's housing its "social relevance." In their association between the residents' socioeconomics and the architecture of their houses, they presumed the ability of the architecture to manifest a kind of truth about the residents and their living conditions. And these were to be determined, for Bohigas and Martorell at least, in relation to the position of these residents within the process of modernization. Somewhat paradoxically, they positioned the industrial workers of Can Culleres as somewhat backward. Consequently, if the architecture they were to inhabit was to relate to and speak of its dwellers, it should not make use of forward-looking forms, materials or technologies.

Bohigas—the more theoretically inclined of the two and a very active participant in the intellectual life of Cataluña at the time—continued to frame the Pallars housing block in terms of the building's ability to be legible to and speak about its residents, and of the ways in which the building was eloquent about the reality of their time and place. He elaborated on this through the notion of "architectural realism." Fully articulated in his quasi-manifesto "Cap une Arquitecture Realiste," (Toward a Realist Architecture) published in the journal *Serra d'Or* in 1962 **[Fig.4.10]**, Bohigas's notion of realism combined the forms and themes of contemporary architecture and literature from Catalan colleagues such as Jose Antonio Coderch and Jose Maria Sostres; international figures such

7 "Grupo de viviendas para obreros de una factoría metalúrgica," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 44 (1961): 13.

as Alvar Aalto and the Smithsons, amongst others; and Catalan literary critics such as Manuel Castell. The most conspicuous formal and theoretical referent for Bohigas came from Italy, with both the ideas of Ernesto Rogers on the crisis of modernism and the housing developments of the Quaroni–Ridolfi group in Rome and Piero Bottoni in Milan. Despite its manifesto-like title of revolutionary intentions, reminiscent of Le Corbusier's *Vers una Architecture* some 40 years earlier, in his essay Bohigas articulated a sharp critique of modernization in architecture. He argued that the European interwar avant-gardes had proposed successful "prototypes" of modernity, but also that these were not fit for any context. This was particularly so when it came to housing. In Spain, he claimed, technology, society, economics, and politics had not gone far enough and any attempt to emulate the avant-garde visions could only result in "false technicism." Rather, he called on architects to "respect the traditional forms" and the technological means specific to their context.[8] In the name of "truth," Bohigas called on the architect to "continuously and humbly adapt one's work to the conditions of man and nature, to the exact sociological, technical, economic, and political premises of the time and place."[9]

With this, Bohigas looked to oppose what he defined as "idealist" architecture, the modernist-looking buildings of steel and glass that began to make their way into Spain from the mid-1950s onwards as a result of *desarrollismo*, the process of economic development and international opening that I discussed in the previous two chapters. In Barcelona, the buildings for the national auto manufacturer SEAT best represented the architecture of desarrollismo: a series of Miesian refined aluminum and glass structures designed by architect César Ortiz-Echagüe **[Fig.4.11]**. Highly recognized nationally and internationally, the SEAT workers' service building was granted the

8 Oriol Bohigas, "Cap una arquitectura realista" *Serra d'Ors* IV-5 (1962): 20. See also Oriol Bohigas, "Roogers i Casabella, un nou camí de l'arquitectura?" *Serra d'Ors* III-9 (1961): 25-26; "Una Enquesta: Un moment de crisis en el disseny I l'arquitectura?" *Serra d'Ors* IV-8-9 (1962): 22-28.

9 Bohigas, "Cap una arquitectura realista", 22. To use the terms through which he reframed his essay in 1963 for the journal *Hogar y Arquitectura*, through the notion of realism, architecture in Spain should aim to be less modern. Oriol Bohigas, "Hacia una arquitectura realista, " *Hogar y Arquitectura* 47 (1963):43.

Reynolds Prize in New York in 1957—with a jury including Mies himself—and the FAD inaugural prize in 1958. Another contemporary project that Bohigas was reacting against was the new building for the headquarters of the Colegio de Arquitectos de Catalunya **[Fig.4.12]**. Designed by Xavier Busquets after winning a much-debated competition, the building introduced a curtain wall in the heart of Barcelona's historic district.[10] While Bohigas generally praised the architecture of Mies and Gropius and at times eagerly called for the recuperation of rationalism, not least in his own entry for the competition of the Colegio, he launched his campaign for realism against the SEAT and Colegio projects.[11]

With its bare, textured brick, pitched roof, and vernacular feel, the Pallars housing block soon became an *avant-la-lettre* formal counterpart to Bohigas's realism, and he continued to ask that the project be appreciated not in aesthetic terms but in terms of its provision of "social and cultural stability."[12] For the crucial goal of realist architecture was not to advance the aesthetics and technologies of progress, but to bear witness to, work within, and express the social, cultural, and economic conditions of the time and place. The architectural field readily accepted these premises, along with Bohigas's naturalization of workers' living quarters through traditional building techniques.[13] The statement awarding the FAD prize was a case in point. Later, Helio Piñon and Ignasi Solà-Morales, to name two of the most critically engaged commentators on Catalan architecture, endorsed Bohigas's definition of realism and pushed it forward as the one position among those architects of the period that could be said to have a "critical" inclination toward an "engagement

10 Special issue on the Colegio de Arquitectos de Catalunya, *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 48 (1962). The building was the result of a much debated design competition and the interior design was eventually commissioned to different architects, and bohigas and Martorell design the 4th floor. For an account of the competition entries, including bohigas and Martorell's, see *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 32 (1958): 5-27.A critical assessment of the building in terms of its "humility," and "grey serenityis in Alexander Cirici "El Nuevo edificio del Colegio de Arquitectos*," La Vanguardia*, May 3, 1962, 7.

11 Oriol Bohigas interview with the author, Barcelona, May 29, 2012.

12 Ibid. See also Oriol Bohigas, "Realismo, urbanidad y fracasos" *Lecciones/documentos de arquitectura* 8 (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2003): 9.

13 It is important to note that Bohigas was himself a founder of this competition and often a jury member, a fact that speaks of his ubiquitous voice in the Catalan cultural environment of the time and the impact of his ideas. See an account of the founders of the FAD prize in *La Vanguardia*, June 10, 1958, 8.

with reality," and thus "with society."[14] When read through the lens of Bohigas's later development—which included his strong presence among the Catalan *Gauche Divine*, his articulation of the very influential construct of a "Escuela de Barcelona" in 1968, the foundation of the journal *Arquitecturas Bis* in 1974, and his institutional participation in city politics in the 1980s—the critical potential of realism only grew stronger. Retrospectively, realism can easily be seen, as it was framed by Bohigas at the time, as an attempt to provide a "social critique" through a commentary on the socioeconomic and political conditions of the moment, and even as a reaction to Franquismo. As Bohigas himself continued to emphasize, his career had been marked from the outset by his attention to "social and political reality."[15] Pallars only responded to this "reality" by presenting an "ugly and poor" counterpart to everyday life under Franco, or so he continues to argue.[16]

In the architects' narrative of the project no less, the Pallars housing block resolved this "critique" into a revelation of materiality by means of a straightforward and supposedly truthful connection to its dwellers. And yet, when the first workers of Can Culleres began to occupy their new houses in the late 1950s they largely failed to exhibit much connection to the architecture. The majority of the new residents modified the interior distribution, mainly by enclosing the kitchen, and chose furniture that looked nothing like what Bohigas and Martorell had proposed. In their description of the project for *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, the architects recognized that their hope of catering to the "reality" of the working class had missed the mark:

> Even though we designed a typical interior, not one tenant followed our example. Most of them spent much higher amounts of money in the installation, taking up the space with

14 Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "La segunda modernización de la arquitectura catalana," in *Eclecticismo y vanguardia y otros escritos* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2004), 171: Helio Piñon, "Del realisme a la Escuela de Barcelona," in *Arquitectura moderna de Barcelona (1951-1976)* (Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1996), 83. For the only account of the campaign of realism in the context of Serra d'Ors, but also in mainly desciptive terms and supporting Bohigas' claims, see Jorge Torres Cueco, "Serra d'Ors, 1959-1972: hacia una arquitectura realista," in *Las revistas de arquitectura: Crónicas, manifiestos, propaganda. Actas* (Pamplona: T6 Edicions, 2012): 813-822.

15 Bohigas, "Realismo, urbanidad y fracasos," 7-9.

16 Oriol Bohigas interview with the author, Barcelona, May 29, 2012.

> curtains, lamps, and furniture of a false style. On the other hand, many users have modified the plan, mainly in the sense of closing and dividing up the public area of the vestibule, dining room, and kitchen. In this sense, we are faced once again with the problem of whether there exists the right correspondence between the ways of our current architecture and the social, cultural, and pedagogical conditions of the proletariat.[17]

Bohigas and Martorell initially acknowledged their failure in providing a straightforward user-to-architecture connection, a limitation that Bohigas later brushed aside as he continued to elaborate his proposal on realism. That the material and formal composition of the project was meant to reject "visual criteria," as was put in the FAD prize excerpt quoted above and Bohigas would repeatedly argue, proved to be a troublesome assumption. In fact, it was on the basis of the visual image of the building—a traditionalist image—that the architects argued for its social and humanist dimension; that is to say that they both denied the importance of the image and yet relied on its aesthetic impact to argue for its humanist scale and social value. These contradictions in the conception and the reception of the Pallars housing block call for a closer look at the "social engagement" of Bohigas's early theory of realism. If the Pallars block did not relate quite so directly to the workers it was meant to house, *to whom, then, did it speak? What "social reality" did the building engage with?*

These seem fair questions to pose about any project or theory self-proclaimed as realist. Primarily an epistemological construct, since the mid-nineteenth century realism has often served in art and literature as a claim to the representation of ordinary, everyday reality and resistance to idealization.[18] At its most progressive, particularly in the Marxist tradition, realism is seen as bringing awareness of the "true" conditions of capitalist development that can, in turn, awaken class-consciousness.[19] In its more reactionary guise, the descriptive mode of realist aesthetics has been

17 "Grupo de viviendas para obreros de una factoría metalúrgica," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 44 (1961): 14.

18 For this rather traditional account of realism, see Erich Auerbach, Mi*mesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* [1953] (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

19 This is the tradition in Marxist aesthetics, with Siegfried Kracauer, Bertolt Brecht, György Lukács, and Theodor Adorno being its major figures. As laid out and argued by Fredric Jameson in *Aesthetics and Politics* (London: Verso, 1977), these

interpreted as an escapism, whereby a merely aesthetic emphasis on the "real" acts as a therapeutic means to avoid issues that shape the said reality.[20] Beginning with Bohigas himself, critiques of his realism proposal have positioned it closer to the former. But before one can assess where Bohigas's theory of realism might fall on this spectrum, a more precise understanding of the context he so vividly claimed to capture seems in order. Realism grappled above all else with two issues Bohigas identified as most urgent at the time: workers' housing and a arrière-garde mode of building technology.[21] In his view, architecture ought to establish a correlation between the two, and in so doing become a truthful repository and a means of expression of the working class. In this, Bohigas certainly drew on György Lukács historical realism, and on many of Bohigas' contemporaries then revisiting Lukács and Bertolt Brecht, in looking to reveal the conditions of capitalist society through cultural production.[22] But, as the Catalan economist Ernst Lluch noted at the time, Bohigas's proposal could also be seen as conservative, as it was ultimately futile in offering workers means of overturning or advancing their social or economic status.[23]

---

authors developed different models of realism, though, the latter's predominated in the formulation of realism in the European postwar, as was certainly the case for the mobilization of realism in *Serra d'Ors*.

20 Jean-François Lyotard, "Answering the Question: What is Postmodern?," in *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 74. Lyotard attacks realism as non-experimental, a position of slackening for the support of the status-quo and thus a way to "preserve various consciousnesses from doubt." He claims, realism is in fact the way to "avoid the question of reality," its effect being "therapeutic." For Lyotard, realism is an apology for capitalism.

21 The same point was made by Manfredo Tafuri some twenty-five later in his indirect apologia for realism as the one mode of critical practice, a conclusion he largely drew, like Bohigas, from the Italian experiences with housing in the immediate postwar period. See Manfredo Tafuri, *Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunita, 1964) and "Realismé et Architecture" [1985] *Critique* 476-477 (1987): 23-42.

22 Bohigas drew mostly from the call for a new poetry of "Historic realism" of Josep Maria Castellet, who was also part of the editorial board of Serra d'Ors and beginning with his 1959 essay "Twenty Years of Catalan poetry." In a section titled "Toward a historic realism," Castellet argued that symbolic poetry was in decline in lieu of a new poetry of historic realism, where the writer ought to deny his own subjectivity in favor of objective reality. Building on Lukács, Castellet argued that the objective of cultural production, and of relaist poetry more specifically, was to reveal the "true" condition of society. To do so, poets ought to abandon metaphors and the appeal to the senses in favor of narrative, description, and types. They should identify "the authentic expression of one's times, and respond to its specific trends and tendencies." For Castellet, as for Luckas, this process of narration was but a revelation that would eventually rouse consciousness and lead to sociopolitical action. For a review of Bohigas' realism in these terms and as means for new humanism see Josep Maria Castellet, "De L'arquitectura a L'humanisme," *Serra d'Or* VI-1 (1964): 26. Bohigas aligned his realism with Castellet's to the letter; though there is much to be argued for the incongruities there existed in the translation of a literay theory into architecture at the core of most theories on architectural realism.

23 Ernest Lluch i Martin, "Alguns pressoposits per a un realisme arquitectonic" *Serra d'Or* IV-11 (1962): 32.

What follows is an attempt to understand the larger political and cultural implications of the connections Bohigas established between workers, their housing, and traditional building technologies. These connections have been crucial to narratives of realism in architecture well beyond Bohigas' proposal, alongside notions of context, truth (which realist architecture supposedly evokes), and humanism, or an essential connection to man. A presupposed direct relationship between architecture and its inhabitants, between form and man, is at the core of all aspirations toward realism in architecture. In consequence, the question that must underly the historical analysis of the Pallars Block pertains the kind of subjectivity that the building ostensibly summoned. As Frederick Engels had put it some eighty years before Bohigas' porposal in *The Housing Question*, the question of housing is that of the conformation of new political subjects, that is, of new social values and political forces in the face of industrialization. More explicitely for Engels, it concerned the transformation of the rural subject into the industrial domestic worker. The 'Housing Question" thus pertains not to housing alone, but also and more urgently, to the social process of "transformation of the most stable and conservative class of the population into a revolutionary hotbed."[24] In Spain during Franquismo as much as in nineteenth century industrializing Europe, the shortage of housing revolved around country-city migrations, ownership, social policing and the threat—from the perspective of the regime at least—of the mergence of a new political urban body.[25] More specifically, it concerned the demise of traditional Catholic cultural and socila values in the face of rapid urbanzation that characterized the period. The debate around housing thus revolved, as I will show, around the techniques that would re-integrate these values inot the urban context.

Beginning with Bohigas' provocation as per his theory on realism, it is my hope to reveal aspects of the urban subject that was at play around the question of affordable housing during

24 Frederick Engels, "Preface to the Second Edition, 1887" to *The Housing Question* [1872], (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1979), 17.
25 Ibid, 32.

Franquismo, at least as this subject was imagined from the perspective of the State. During Franquismo, housing went from being a crucial basis of the overt social and ideological project of Falange in the 1940s, to a more tacit but equally essential instrument of the Catholic technocratic government that took hold in the 1950s. Throughout this structural shift, housing served to enact a particular form of the socialization of religion that was considered essential to disciplining, and thus governing, Spanish society. While the advent of technocratic government affected the economic structure of housing production and architects' discourse on the subject, as widely discussed in scholarly literature and to which we will return, I remark here on the ways in which the debate and production of housing developed at the level of social dynamics and as an instrument of the governance in Spanish society via its link to the Church. As we will see, housing and urbanization were engaged in the project of the spiritual restoration of the society that was so crucial to the regime, although this falled operationally outside of the umbrella of Opus Dei given that its laicism targeted the elites rather than the masses who were the recipients of affordable housing. If the Pallars Block was in dubious correspondence with the experiences and sentiments of those who occupied it, as Bohigas and Martorell at one point admitted, the logic of realism it embodied resonated in more ways than one with the project of the social relocation of Catholicism that was characteristic of the regime during its technocratic phase.

4.2 The Housing Problem as a Moral Problem: City, Country, and Agrarianism

In order to reveal the immediate socioeconomic condition which the Pallars housing block engaged with, I will briefly follow Bohigas's own logic of aligning architecture with narrative art forms—as in his mobilization of the term realism—and compare the building to a contemporary film, namely, José Antonio Nieves's 1951 film *Surcos* (Furrows). In both its visual manner and mise en scéne, the film met the mark of cinematic realism. It was filmed in popular neighborhoods, with

crowded scenes of city life that employed props and clothing brought to workers on the spot, and developed an anti-hero plot line in the fashion of Italian neorealist cinema. The film follows the Pérez family, a couple in their fifties and their three adult children as they arrive in Madrid in the hope of finding prosperity after leaving behind the hardships of country life and agricultural labor **[Fig.4.13]**. As the film progresses, the various members of the family encounter and react to the bitter everyday realities of city life, where work is scarce, housing tight, and moral values—the main concern of the film—feeble.[26]

One of the film's early scenes positions the latter point explicitly in the domestic context, as the Perez family arrive at a *corrala*, a building of the traditional Madrileñean type, in which small apartments are organized around a central patio and share toilets and other services.[27] It was in a typical *corrala* in a Madrileñan workers' neighborhood that the family will live along with two distant relatives. As the Perezes slowly climb up the stairwell around the central patio, carrying their belongings, the scene shows a palimpsest of the everyday *corrala* life in a very unpleasant light: women fighting with each other and gossiping on the patio; constant screams and cries; children gambling and smoking; a collective fight for one of Mrs. Perez's stray chickens. When one of the children asks derisively, "What are these *catetos* doing here?" the film's moralism is suggested in the answer given by a fellow gambler: "Can't you see, dumbass? They are here to sell their roosters on the black-market."

While not exactly trafficking in roosters, the Perezes did, upon arriving in the city, begin to lose their moral values to the corrupting and demoralizing ways of the city. In a quintessential neorealist scene, the youngest son Manolo is robbed of his merchandise in a crowded street fair and publically humiliated in front of his love interest. Unskilled as he is for anything other than farming,

26 Marsha Kinder, *Blood Cinema. The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1993), 45.
27 Ibid, 47.

the father likewise fails in his factory job and retreats, depressed, to life in the *corrala*. Speaking directly to the dangers of moral disintegration in the city and its "Americanist" ways, the daughter becomes a cabaret dancer and moves in with a show businessman twice her age [28] The final crisis is that of the eldest son, Pepe, who becomes involved in the black market stealing potato sacks—carrying the same potatoes he once labored over. After a failed operation, he gets into a fight and is thrown onto the railway tracks, where he is run over and killed by a train—the same train that had earlier brought his family and many others to the city.

Crudely advanced in the poster of the film, *Surcos* thus tells the story of familial desperation and loss as a consequence of leaving the country for the city, paralleling the move from tradition toward modernization.[29] As in the case of Italian neorrealism, exemplified by Vittorio de Sica's 1948 *Bicycle Thief*, the reason for representing the crude reality of everyday life in worker's neighborhoods, thereby engaging with social issues, were grounded in an aesthetic operation and a narrative with dramatic turns and moralistic overturns.[30] In this way, the claim of rendering a straightforward depiction of the here and now is in fact inherently ideological, an apologia for present material reality posited as a metaphysical truth. In *Surcos*, the realistic representation of city inhabitants, and their values and characteristics evolved in the construction of space itself—the city and the country—entailing the message that the city corrupts. That is, under the rubric of a truthful representation of life, *Surcos* presented a moral critique of urbanization and a call for the countryside as the locus of ethical integrity and family values.[31]

28 Marianne Bloch-Robin, "Les Madrilènes et les espaces de la ville: de *Surcos* (José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1951) à *Barrio* (Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998)" *Chaiers de la civilisation espagnole contemporaine* 13 (2014), on-line, published December 30 2014, accessed September 20, 2015.

29 Kinder, *Blood Cinema,* 50.

30 Bert Cardullo, *Cinematic Illusions. Realism, Subjectivity and the Avant-Garde* (Newcastle upon Tyme: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008), 32.

31 Tellingly, the film ends with the remaining members of the family embarking on the train that had both killed Pepe and brought them to the city to begin with, this time travelling in the opposite direction, as the father cries out for a return to the land.

Critics variously discussed the relevance of *Surcos* in capturing the most urgent social crisis of postwar Spain: urban migration.[32] The high number of migrants from the countryside coming to the cities was seen by many as a prime cause of the ailing living conditions, crowding, unemployment, violence, and the black market that defined the postwar years, especially in Madrid and Barcelona. By deailing with these issues, *Surcos* certainly countered the heroic plot-lines and pompous aesthetics of the filmography favored by the regime, most conspicuously José Luis Saenz de Heredia's *Raza* (1942), based on a novel by Franco himself, and one of several films that celebrated Spain's imperial history in a nationalist tone. *Surcos* was readily championed as representing a nascent Spanish realism, but was also critiziced on the same terms. A sharp analysis of the film's mobilisation of realist devices was that of Juan Antonio Bardem, a younf film director who was at the time also exploring realism for purposes of opposition to the regime.[33] For as much as the aesthetics and story in the *Surcos* film countered epic cinema, the links to the regime were hard to miss. Bardem attacked *Surcos* for refashioning the forms and technologies of leftist Italian neorealism for the purposes of projecting Franquista values, such as the importance of family and an agrarian political economy. "Surcos presents a Manichean opposition," Bardem said in 1955, "between a corrupt city undergoing industrialization and the innocent rural Spain being ravaged."[34] In so doing, *Surcos* provided but a critical displacement from the issue that it claimed to represent. Rather than dealing with the causes and consequences of the exodus of peasants from the countryside to the cities, it merely proposed an escape from them. As is revealed upon close inspection with many forms of realism, rather than telling the "truth" of its time *Surcos* evoked a myth, an allegory of what was becoming undone, in this case in the face of urbanization.

32 Kinder, *Blood Cinema,* 42.

33 In 1955 he directed *La muerte de un ciclista* (Death of a cyclist)

34 Ibid*,* 452.

The economic and cultural promotion of rural Spain was crucial to Falange, to which Surcos' director belonged.[35] The field through which Falange most notably projected country ideals was housing. In his seminal essay "The Architecture of Housing during Autarky, 1939-1953," which I discussed in the Introduction, Ignasí de Solà-Morales argued that an intrinsic relationship between ideology and architecture was established during Franquismo's early period, above all through housing and in connection to Falange's agrarianism that favored agriculture and rural development.[36] The ostracism from European and North American countries, noted in the previous chapter, made policies of self-sufficiency and protectionism somewhat of a necessity, but autarchy was also construed as a core ideological element in as much as it projected the notion of political independence.[37]

For Solà-Morales, the Falange framed Spanish modernization in a particular context—the countryside. In so doing, Solà-Morales noted, it was generally misinterpreted by the left as being anything but progressive. His point was to the contrary, and called for understanding the state's idiosyncratic vision of social reform as an "inverted ideology" of modernity, where modernization developed in a socioeconomic and spatial context that was agrarian, as opposed to the fully industrialized context of the central European model.[38] Rural development, in the form of such things as irrigation and electrification projects and dam construction, had already been crucial during the Second Republic, although it had not come to full fruition and Solà-Morales interpreted the Falange project as a continuation of the prewar period.[39] Falange's ideology ought to be considered progressive the these terms and also in the sense that social forces predominated over forces of capital; workers' syndicates were significant model for social and political structures; and most

35 Kinder describes the film, as Bardem suggested, in terms of Falangist neorealism, ibid, 40.

36 Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la vivienda en los años de la autarquia, 1939-1953," 20.

37 It also further aligned Franquismo with Benito Mussolini's economic policies of the late 1930s, although with more of an emphasis on agrarian reform than in Italy, where the stress fell on the development of big industry.

38 Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la vivienda en los años de la autarquia, 1939-1953," 20.

39 Lejeune, "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain," 81.

importantly for Solà-Morales, the Falange assumed a connection between architecture and social process.

Housing effected this connection more explicitly and was framed by the Falange as a crucial sociopolitical front. Following the overall argument on historical continuity, Solà-Morales accounted for the ways in which social housing had been relevant during the Second Republic in response to the housing crisis of the 1910 and 1920s, cloncluding that the Falange government simply continued to regard housing a "service and an engine" of society. As was typical of the modern European State, in Spain also housing provided a tool for "social paternalism."[40] Notable in Franquismo was complex legislative and institutional apparatus through which the State took an active role. The General Directorship of Devastated Regions, founded in 1938 under the Ministry of the Interior that I discussed in chapter two, was entrusted with much of the housing reconstruction in rural areas and small towns. By 1945, it employed over 200 professionals from the building industry.[41] On April 19, 1939, less than three weeks after taking power, the Franco government passed the *Ley de Vivienda Protegida* (Protected Housing Law) to manage land expropriation and land use codes and provide for fiscal benefits and construction aid to public and private institutions dedicated to affordable housing projects. The law defined protected housing as that which was destined for low rents (which was determined as one-fifth of the prospective dwellers' monthly salary) and appointed the *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* (INV, National Institute of Housing) as the institution charged with overseeing its development.[42]

The INV, under the directorship of the architect José Fonseca, supervised everything that had to do with new housing developments, from matters of land ownership and expropriation to

40 Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la vivienda…," 24.

41 Carlos Sambricio, et al. *Arquitectura en Regions Devastadas* (Madrid: MOPU, 1987); Luis Fernández-Galiano, *La quimera moderna: Los poblados dirigidos de Madrid en la arquitectura de los 50* (Barcelona: Hermann Blume, 1989).

42 BOE 197, July 16, 1954, 4834-4841. See also complied text of the laws and later resolutions in *Viviendas de Renta Limitadas*, Ministerio de Fomento in https://sede.fomento.gob.es/NR/rdonlyres/B957A32D-2019-4FC6-B90D-8F44F8A7A843/104323/L_150755.pdf

financial planning and the technical and programmatic regulations of new developments, and funding. Institutions under the supervision of the INV included city halls and the Cajas de Ahorro, the public banks, but chief among them was the worker's association Obra Sindical del Hogar (OSH), an institution that had been a stronghold of the Falange and whose new headquarters were built by Cabrero and Aburto in 1949, as discussed in chapter two. The OSH was devoted to building development and financing, charged with "establishing the technical conditions" of new housing, and "stimulating new projects" by providing loans to dwellers and mobilizing institutions for financing. Its overall objective was to devise "techniques for maximum efficiency" in the overall process of production.[43] The units OSH sponsored were assigned to party workers, war veterans, and syndicate affiliates, who received new apartments under a system of amortization, a mortgage system whereby dwellers paid for their houses in installments that were often directly factored into their salary. Distinguishing its model from one of long-term rentals, OSH framed its initiatives in terms of social and public provision, where "all idea of profit was eliminated."[44] The loan system applied also to construction companies, and in 1947 the foundation of the Instituto Nacional de Crédito (National Loan Institute) allowed lines of credit to be issued for as much as 50% of construction costs.[45]

As Solà-Morales argued, with this broad provision of housing, the state sought to mimic the "social techniques" of mass control and welfare that had been common across Europe during the first decades of the twentieth century, for the left and far right alike.[46] Plans, institutions, and policies notwithstanding, the lack of resources turned housing into a discursive rather than an effective front, with production substantially lower than what was bombastically announced. In 1943, the INV launched an ambitious National Housing Plan to erect one and a half million units in a decade, of

43 "Funciones del a Organización Sindical del Hogar," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 105 (1974): 37.

44 Ibid, 40.

45 Carlos Flores, "Plan Sindical de la vivienda," *Hogar y Arquitectura* 1 (1955): 5-27; special issue dedicated to the work of Obra Sindical del Hogar, *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 104 (1974).

46 Solà-Morales also noted how the Franquista apparatus on housing was largely a continuation of that of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) that was carried through the Second Republic,.

which only 16,000 were built, alongside the little less than 25,000 of the OSH.[47] Built or promised, housing in Franquismo's first decade unfolded within the ideological model of agrarianism, which served the Falange both as a political economic model and as a social ideal. Agrarianism promoted agricultural labor, economic autonomy, and rural development over urbanization, while the countryside was promoted as the space proper for family and ethically sound values, as portrayed in *Surcos*. Championing traditional construction technologies and materials for the construction of housing with low-skilled labor was a policy which furthered the connection of architecture with the Falange's economic ideals. Fittingly, the INV depended on the Ministry of Labor, not only because the units it promoted were destined to house workers, but also because the building industry was a main source of employment.[48]

Solà-Morales focused his analysis of housing on the institutional, economic, and technological dynamics of agrarianism, finding in architecture the physical embodiment and aesthetic echoes of the political economy. He thus noted how most of state sponsored housing was destined for the countryside and the little which remained planned for the cities adhered to "ruralizing aspirations," either in programmatic provisions or through stylistic references to vernacular architecture.[49] One of the first design competitions summoned by INV in 1945, for instance, was for "Rural Housing," which looked to devising different housing types for different natural regions **[Fig.4.13]**. The few developments OSH promoted in the cities included small

47 Carlos Sambricio, *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960. De la normalización de lo vernáculo al Plan Regional* (Mdrid: Akal, 2004), 336.

48 "Decreto de 8 Septiembre de 1939 al reglamento Ley de 19 de Abril de 1939," in *Viviendas de Renta Limitadas*, 340.

49 Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la vivienda….". Carlos Sambricio has argued in detail on the connections between the housing initiatives in Spain in the 1940s and 1950s and the debates and projects developed in interwar Europe around the notions of new standards for workers' housing and comfort—what Gropius defined as *Existenzminimun*— and models of flexible and growing housing types. The urban projects with garden recall Otto Haesler's design in Georgergarten of 1924. In 1948, for instance, *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* published the 1930 article by Alexnder Klein "Contribucion al problema de la vivienda" (Contributions to the Problem of Housing), where Klein exposed typological variations to housing floor plans according to different façade compositions and plot depth, which Miguel Fisac appropriated for a housing proposal in the mid 1950s. Klein's approach seems quite fit for the Spanish context for the attention he paid to the man-to-architecture relationships and family values, what he translates into a pseudo-scientific design method and typological studies with ergonomics aspects.

vegetable gardens.[50] Most significant was the foundation of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC, National Institute of Colonization) in October of 1939 to develop rural land and oversee regional planning in the countryside, and to which a Department of Architecture was added in 1941 to develop new towns **[Fig.4.14]**.[51] Emphasis on the country did not mean that rational planning and modernizing principles were left aside. On the contrary, Solà-Morales' main argument was that agrarian economic policies aimed at rationalizing the rural environment, if not the full industrialization of labor, which was unfeasible in economic terms. The institutions in charge of architectural development pursued a modernization at the level of the "production process."[52] By this, he meant primarily planning, which had a delayed effect at the level of image. Solà-Morales thus characterized the INC's new towns in terms of their combination of rational plans and production, as in the standardization of building elements derived from vernacular referents, and picturesque composition and style.

In this combination of modernizing production and rural image, architects also gradually stripped off and simplified traditional building elements—from cornice details to windowsills. Many of those involved in the INC were young graduates starting their professional careers, including Alejandro de la Sota, Antonio Fernandez del Amo, Fernando Terna, and Juan Antonio Coderch. As historian Jean-Francoise Lejeune has noted in his research on the topic, in their wrok at INC these architects grew "stronger in the spirit of abstraction" as they kept on working with quotes from vernacular architecture, including hints about the Mediterranean, but steadily removing stylistic

50 As reported in *La Vanguardia*, August 2, 1939, 3. Carlos Sambricio, *Contemporaneidad vs. modernidad. EL concurso de vivienda experimental de 1956* (Madrid: CAOM, 1997), 4.

51 For the ways in which this institution was influenced by international and historical referents on new town planning see Lejeune, "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain," 81. Eduardo Delgado Oruso, "La Experiencia del INC. Una Colonizacion de la Modernidad, 1939-1973" in *Arquitectura, ciudad e ideologia antiurbana*. Actas (Pamplona: T6 Edicions, 2002), 88.

52 Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la vivienda…,"10.

references in favor of compositional and technical ones.[53] The chief examples were de la Sota's new villages, Gimenells, designed in 1943, and most famously Esquivel, in Andalucia, designed in 1952 **[Fig.4.15]**. In his early village projects, de la Sota deployed vernacular tropes, while at the same time he systematized the design and distribution of doors, windows, screens, and cornices. The standardization of the vernacular was, as Solà-Morales also put it, the Spanish alternative to prefabrication and industrialization. It was through the work of José Luis Fernandez del Amo, who coordinated his work at Regiones Devastatdas and the Instituto de Colonización with the directorship of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Madrid, that the new villages reached the highest level of aesthetic abstraction of the rural. Del Amo's design of Vegaviana in the province of Cáceres in 1954 **[Fig.4.16]** most lyrically represented the modernization of the vernacular architecture that became distinctive of Franquista residential architecture.[54]

Modernizing as it may have been, agrarianism was not merely a model of political economy. As an ideology of the countryside, it also implied a mythology of the country, its dwellers, and the social order to which it conformed. This much was as clear in the photographs of Vegaviana as in *Surcos*. Shot by Joaquin de Palacio (Kindel), the photographs of Vegaviana in the late 1950s made the project an instant icon of Spanish vernacular modernism.[55] One of his most famous photos shows a woman peasant from the back, standing by a river and doing laundry **[Fig.4.17]**. Looking up, she

53 Lejeune, "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain," 83. As Lejeune also notes, in this they followed on the modernizing tradition of the GATCPAC in the 1930s. See also by the same authoer, "Planned Cities in Spain 1944-1969," in *Cities of Stone: The Other Modernity*, ed. by Claudio d'Amato (Milan: Marsilio, 2006), 158-167.

54 Ruiz-Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain*, x. Miguel Centellas Soler, Lo*s Pueblos de Colonización de Fernandez del Amo: Arte, Arquitectura y Urbanismo*. (Madrid: Fundacion Caja de Arquitectos, 2010). Juan Antonio Coderch famously explored the synthesis of a modernist language and vernacular building materials and design devices mostly in private residential architecture. Notably, his career had began as architect of the OSH in Madrid, but upon his return to Barcelona he was more involved with private commissions. Coderch was a crucial figure in Spanish architecture culture during the 1950 and 1960s. He was a manifest Franquqista, the one figure to reach out to international debates on modernism (being part of a few of the Team Ten meetings) and his architecture played a key role in developing the organicist style that I argue as the propaganda style of the regime in the previous Chapter. Coderch could play a larger role in the histories traced in this dissertation, but the ways in which his projects were largely private commissions make them harder to locate at the center of the political and cultural dynamics of the regime.

55 Lejeune, "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain," 83.

seems to be calmly contemplating the village around her, a fractured profile of white-washed volumes. Rural but not ruralizing, the image projects a lofty vision of country living. Solà-Morales seemed however blind to these ideological projections, invested as he was in the Tafurian argument for finding fault with Spain's version of emergent capitalism. In his reading, the Falange's liberal social project of modernization failed when it came to its "materialization," as Spain's rural take on modernization was overthrown by the "reorganization of capital."[56] That is, agrarianism clashed with the expansion of Spanish industry and its ensuing urbanization, which resulted in the transfer of housing development from the state to private capital in Solà-Morales' interpretation.

As the Falangists of the period put it when referring to all the non-Falangists who were part of Franco's alliance, Solà-Morales credited this process rather broadly to the "traditionalist": members of the military, the Church, and the business elites. For Solà-Morales, the Falange ought to be understood in "dialectical confrontation" with these broad forces of capital conservatism.[57] In so doing, he framed the transfer of power from the one to the other as a paradigm shift of sorts and as the source of the failure of modernization in its liberative promise. That is, he perceived the shift toward privatization in housing chiefly as one of the triumph of capital over modernity's socialist promise, and as historically inevitable. He thus failed to acknowledge the fact that the transition toward technocracy was in many ways bound up with the Franquista dictatorship and part of the reason for its continuing legitimacy. As seen in previous chapters, the economic liberalization of the country was not simply brought about by the forces of private capital but was rather facilitated by Opus Dei's distinct ethos of modernization, which made its way steadily into culture, society, and the government. Determined by a bipolar ideological and historical model where Falange was set against, and prior to, capitalist conservatism, Solà-Morales delved little into the procedures, projects,

56 Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la vivienda…" 24.
57 Ibid, 19.

agents, and ideas that affected this shift, or how economic forces might have intertwined with society and ideology.

Architectural historian Carlos Sambricio has filled in many of the gaps in Solà-Morales's account of housing with thorough research on the policies, institutions, and projects. His extensive scholarship on the topic fills out Solà-Morales' argument by tracing a multifarious map of laws, disciplinary debates, and design proposals that tested ideas, typologies, city plans, and construction methods to fit rapid housing development.[58] Sambricio has provided a detailed account of the development of social housing and related processes of urbanization, especially in Madrid as these led to the privatization of housing that was so condemned by Solà-Morales. Sambricio has also addressed how debates around housing favored the use of traditional materials and construction methods over prefabrication along with the ways in which housing served to channel ideas on *casticismo*, or a national style, in a tone different from that of civic buildings. Clearly represented in the new towns of the Instituto de Colonización, housing became the ideal field for reinterpreting the references to vernacular architecture that maintained the link to the country so essential to Falangist ideology.

Sambricio has also brought up *Surcos* as a cultural reference on the social urgency of housing in the face of migration.[59] However, caught in an empirical approach and in the very rhetoric of realism's matter-of-factness, Sambricio ultimately overlooks the ideological subtext of the film, namely, that the problem of housing was not merely one of housing shortage. At its core, the problem of housing was one of moral devaluation in the face of rapid urbanization and mass

58 Sambricio, *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960*, "La vivienda protegida: historia de una necesidad," *Summa+* 107 (2010): 68-77; *Contemporaneidad vs. modernidad. EL concurso de vivienda experimental de 1956;* "De la arquitectura del nuevo estado al origen de nuestra contemporaneidad: el debate sobre la vivienda en la decada de los cincuenta," *RA:revista de arquitectura* 4 (2000): 75-85. Amongs the many events discussed by Sambricio, one crucial document that falls outside the scope of my analysis on the question of housing but which could be brought up in relation to the debate on national identity covered in chapter three is the study of Fernando Chueca-Goitia on affordable housing in New York following his stay in the city in 1952 *Viviendas de Renta Limitada en Estados Unidos* (Madrid: Direccion General de Arquitectura, 1956).

59 Sambricio, *Contemporaneidad vs. modernidad*. Also in conversation with the author, Boston, November 12, 2008.

migration, against which the film projected the myth of the country. Like Solà-Morales, Sambricio focused on the policies and disciplinary minutiae of social housing, leaving aside broader implications of the ideological umbrella under which the housing question unraveled. Sambricio's extensive work on Franquista housing therefore lacks a coherent intellectual framework or ideological critique. This methodological maneuver might have well been by design. As I noted in the introduction, and in line with others in his generation, one of Sambricio's main hypothesis with regard to this period was that the regime failed to produce a coherent ideological project both in terms of architecture and otherwise. In the historiography, and as already noted in the introduction to this dissertation, this resultedI in a series of eclectic arguments where official initiatives were seen to clash with the architects' typological and material explorations, together nevertheless engaging modernization and moving forward driven by forces of history that remain overdetermined and unexplored.

4.3 *Barraquisme* and Its Discontents, or, Housing the Decent Worker

Sambricio's argument was also in part affected by his focus on Madrid, where the official apparatus and institutional dynamics were as overpowering as they were complex. It was in Barcelona, however, that the relationship of housing to social ideals was most stringent, and the ethical tensions between city and country took on specific physical forms in the *barraca*. The barraca was Barcelona's version of the shanty, informal, self-built living quarters erected without a legal or infrastructural framework that had begun to appear in the 1920s and that proliferated after the war, first on the outskirts of the city and around the periphery of the Eixample, and gradually making its way into industrial neighborhoods through the urban phenomena known as *barraquisme*. Barracas mostly accommodated the growing body of country migrants. These were the same subjects who were meant to occupy the new villages of the Instituto de Colonización but who, like the Perez family, decided instead to look for better opportunities in the city. In the case of Barcelona, migrants

came mostly from entirely different provinces of Spain, such as Andalusia and Murcia at the southern end of the country and Galicia in the northwest. This further distinguished the cultural fabric of the barracas from that of the city center, which was eminently Catalan. The structures were typically one floor, irregular structures with two rooms, a living space, and a sleeping area, built with masonry or wooden walls and corrugated fiber-cement panels for the ceilings, completed with fences, cardboard, poles, curtains, and any found objects that might help define the living space **[Fig.4.18-19]**. Cooking and other communal activities often occurred outdoors, and the land on which they were erected lacked infrastructures for water, electricity, and sanitation.

In September of 1949, the main local journal *La Vanguardia* accounted for 138 barraca complexes in Barcelona, with an estimated 10,000 structures housing 60,000 inhabitants.[60] Whether these numbers were accurate or exaggerated statistics—the number had been placed at half of that a year earlier—the officials and the media invariable portrayed the barracas as the "most urgent urban problem" of the time, a crisis they tied to the socio-cultural demise of the city. The primary cause of barraquisme was immigration from the countryside, or more explicitly the ill adjusted transfer of rural subjects to city life. This was put in an opinion essay published in February of 1949 in the following terms:

> We can not only attribute the problem to the lack of housing, but preferably to the little attention paid to migratory movements that physically and materially fold the human element of the Spanish people east toward our city. It is due to a pernicious tolerance and to the absence of rigorous control, allowing entrance to the city of people without means, and more importantly without "urbanity" or the habit of living in the city, that the shanty and barraca proliferate in dirty and untamed neighborhoods where promiscuity reigns, the most elemental hygiene is missing, and any idea of progress and evolution toward the "urban" is obviously erased.[61]

The unsigned article resonated with many others on the topic published in *La Vanguardia* and other journals where barraquisme was consistently condemned with regards to both physical

60 "Existen en Barcelona unas diez mil barracas habitadas por 60,000 personas aproximadamente" *La Vanguardia*, September 3, 1949, 9.

61 "El más urgente problema urbano,"*La Vanguardia*, February 26, 1949, 9.

and social environment. As in *Surcos* two years later, the critiques of barracas assumed a seamless continuity between space and subjectivity, whereby poor living conditions housed a "difficult population."[62] The barraca was in this way likened to a dearth of civility and urban habits and culture on the part of the country migrant. That is, their mere arrival in the city threatened to bring about the demise of "urbanity" itself. Physically and culturally, country subjects occupying the city endangered the prevailing idea of what it meant to be "urban." In the media, barracas were assimilated to organisms whose uncontrolled growth was like that of "poisonous mushrooms" that brought a "social and urban cancer" to Barcelona.[63] The threat was particularly urgent in that barracas ceased to be a phenomenon of the city outskirts only, as they were finding their way "into the middle of the geometric planning of the city center."[64] What the barracas made all too explicit, at least from the perspective of the authorities, was how migration challenged the order of the city in formal, social, and most urgently cultural terms. With the barracas, city culture was on the line.

For the population inhabiting the barracas were in fact not citizens strictly speaking. Without documentation, they were defined as "a fluid population."[65] In *The Housing Question* some eighty years earlier, Engels had identified his subject in these terms, as the city-country migrant who was uprooted and lacked legal status, and thus was freed from both law and land.[66] Being undocumented, barraquistes in Spain were literally beyond the reach of civil governance, that is, they were altogether alien to the strategies of administrative control. As argued in chapter two, the regulation of citizenship was crucial to the exercise of political control, as the government effected its hold on society through administrative procedures amongst other things. But, undocumented and

62 Ibid.

63 *La Vanguardia*, October 19, 1951, 12.

64 *La Vanguardia*, February 26, 1949, 9.

65 Ibid.

66 Engels, *The Housing Question*, 25. Interestingly Engels identifies Spain along with Italy, as the two countries where Proudhounism has best taken hold in the late nineteenth century. It iwas a version of Proudhoun's model of long-term rent as a way to ownership that was also adopted by Franquismo through the Obra Sindical del Hogar.

uncivilized, barraquistas were not to access their local Gobierno Civil building or Finance Headquarter, so to speak. Put differently, the lack of legal and formal structure in the barracas was easily translated into the terms of policing:

> In the absence of the normal means of vigilance and control that authorities otherwise exert simply and efficiently in even the poorest of neighborhoods, those inhabited by honest workers, who are certain tenants of recognizable rooms belonging to numbered buildings of specific streets...[67]

The informal legal status of shanty dwellers only added to the urban conditions—high density, lack of basic infrastructure such as running water, and absence of socials services such as schools—to position barracas as main loci of potential dissent. By the fall of 1948, city officials began to assert the need to focus on barraquisme and to "urgently provide a solution to the problem and address it in the most decisive manner."[68] In 1949, the Governor of Barcelona, Eduardo Baeza, created the Barracas Eradication Service with the objective of limiting the spread of barraquisme, curbing new constructions in the existing slums, and beginning to plan demolition. Overseen by the police service that operated under the Civil Government of Barcelona, the service was charged with producing a census of barracas, identifying land ownership in shantytowns, and giving them a certain structure, for instance by assigning identification numbers. The process was often violent and implied overnight inspections, forceful demolitions, and compelling any incoming dwellers to return to their places of origin **[Fig.4.20]**.[69]

Ultimately, the "solution" to the urban crisis of Barcelona implied the dual approach of barraca demolition and provision of affordable housing to a fraction of those displaced. Parallel to the eradication of barracas were efforts to solve the shortage of affordable housing, and Governor Baeza also worked on new housing development by convoking several committees and promoting

67 Ibid.

68 *La Vanguardia,* November 2, 1948, 7.

69 An archive of images and oral histories on the spread and demise of barracas of the 1940s and 1950s in Barcelona is http://www.barraques.cat/en/2-barraquisme-en-temps-de-repressio-i-racionament.php. Accessed October 1, 2015.

ambitious housing plans.[70] In December 1949, he received in Barcelona the director of the INV Federico Mayo and the Secretary General of OSH, Carlos Andres Soler, to discuss how to give the city a "healthy look."[71] Two months later, he founded the Junta de Coordinación Pro-Vivienda Popular (Coordination Committee Pro-Popular Housing), with the objective of gathering the various agents invested in providing new housing, including representatives from state organizations, such as the Architects' Chambers, the INV, and Cajas de Ahorro, as well as private companies from the building industry and "individuals who share the concern about this problem, and are willing to contribute with their own means to cooperate in its definite solution."[72]

The project of course was not merely one of the provisions of shelter. In the process, the government provided barraquistes with legal status, "civilizing" them at least in a literal sense, by making them proper residents of the city. This regularization of immigrants required their pre-selection, since only those who were able to prove that they had work in the city were relocated and given proper documentation. The aim, as made clear in the press, was to distinguish which barraca dwellers were "criminal residents" and which ones "decent workers."[73] Once identified as such, the latter would be properly registered and enter the housing market, either buying the new houses or engaging in an amortization plan through low cost, long-term rental. Those not allocated new housing, the unregistered and homeless, would eventually be transferred to the Indigent Classification Centre at the Hall of the Missions in Montjuic, a migrant camp instituted in 1953, from where they would either relocate with family members or return to their villages of origin. The project was clearly one of a hygienization of the city, and indeed was often referred to as such in the media, a sanitizing project argued in terms of both social health and morals. Ultimately, the cleansing

70 *La Vanguardia*, September 1, 1949, 8.
71 *La Vanguardia*, December 20, 1949, 13.
72 *La Vanguardia*, February 8, 1950, 9.
73 *La Vanguardia*, August 10, 1949, 8.

of shantytowns was a legal and urban strategy to police the growing city and control potential spaces of political insurgency. Most significantly, this process was aimed at regulating the emergence of the new city subject of the "decent worker."

This cleansing scheme certainly echoed the modernist ethos of urban planning, put most lyrically by José Luis Sert, himself a Catalan, in the 1942 publication *Can Our Cities Survive?* A delayed synthesis of the functionalist urban strategies devised at CIAM 4 and 5 in Athens and Paris respectively, the book presented the urban planning strategies of CAIM under the rubric of responses and solutions to the group's "scientific" analysis of existing urban ailments **[Fig.4.21]**. One of Sert's main purposes was to condemn the slums, which he read as "insalubrious islands" in the cities, sites of health and moral problems. As in the CIAM narrative more broadly, for Sert cities were like living organisms whose development can be degenerative as well as generative but had become primarily the former. "Slums," he wrote, "represent only one phase of a general process of decay that our cities are going through—something like the last stage of a protracted malady."[74]As was refered to in the Catalan media a few years later, the slums were "sore spots of the city structure – the obvious cancer of city growth."[75] To this, the modern architect and planner ought to react; after the slum came renewal in the form of modernist housing. Sert's critique extended from the slum itself to housing developments that, if not properly designed and planned, could simply become "shadows of future slums."[76] While he laid out the four functions of CIAM's city, he also suggested building types as examples of healthy housing. Most relevant was Casa Bloc, a workers' housing complex that he

74 Jose Luis Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive, An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions: Based on the Proposals Formulated by CIAM* (Cambridge, London: The Harvard University Press, 1942), 12.
75 Ibid, 41.
76 Ibid. 38.

had designed as a member of the GATCPAC (Grup d'Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per al Progrés de l'Arquitectura), the Catalan version of CIAM, in the 1930s **[Fig.4.22]**.[77]

Across Spain in the late 1940s and 1950s, clearance of the informal city preceded the housing development and the expansion of suburbs, a process that peaked in the 1960s. As later denounced by Solà-Morales and detailed by Sambricio, the process of urbanization was marked by crucial policy changes, above all the Law of July 15 1954 on Limited Rent Housing and the formation of the Ministry of Housing in February of 1956. Significantly, Franco appointed the then-leader of Falange, the architect Jose Luis Arrese, to lead the Ministry of Housing in a move that was broadly interpreted as the coup de grâce to Falange's project and its retreat into housing while Opus Dei technocrats seized the financial structures of the government. Arrese's appointment as Minister would soon be seen as a symbolic move, as he lasted there a mere three years and during a period in which housing development broadly shifted to the private market.

With regards to the development of affordable housing and the privatization of the housing market that ensued, Sambricio has pointed to 1949 as a pivotal year in terms of opening up a debate, when architects and officials began to pave the way for later reforms by both government and private corporations. In that year, several design competitions nationwide laid out questions of typology and building technology. It was in Barcelona that the discussion of affordable housing took on momentum and was framed in terms of its social implications. In February of 1949, the *Colegio de Arquitectos* (Architects Chamber) of Catalonia launched an Affordable Housing design competition, "forcing" participants to include in their submissions a "social study of the problem," as well as technical and economic solutions for the shortage of low-rent housing.[78] Specifically, it asked architects to present research on material costs, financial plans for rapid implementation, policies,

77 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 2000), 135.
78 *La Vanguardia*, Febrero 20, 1949, 9.

and urban regulations. That the problem to solve was that of families like the Perezes flowing into the city was clear to those considering the competition. One of the members of the future winning team, Antonio de Moragas, was clear on this point in an interview he gave to the local journal *Diario de Barcelona*, pointing to the "curbing of immigration" as the single most significant measure for resolving the housing shortage. It was similarly presumed that architects were called upon to provide evidence of the ways in which immigration was hurting the city by means of slums, as well as to provide ideas for the economic, typological, and technical aspects of the new housing to prevail against the phenomenon of barraquisme.

For this purpose, it was essential to keep architects' imaginations in line. The brief thus asked for feasible solutions to the problem, even if this meant "sacrificing" speculations proper to the discipline and setting aside "technically perfect ideas, solutions that in practice would turn utopian."[79] While summoned under the mission of conducting a "social study" of the city, the competition asked the architects not to think through the social and political dynamics of *barraquisme,* much less imagine possibilities other than those already at play. The mandate was to follow through with the official scheme for slum abolition and put the architects' technical expertise to work. In so doing, architects could trigger specific action from the government by suggesting both design and policy strategies. As Moragas also noted: "We have given little importance to drawings and more to the ways of making them happen. That is, for authorities to listen on how to avoid land speculation and where the money should come from."[80]

The conversation on housing thus turned into one of economic feasibility and the technicalities of design and construction. In May of 1949, Barcelona hosted the Fifth National Architects' Assembly, convened by the General Directorship of Architecture of Prieto Moreno under

79 Ibid.

80 Interview with Antonio de Moragas, *Diario de Barcelona*, October 12, 1949.

the theme of Urbanism and Housing.[81] A recurring theme in the various lectures and conversations there related to housing, mostly in relation to building methods and the prospects of prefabrication for the provision of mass housing. Gio Ponti, as a guest speaker at the event, called for a high level of prefabrication and industrialization as he had done in Italy during the fascist period, a position opposed by many local architects and officials **[Fig.4.23]**.[82] The architect and ardent Falangist Luis Valero Bermejo, who would later direct the National Institute of Housing, objected to Ponti with an argument that pertained to the origin of the housing debate in Spain. For Valero Bermejo, high unemployment made industrialization futile and counterproductive, since the building industry was crucial for providing jobs. Traditional construction allowed for large amounts of low-skilled labor, thus a good fit for the migrant skilled in country labor and unprepared for industrial work—dramatocally portrayted in *Surcos*. In his argument, Valero Bermejo foresaw the fate of families like the Perezes and for whom he proposed a building job, which would perhaps save the family and its values.[83] Alberto Sartoris, the most celebrated guest speaker at the Architects' Assembly, likewise rejected prefabricated housing as representing the "end of architecture, and even more, of civilization."[84]

The entries to the Affordable Housing Competition, which were submitted a few months after the Assembly, followed through with Sartoris's and Valero Bermejo's proposals by being "unanimous on the rejection of prefabrication," and calling for working within the extant conditions of production. In this, housing would preserve "the traditional construction modes of the country,

81 Announced by then Director of the Directorate General of Architecture, Prieto Moreno, in the opening lecture in May 10, 1949. Announced on *La Vanguardia* May 11, 1949, the first two lectures were on "Urbanism," by Gabriel Alomar, and on "Solutions to increase the construction of middle-class and modest housing" by Sartoris. Most of the event took place in Barcelona with sporadic visits to Valencia and a boat cruise to the Balearic Islands. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 10 (1949):2-5.

82 As reported in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 10 (1949):3; and Sambricio*, Contemporaneidad vs. Modernidad*, x.

83 Ibid.

84 *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 11-12 (1950): 55. Sartoris noted how architects' ideas ought to serve as reference for the regime's housing policies, and recommended they direct their efforts toward defining prototypes and the normalization of housing units at the level of typology.

which are the most rational and economic."[85] The echo of these ideas in Bohigas's realism a few years later is precise, since he was in charge of compiling the competition results for a special issue on "The Problem of Housing" in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* in 1953, along with architects Francisco Bassó and Jose Maria Buxó. This publication summarized, mainly in text form, the three winning proposals, each by a team of Catalan architects **[Fig.4.24].** The winning team gathered some of the most prominent figures of the time, including de Moragas, Franciso Mitjans, Ramon Tort, Jose Balcells, Antonio Perpiña, and Jose Maria Sostres. Together, these architects would move on to found Grup R, a cultural association that Bohigas also joined, which tried to reactivate a cultural debate around issues concerning architecture and to engage with ideas on architectural modernism.[86] The publication from the housing competition already revealed Grup R's intent to recuperate some of the ideas and tenets of rationalism, as it laid out its proposals alongside a CIAM-like "scientific" narrative, with diagrams on mortality rates, density, traffic flows, and land use accompanied by analysis of material costs and suggestions for typologies and construction systems, funding schemes, land ownership, and housing policies **[Fig.4.25]**.[87]

The competition proposals were particularly concerned with issues of building material, construction methods, and housing typologies. To make an efficient use of materials, the summary prposed that walls should be built with ceramic blocks, preferably the typical hollow brick; floors should be finished with hydraulic mosaic tile for the interiors and granite in the more public areas; façades ought to avoid decorative elements and be finished off with plain stucco. Further limitations were recommended for low-cost housing, including the use of red ceramic tile for the floors, avoiding stucco in lieu of exposed brick, and disposing with the elevator, heating system, and stone. These

85 Oriol Bohigas, Francisoc Bassó and Jose Maria Buxo, eds. "El Problema de la Vivienda," special issue *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, 15-16 (1953), 27.

86 A detailed description of the history of this organization, which dates its foundation to the housing competition, is Carme Rodríguez and Jorge Torres, eds. *Grup R* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1994), 17.

87 See diagrams accompanying the text in "El problema de la vivienda," 3-8.

principles were followed by Bohigas and Martorell in the Pallars block a few years later to the letter.[88] In terms of housing typologies, the competitors broadly embraced the interwar European model of the isolated block on an open site as exemplified in Casa Bloc.[89] The CAU summary included various options for three-bedroom apartments, some with open kitchens [**Fig.4.26]** as well as recommendations for sponsored units built by the factories whose workers it housed.[90] The transfer of ideas from the competition to the field was largely facilitated by the Housing Law of 1954, which provided the legal and financial structures needed to implement many of the architects' recommendations, including tax exemptions for factories that provided housing for their workers.

While embracing the political economy of Falange with its prioritization of traditional building techniques over industrialization, the proposals largely neglected the agrarian social imaginary associated with it. Advancing the policy shifts of 1954, the 1949 proposals recommended the privatization of housing development and land ownership, calling in private capital, and providing more expansive loan systems. One of its most significant aims in addressing the housing problem, as one participant put it, was to create a "faith in ownership" among workers.[91] Moreover, project descriptions took on a utilitarian character, wherein "rational" meant cost-efficient and the consensus was that it was necessary to bind ideas, projects, and values to the existing conditions of production and available materials. One of the main courses of action proposed by the participants, as recast by Bohigas, was to "limit ourselves to simply studying the possibilities of what the future might bring."[92] Put simply, as the debate on the "housing problem" evolved from discussing the urban crisis posed by barraquisme to discussing specifics of legislation and production, architects and

88 The summary included one of the participants' analyses of materials costs likewise intended to find ways to minimize construction expenses. In it, it was suggested that the government liberalized of material costs—except for oil, which prize the government should tighten in order to curb transportation expenses. "El Problema de la Vivienda,"28.

89 Sambricio has studied the ways in which the competition channeled the debate on minimum housing (*Houszminimun*) and other typological proposals of the interwar period.

90 "El Problema de la Vivienda,"22.

91 Ibid, 22-30.

92 Ibid, 2.

officials gradually disregarded the social impetus from which the debate stemmed. References to the political and moral objectives underpinning the debate at its inception—the condemnation the barraca on sociocultural grounds and the implicit transformation the rural migrant into the "decent worker"—were lost to the emerging technical discourse on housing. In parallel, they put limits to the architects' imginations as to how to confront it.

Manifest in the competition, architects' narratives on housing broadly turned to statistics, cost efficiency, policies, built form, square footage, circulation schemes, materials, and building technologies. These narratives were altogether oblivious to the ways in which the eradication of the slums and new housing development operated as techniques for social governance. As I argued in chapter two, the apparent severance of the public from matters of government was precisely the nature of the mediation between State and society during Franquismo's technocratic phase, which I have defined in terms of a politics of abstraction. By emphasizing form, type, technology, and economy, architects further widened the gap. For it was the appearance of a distance between technological progress and social issues, between politics and the public, that mostly sustained Franco's technocratic government. In their responses, architects promoted the liberalization of the housing market while at the same time upholding the Falangist project with regard to the relationship between labor and the building industry. Thus the Barcelona competition showed the complex ways in which Falange ideals and technocratic discourse coexisted in architects' imaginations and their corresponding work. At the same time, pressed by the urgency of the problem and the scarcity of the means at hand, they limited their role to that of the technical expert whose work is put to public service.

In this concurrence, the social project that had been inherent to the official narrative on housing development was silenced, and the problem of housing was gradually taken to be one of the

provisions of housing alone. That for Solà-Morales and Sambricio was the cul-de-sac in retrospect. For Bohigas however, this incongruity provided a most fitting foil to develop a narrative on the social value of his architecture, and the ways in which it supposedly provided a connection to the man-in-the-street. That is, Bohigas did not completely loose sight of the connection between architectural and social form, espcielly when it came to the housing question. In this, he proved to be an acute reader of Sert. Despite the dehumanizing reputation of CIAM's functionalist discourse on urbanism, a reputation that Sert himself would react against in CIAM's swan song meeting in 1952, the connection between architectural and social form, and specifically between city planning and city life was rather clear in *Can Our Cities Survive?* **[Fig.4.27].** This connection, for Sert at least, was more vividly enacted in the shanty town. He argued for slum clearance not only as the most efficient step for remedying the maladies of the built environment but also as the way to ameliorate everyday life in the city. In part two of the book, "Dwelling: The First Urban Function," slums acquire central prominence as objects that represent not only the final stage of pre-modern decay but also the "interdependent and indissoluble" relationship between living, housing, and the city.[93] In this way, Sert related the scales of house and city to the living experiences of everyday subjects, and defined housing as that which "concerns not only houses in themselves" but also the ways in which city form intertwined with city life, that is to say, with the activity of dwelling.[94] In the end, for Sert slum clearance was the basis for renewed social forms as much as for a renewed city.

In the time between his editing of the *CAU* issue on housing in 1953 and his design of the Pallars block in 1958, Bohigas published two essays that spoke to his interpretation of Sert and his attention to the social dynamics of housing design. His essay, "Un urbanismo nuevo para una sociedad nueva" (A New Urbanism for a New Society), is relevant to the extent that it shows

93 Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?*, 12.
94 Ibid.

Bohigas's early ideas on the city in relation to social reform—a notion that would sustain his career for years to come—specifically in terms of the tension between city and country. In addressing this quintessential divide with regard to modernization, Bohigas was all too aware of the forces that sustained the urban expansion of Barcelona. Yet, in a move proper to the idealistic versions of modernist urbanism, Bohigas called for smoothing over the contradictions implied in the city-country divide, and broadly for suppressing the opposition between the two.[95] Echoing many of his contemporaries elsewhere in Europe and particularly the members of Team Ten around this time, for Bohigas the means for offsetting the dehumanizing drive of the functionalist city was to sublimate the relationship between city and country by bringing into urban life the community values of country living—or an idealized version of it. In the process, the country would easily give in to modernization without completely loosing its core values.

Echoing the idea of scales of living typical of postwar debates, as in the 1954 "Statement of Habitat" that was part of the Doorn Manifesto of the CIAM meeting, for Bohigas to think about the country was also to think about the city; and to think about the city was also to think about the neighborhood, and then the house.[96] Within the house, the kitchen was for Bohigas the essential cell of both the subject and its social formation. For it was in such a private space of everyday living that values took hold around the institution of the family. For Bohigas, these were the values that ought to inform the idea of community and city life. The most important site for the development of family *and* of social values was thus the kitchen, which he considered to be the heart of a home. In focusing on the kitchen, Bohigas was already attempting that connection to the rural in urban housing design.

95 Oriol Bohigas, "Un urbanismo nuevo para una sociedad nueva," first published in 1953 and later also in Serra d'Ors in 1960. In his call for a new city as a social project, a parallel could be drawon with Henri Lefevre *The Right to the City* of 1967, and in deed the text echoes many of the ideas then discussed amongs the European avant-gardes with regards to urban developments and the critiques to State-led urbanization. Bohigas chose to republish it for *Carrer de la Ciutat* 1 (1978): 15-16, which speaks of the relevance of this text for him.

96 Oriol Bohigas, "Un urbanismo nuevo para una sociedad nueva," 15. See also Josep Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, et al. "Doorn Manifesto [1954], published in Ockman, ed, *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968*, 181-183.

The ways to embed the rural into the city and its surrounding region ought to go further, and Bohigas understood that the barraca served as both a formal and social embodiment of the collision between city and country, a synthesis far from perfected but still revealing for purposes of a consensual resolution of the city-country dyad to which he aspired. He elaborated on this in 1957 in the essay "Elogi de la barraca," published in the journal *Solidaridad Nacional* and soon after in his compilation of essays *Barcelona, Entre le Plan Cerdá I el barraquisme,* which cover aptly showed barracas against the background of modernist housing blocks **[Fig.4.28]**.[97] Contrary to the official subjugation of the barraca and its inhabitants, Bohigas did not reduce the slum to a symptom of moral degeneration or its dwellers to criminals. For Bohigas, the barraca was a vernacular and "immediate" solution to immigration, and the solution that best fit the needs of its users, who also built them.[98] As such, it held valuable lessons about the social and cultural dynamics that enabled the country migrant to be somewhat at ease in the city.

Getting to the source of the problem of housing and with a quasi-sociological approach, Bohigas asked in this essay: "What about the man who provokes the problem? The families who must address right now the urgent problem of finding their own roof, what are they like? What do they think about? How do they live?"[99] Together with an ironic critique of the various modes of urbanization around Barcelona and the prospects of functionalist urbanization, Bohigas called for learning from the barraca and identifying the "social value" they held as a way of rethinking the premises of modern city planning. He writes: "We believe that these real qualities of the slum neighborhoods could still serve as a lesson for our urbanists, so that they will come to understand

97 Oriol Bohigas, "elogi de la barraca," *Solidaridad Nacional*, January 27, 1957; re-published in *Barcelona. Entre el Pla Cerdá I el Barraquisme* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1963), 149-155.

98 Ibid, 149.

99 Ibid. In his critique of modernization and his emphasis on the user and his architecture as a natural reponse pt the needs, responses to which the architect failingly responds in aesthetiziced manner, Bohigas recalls Adolf Loos in "Architecture, " from 1910.

what must be the authentic foundation and sociological premises of a new neighborhood."[100] In this manner, Bohigas pointed to the binary aspect of the housing problem neglected in the larger discourse on slum demolition: it was not merely a matter of building new housing, however modernist the buildings might be, but about providing for ethical and social development.

And so Bohigas claimed, and made others believe, that the exposed brick, broken profile, pitched roof, and tight living quarters of Pallars fulfilled the purpose in speaking the language of the city inmigrant and giving them a space amenable for "family values" to take hold. For Bohigas, form itself reflected and made possible social aspirations, as these projected outward from the form of the kitchen to the form of the house and into the city—hence a humanist city. In formulating his argument, Bohigas culled from the Morphology of Culture of Eugeni d'Ors, discussed at length in chapter one and with whom he had a very close personal and intellectual relationship, as well as the Ruskinian ethics of craft and William Morris's associations of culture and materiality.[101] Presupposing an unambiguous connection between the design and materiality of the architecture and the life around it, Bohigas's approach to the social dimension of housing and urbanization was eminently formalist, one in which the honesty of the exposed brick would accommodate the honest worker. Pallars's workers would be decent workers and morally upright—provided their houses were as well.

But was brick enough? Could architecture simply transpose moral and social values from form to subject? As was the case with John Ruskin's argument on crafts and eithics in the face of ninenteeth century industrialization, Bohigas implications of the morphological associations reached further than the economics or technology of the construction itself, as Bohigas made it seem, and reached into the spiritual. Moreoever, it related to the ways in which the Church, as an institution, addressed the challenges brought about by urbanization and the provision of social services in the

100 Bohigas, "Elogi de la barraca,"155.

101 These issues were discussed in Barcelona by Nicholas Pevsner in 1951. The close personal and intellectual relationship between Eugeni d'Ors and Oriol Bohigas deserves closer inspection. Their voluminous epistolary relationship is manifest in Fons d'Ors, ANC.

city. A quick look at housing development elsewhere helps to shift the focus away from the d'Orsian argument that Bohigas endorsed and closer to a critical analysis of the institutional framework that sustained the social project of housing. In Paris as in Barcelona, the critique and abolition of slums preceded an aggressive process of housing and suburban development. Demolition of entire shanty quarters such as those of Montparnasse, Belleville, and Bercy, was central to a State-led urbanization process that was part of a redistribution of the population towards an industrial basis.[102] Kristin Ross, among others, has shown how this process was as much a sociopolitical project as an environmental one, where State-led initiatives were destined to aid in the formation of a new urban subject. Whereas Sert had overlaid his visions of the connection between built and social form with the lofty promises of healthy and liberative forms of living, once realized many soon became aware of the potential for social engineering behind functionalist architecture and city planning. In the case of France, Ross defined this process in terms of cultural colonization and the formation of a new, alienated, consumer subject.

While Ross has read the symptoms of the advent of this new subjectivity in literature and film, architectural historian Kenny Cupers has given body to the argument by looking closely at the built infrastructure within which this social project took effect. For Cupers, to understand the ways in which a new social order and an altogether new subjectivity emerged in postwar France, one must certainly look closely at the design and building of houses. But the matter cannot be reduced to houses, as it implied a broader redefinition of the notion of housing itself. This notion went from being considered a public service to being both a "right" and a "modern consumer product," a shift that accompanied the process of urbanization, and the conformation of ideas and spaces for private and public living. The latter concerned the building and redistribution of collective infrastructures—

102 Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 151.

from cultural centers to hospitals and kindergartens—that were located in the suburbs and facilitated particular forms of social life.[103] As Cupers has shown, it was these institutions and the expanded notion of housing, and not houses alone that "changed what it meant to be a Frenchman and an inhabitant."[104]

4.4 From (Catholic) Home to (Pious) City: Toward the Christianization of Society

What it meant to be a Spaniard and an inhabitant of a growing city during Franquismo was, though only implicit in Bohigas's argument, much the preoccupation of the Catholic Church. As noted in chapter one, the Church was the most influential institution in charge of social provisions at the time and where the State found an ally on issues of moral and social control. This alliance played out well in the official project of urbanization and social hygienization. For if the problem of barraquisme was at its core one of moral disintegration and a lack of ethics, who but the Church could best help restore morality? In its coverage of the "urban crisis" determined by informal housing, the media often referred to the work of local priests in slum quarters both in Madrid and Barcelona, where their "constant mission of the Christian apostolate" was seen as buttressing ethical standards and supporting uprooted families in their efforts to find their way into the city. Similarly to addressing the preaching role of grassroots priests in the migrant population, the resolution to the "crisis" of barraquisme was framed under the banner of charity, with the various official efforts to grapple with it referred to in terms of a "spirit of altruism and Christian charity." [105]

While the official campaign of giving legal and architectural form to migration was reframed as a Christian deed, the objective was to secure the Christianization of the emerging urban society. From the perspective of the Church, the challenge posited by rapid urbanization was to guarantee

103 Keny Cupers, "Designing Social Life: The Urbanism of the Grands Ensembles," *Positions* 1 (2010): 96.
104 Keny Cupers, *The Social Project. Housing Postwar France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), xx.
105 *La Vanguardia*, August 10 1949, 8; "Medidas del Ayuntamineto para resolver el problema de la barraca" *La Vanguardia*, March 29, 1950, 12.

that the new city dweller would be a morally correct and Catholic citizen. This was crucial to what William Callahan has termed the "religious reconquest" of the period, as discussed in chapter one of this dissertation. The problem of social Catholicization in the postwar period was particularly pressing in Catalonia, where traces of the social anticlericalism and political laicism of the Republican period had been particularly intense.[106] Observance in Spain also had a marked regional character, with the major cities having the lowest levels of religious practice and the decline in observance largely attributed to the effects of urban overpopulation.[107] The connotations of the "decent worker" cannot then be disassociated from those of the pious worker, with "decency" meaning to stand for an observant family man.

The Diocese of Barcelona was particularly aggressive in mobilizing architecture for purposes of pastoral reconstruction. Architectural historian Checa Martin Aratasus has detailed the ways in which Bishop Gregorio Modrego y Casaus of Barcelona sought to reactivate Catholicism by reprogramming the city and its architecture. For Modrego, the Church should reposition itself as the framework for any and all social events, ranging from mass events that utilized the city as a stage for feverous popular gatherings to everyday life activities of leisure and education.[108] In this association of religion and society outside of the realm of the church proper, Modrego worked within the parameters of Acción Católica (Catholic Action). This was a lay organization with roots in the nineteenth century popular associations of Catholics that had emerged throughout Europe in reaction to anti-clerical regimes. Under the direction of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, Acción Católica was largely dedicated to pedagogical and charitable activities, mostly at the parish level.[109] While also related to the Catholic reform movement, Acción Católica sought to redirect the Church's aims,

106 Martín Checa Artasus, "La Diocesis de Barcelona en la Posguerra: Entre la reconstruccion de edificios religiosos y la promoción inmobiliaria" in *Barcelona-Montreal: desarrollo urbano comparado* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1998), 436.

107 Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 474.

108 Checa Artasus, "La Diocesis de Barcelona en la Posguerra," 438.

109 Ibid, 113-116.

rhetoric, and morals more toward social engagement, in contrast to the spiritual and professional approach defining Opus Dei. Across Europe, the postwar period was one of heightened relevance for the orientation represented by Acción Católica, and in Spain it became the only forum besides Falange for socially oriented initiatives, including workers' associations.[110]

Modrego soon identified housing as a crucial field of action for his purposes. This was the subject matter of his pastoral letter of January 8, 1949, titled "A Serious and Urgent Problem: The Lack of Housing."[111] In it, he began by calling for "Catholic sense" to confront "with exemplary magnamnity" what he defined as the most "dreadful" problem of the time: the loss of "moral, social, and hygienic" order in the "misery of barracas." From the perspective of the Church, the most dramatic loss was of course that of traditional family values. Modrego noted how lack of proper housing implied either that "marriages had to wait" or that families lived in injurious and presumptively immoral conditions, in which "a couple might live in an extremely reduced space with their eight children."[112] Modrego accepted that the situation was not unlike that found elsewhere in Europe, but also thought that Spain ought to spend a greater effort addressing the problem, "given that it is a Catholic country." For him, deficient housing was not merely a social problem; it was a "lacra social" (social blemish), or a sign of collective moral viciousness.

In response, Bishop Modrego called for an ecumenical campaign whereby "State, Cities, Public and private corporations, industrial and commercial entities, banks, and individuals" ought to direct resources to solving the housing problem. For instance, he likened the "full, efficient use" of housing laws to "Christian labor," and applauded the factory owners who found ways to accommodate their workers. In this way, Modrego recast housing development as a religious

110 Gómez Pérez, *EL Franquismo y la Iglesia*, 231-233.
111 Transcribed in *La Vanguardia*, January 11, 1949, 7.
112 Ibid

commitment. The aim of his pastoral letter was to overlay the housing crisis with Catholic ethics and righteousness, making the resolution of the crisis a religious task:

> Our aim is to provoke a sense of pious concern in the consciousness of all of our Catholics, to whom God Our Lord gave abundant means of fortune, with the purpose that each and everyone seize a solution to the urgent problem of housing, which must be perceived as an urgent and grave obligation, and fulfill it with generosity.[113]

The Affordable Housing Competition described above followed soon thereafter, and must be interpreted as in part a response to Modrego's call to arms on the part of the architectural community. This much was made clear in the catalogue edited by Bohigas, which opened with a foreword by the director of the Colegio, Ros I Vila, that denounced the "promiscuity" proper to barraca living. Under these circumstances, he wrote, "family life is reduced to the satisfaction of material needs, and thus the Christian home disappears."[114] Architect Giralt Casadesús, one of the participants and second place winner, later put the underlying cause for the competition in this way: "Cheap housing dispensed with moral values. Those minimum dwellings with folding beds that turned bedrooms into dining rooms… those are places where the Christian home did not exist."[115] At stake in the competition, then, was the restoration of living conditions appropriate for Catholic family life to develop. Architects were thus subject to the "moral duty" not only of providing housing for the poor, but also of securing "family life [so that it could] develop [there]."[116] The point was not only to design modernist housing but also to provide for Christian homes.

Ros i Vila went on to enumerate the technical aspects needed to increase housing production that would constitute the bulk of the proposals—from questions of land ownership and financial models to defining efficient material and technical solutions for rapid construction. But placed above the technicalities, technologies, economics, and politics of the problem of housing were spiritual

113 Ibid.

114 J.M Ros i Vila, Epilogue to "El problema de la vivienda," 1.

115 Carlos Sambricio, "Punto de inflexión 1946-1956: viviendas sociales para la clase media," *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales* 161·162 (2009): 522.

116 Ros i Vila, "El problema de la vivienda," 1.

consequences.[117] Ros i Vila's impassioned apologia for the Christian home was followed by a short introductory text that may have been written by Bohigas, as he was one of the editors and its language echo his contemporary essays discussed above. An acute translator of Ros i Vila's message into architectural details, the author emphasizes that housing ought to sustain the family as "the authentic fundamental [institution] that structures society," thus fulfilling a spiritual function. He quickly but effectively draws a link between spirituality and family values on the one hand, and the "concept of Man" on the other, calling upon architects to take a "human" approach to housing design. As he wrote:

> A home is not merely a medium of defense against the environment; it has an additional important spiritual function. The problem of affordable housing cannot be considered from an economic perspective alone. We must above all reveal a fundamental human preoccupation. We will not solve the problem if we do not maintain and stimulate the essential values of fairness in every single affordable house.[118]

To "focus on the whole human aspect" implied attention not only to the material conditions of life, but also to a moral order that complied with the "precepts of Christian ethics."[119] As with the broader anxieties manifest in Expo 58 regarding global mechanization, the conflation between spirit and man was here made rather seamlessly. The challenge was to design for "man" and with a "humanist prject in sight, that is, to design on a human scale and taking into consideration who "man" was and what he wanted. These were, at core, Bohigas's questions in *Elogi de la barraca*, as quoted above. But they appear to have been rather rhetorical questions, as he already presumed the answer to them. In tune to the larger discourse on housing, Bohigas' subject was also the country migrant who was undergoing the process of becoming an observant family man and a decent worker.

117 "The problem is of such magnitude that surpasses the fileds of technology, economy, and society and affects the spiritual." Ibid.

118 Bohigas, et al. "Estudio social del problema de la vivienda en relacion con las zonas afectadas por el mismo. Concepto humano del problema," Ibid,2.

119 Ibid

If Bishop Modrego provided moral directives for the competition, he was also an acute witness of its outcome. Soon after the competition winners were announced in November of 1949, an exhibition of the proposals opened at the Colegio's headquarters. The picture of the event published in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* shows Modrego looking carefully at the drawings, listening to Ros i Vila's explanation, possibly of the ways in which the designs favored a decorous family life **[Fig.4.29]**. Modrego's interest went beyond mere curiosity, as he continued to elaborate a response to barraquisme from the perspective of the dioceses. A little over a month after attending the exhibition, he published a second pastoral letter on the topic titled, "Housing, Bread, and Work," in which he insisted on "uncontrolled immigration" as the most urgent "social and spiritual crisis" for the growing city. Denouncing the "nefarious consequences on the level of morality produced by insufficient housing and the insufficiency of housing," Modrego thus pointed to the need for both quantity and quality in what he regarded as unfavorable living conditions, a notion he surely had discussed with architects.[120]

In the following year, Modrego moved from message to action by founding the Asociación Católica de Dirigentes (Association of Catholic Leaders). Answering to concurrent Vatican calls to redefine the role of businessmen in postwar society, and enlist them in the mission of the Church, Modrego championed this association of Catalan industrialists and businessmen, whose explicit aim was obtaining economic and institutional support for building new housing.[121] More than Governor Baeza and later the 1954 Housing Law, Modrego efficiently mobilized private capital for the provision of social housing, as suggested in the Affordable Housing Competition. After all, his project was back up by the Church's moral authority. The Association of Catholic Leaders later became the Patronato de las Viviendas del Congreso Eucarístico (Eucharistic Congress Housing Board), representing 73

120 Boletín Oficial del Obispado de Barcelona, Januray 31, 1949, op. cit. *La Vanguardia,* January 10, 1949.

121 Martí Checa Artasus, "Viviendas para empresas y catolicos: el caso del Patronato de las Viviendas del Congreso"in *Habitatge obrer i colonies industrials a la península Ibérica*. Actas 2005 (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008), 337.

Catalan companies that funded and oversaw the building of low-cost housing under the leadership of Modrego.[122] Among them was the company Metales Ribera y Plateria, the owners of Can Culleres and commissioners of the Pallars housing bloc. Modrego had famously announced the formation of the Patronato in his pastoral letter of November 1951 titled, "Conclusions of the International Eucharistic Congress: Housing." The context was the impending celebration in Barcelona of the Thirty-fifth International Eucharistic Congress, an important event for the Church that gathered clergy of all ranks and laity for several days in open-air masses and other ceremonies held between May 27 and June 1 of 1952 **[Fig.4.30]**. The Vatican's selection of Barcelona for the first event of this type after World War II and convened under the rubric of "Eucharistics and Peace," was crucial in the negotiations by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to secure the Vatican Concordat in 1953, noted in the previous chapter as a key to the regime's international realignments.[123] For the purposes of Modrego, however, the Congress represented an opportunity for the Church to tackle the urban cleansing of Barcelona, prepare the city for the arrival of a multitude of pious visitors from all over the Catholic world, and fold religious devotion into its citizens.

Widely covered in *La Vanguardia* as the most significant urban promotion spanning well over a decade, Viviendas del Congreso left its mark in the Barcelona landscape with over 30, 000 units, most of them in the area known as Can Ros, and which design by architect Josep Soteras largely followed the modernist model of the open block with cross ventilation and green areas around **[Fig.4.31-32]**.[124] The Viviendas del Congreso was arguably the most pragmatic episode in the establishment of a particular notion of housing during the Franquista period, one where housing was

122 Ibid, 338.

123 For an instance of the propaganda allowed for by the congress in positioning Spain as a "remant of peace in a world of war, " see NoDO.

124 Martí Checa Artasus, "Viviendas para empresas y católicos," 339-341. Soteras was the quasi official architect of the Eucharistic Congress, and also designed the outdoor alatar for the event that was subject of the debate on modernist reliious architecture at the time in the architectural media, see for instance *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. His housing design follwed from many of the ideas put forth in the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition as well as those presented in 1950 in the International Congress of Urbanism that was also held in Barcelona.

framed not as a right but as a spiritual need, and an object to aid in the overall religious definition of the country. This message at least was projected onto architects. On February 1, 1956, the Minister of Labor, José Antonio Girón addressed them on this issue rather publically, on the national radio. In a speech that was primarily concerned with the wages of workers in the building industry, Girón not only framed the house as the core of Catholic society, but also admonished architects as to their responsibility in the matter as being eminently religious. As he said with regards to the provision of housing:"[Spain] entrusts you with a task that is more than technical. It is a sacred one. Never before has such a responsibility fallen on a human group."[125]

Neither housing alone nor architects' efforts to approach housing design, as a sacred task was enough to ensure the Catholicization of the new city dweller. Bishop Modrego suspected as much, as he accompanied his housing plan with an ambitious expansion of parish districts across the city, creating 160 new parish districts and building anew or restoring over 300 ecclesiastical buildings.[126] The point was not only to house workers in appropiate conditions, but also to construct new urban communities and tighten them around the Church. Religion historian William Callahan has noted how parish expansion in the cities was decisive in restoring the social role of the Church, also as the regime reacted to the weakening of parochial organizations across Spain since the late nineteenth century. In Madrid, the number of parish districts went from 13 in 1939 to 56 in 1960, and reached 316 six years later.[127] The objective, as put by the Bishop of Valencia, was to "provide for the great masses who are lacking in spiritual assistance."[128] This spiritual assistance came under the disguise of communal, educational, and even medical services. Turned into what Callahan has termed "social agencies," parishes would expand beyond the Church proper to provide for these

125 "Importante discurso radiado por el ministro de Trabajo," *ABC*, February 1, 1956, 15.
126 Checa Artasus, "La diocesis de Barcelona," 436.
127 Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 447.
128 Ibid.

services in auditoriums for concerts and other cultural events, classrooms, and meetings rooms for neighborhoods associations, and in some cases even clinics.[129] The Church thus positioned the parish as both an institution infusing meaning into everyday life and as a built infrastructure charged with facilitating a sense of quotidian order. In so doing, the parish performed its function as a form of social evangelism.

The relevance of the parish in the expansion of the urban fabric was not lost on architects, and certainly not on Bohigas. Returning to my argument in the first chapter, I wish here to recall the uncanny connection between the ubiquitous debate on the modernization of ecclesiastic architecture that I discussed in relation to the Camino Chapel, with housing renewal and urban development. One of Carlos de Miguel's Sesiónes Críticas, which took place three years after the one that revolved around the Camino Chapel in February 1955, focused equally on the dilemmas posed by the modernization of religious architecture. Held on February 28, 1958, the keynote speaker was Bishop Francisco Peralta Billabriga, prelate of Vitoria and whom de Miguel had invited to discuss his initiative for creating eight new parishes for his diocese. Speaking to a room full of architects, Peralta noted the transition of Vitoria into an industrial city and explained his project for founding and building new parishes serving as "public" institutions that could secure "the integration into religious life of those thousands of Spaniards that migration brings us every year."[130]

For this purpose, the new parishes ought to fulfill a triple function as Peralta saw it. First, as a place for cult; second, as a place for community life where the parish would become the heart of a neighborhood and the place where "Christian charity becomes most effective"; and third, as the point of departure for broader evangelization, with the parish being "the center from which to set off

129 Ibid

130 "Sesion Crítica de Arquitectura. Las Nuevas Parroquias de Vitoria," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 196 (1958): 2.

the conquest of souls for the Kingdom of God."[131] Programmatically, the new parishes were to include a church, which would be the heart of the complex, as well as several classrooms, an auditorium, and living quarters and offices for the clergy. Peralta began by selecting a few of the sites on vacant sections of new housing blocks in the suburban expansion, where the new parishes shared with them common boundary walls. As he explained in the Sesión Crítica, he then called in José Manuel de Aguilar for advice regarding the design. Aguilar was a Dominican priest who had recently founded the *Movimiento de Arte Sacro*, an association born out of the intense debate on the renewal of religious arts and liturgy that had brought together clergymen and lay intellectuals, including architect Ramón Vázquez Molezún and the philosopher José María Villaverde, for exhibitions, design initiatives, and publications.[132] For the purposes of the Vitoria Parish program, Aguilar helped Peralta polish the design requirements. They asked first for "modernity" in the design that would situate it appropriately in relation to the industrial city. As Peralta put it: "If the new city is the result of its time, parish design must from the very beginning also pay tribute to the art of our time."[133]

The second requirement pertained to the user. As noted in chapter one, the liturgical functionalism proper to the Catholic reform movement looked to redefine the members of a congregation as protagonists in, and not mere spectators of, the liturgy, favoring the embodiment of the religious experience over its symbolism. Taking this emphasis on the user from the intimate scale of a church and the individual experience of mass into the scale of the city meant that the parish ought to "recreate the long-lost community life of the faithful." For Peralta, this provision and recreation of community was specific to the uprooted country migrant. In its design, the parish ought to both welcome such a person into the city, but also protect and isolate him from its dangers and alienating ways. Peralta thus urged architects to "look for the ways through which, with these new

131 Ibid.

132 Most significant was the foundation of the journal *ARA* in 1964, in the footsptes of *L'Art Sacre*.

133 "Sesion Crítica de Arquitectura. Las Nuevas Parroquias de Vitoria,"2.

parishes, man will not get lost or distracted, but rather enter with all of his brothers into the life of the community."[134] A final and related point had to do with the aesthetics of the design, and more specifically with the image and values the parish ought to project. In order to echo "religious truth" and the social aims of the Church, particularly in a time of harsh economic conditions, Peralta asked architects to deploy materials with "austerity and authenticity," to design with "absolute simplicity" and avoid "theatricality."[135]

Following Aguilar's advice, in 1957 Peralta commissioned the designs of four parishes to promising young architects who he believed could best respond to their premises. These were, unsurprisingly for us at this point, Miguel Fisac, the team of Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vazquez-Molezún, Alejandro de la Sota, and the team of Javier Carvajal and Jose María García de Paredes. Through their designs and brief descriptions of the projects later published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, they all revealed the maturity of the debate on the modernization of religious architecture, as prescribed by Aguilar and, as seen in chapter one, in place since d'Ors' 1939 International Exhibition of Sacred Art. In 1958, the designs and descriptions by Fisac and Sota focused on the ways in which the inside of the churches were meant to configure the experience of the mass**.** Fisac's distinct use of indirect lighting and interplay between the two walls converged toward a raised altar in an elevating procession of sorts **[Fig.4.33-34]**. Similarly for Sota, a rather conventional rectangular warehouse-like container was meant to "give form to a [religious] feeling" through an ascending ground floor and clerestory lighting **[Fig.4.35-37]**.[136] Perhaps in a hint to the Camino Chapel, Sota covered the space with a triangular spatial steel structure surrounded in glass, which he drew as a disappearing ceiling in his sketches of the project, and referred to as providing for a "free

134 Ibid.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid, 4.

ambience of total light."[137] The teams of Corrales and Molezún and Carvajal and García de Paredes placed less emphasis on the phenomenology of the interior of the church than on the materiality of its construction, with the latter team remarking on their use of exposed brick for purposes of "absolute simplicity" and "modesty," and Corrales and Molezún stressing their "sober and economic" design and building system **[Fig.4.38-39]**.[138]

If these add little more than designed evidence to the maturity of the debate opened by the Camino Chapel in 1955, two aspects were novel in the 1958 conversation, namely, those of threading the discussion of modernist religious architecture into that of urbanization, and the idea that the Church was an institution looking to insert itself into the urban environment. The architect and priest Gaspar Blein, who attended the Sesión as a commentator, articulated the most determined response to Peralta's presentation in this regard. Involved in debates and design of both religious architecture (he had invited Fisac to give his first lecture on the topic in 1948) and affordable housing (he directed an association for self-help housing and was a speaker on the topic at the Fifth National Assembly), Blein was well positioned to reflect on the intersection between religious architecture and housing development. The challenge in the design of a parish, as he put it, was to redefine the Catholic Church partly in terms of new urban conditions. For Blein, the repositioning of the Church in the city was not only a question of strategic program and location, but was also one of aesthetics. For Blein, the program, location, and image of the parish ought to aid in the task of evangelization by "shepherding in" a congregation. For this purpose, the architecture ought to make itself legible and amiable to those around it.[139]

According to Blein, the proposed designs touched on this parishioner and urbans aspects rather marginally, as their composition and use of materials kept one wondering, "Where is the

137 Ibid, 5.

138 Ibid, 6.

139 Gaspar Blein, "Response," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 197 (1958): 1-4.

Church?"[140] The exception was, somewhat unsurprisingly, Fisac's project, which was also praised by others at the Sesión as most favorable. Besides his church space, Fisac proposed a somewhat picturesque composition of semi-independent pavilions, each dimensioned according to need and concatenated around the perimeter of the site, which again was a lot that cut into an existing housing block. The site being triangular in shape, Fisac placed the complex's two main buildings—the church and the auditorium—opposite each other on a diagonal and connected to each other through the secondary pavilions. The complex enclosed a plaza that opened onto the street via a covered walkway. The spatial tension created by the two larger volumes was mitigated by the smaller constructions, while the fluid geometry of the composition in opening inward was meant to "break the monotony" of the city street that resulted from the housing blocks[141] With the various volumes in exposed brick and inclined *teja* roofs, the complex was presided over by a free-standing sleek bell tower situated in the center of the plaza and built of reinforced exposed concrete. Like Sota in his use of bare concrete block and Corrales and Molezún in their use of brick, Fisac followed Peralta's request to deploy "humble" materials in an "honest" way—what is to say as exposed raw material. The point for Fisac was not only to embody the ascetic and humble values of Catholicism through the use of particular materials, but also to establish a direct and "harmonious" relationship with the housing projects around the church. This, perhaps, would establish a link with its inhabitants. The parish demanded only that the same materials used for housing be deployed with a certain "singularity," if not a full-blown monumentality.

Peralta's Vitoria parish program was partially brought to fruition, with only Carvajal's and Fisac's churches eventually being built and the latter without the parish complex **[Fig 1.48-4.40].** If not through its physical presence in Vitoria, the program took on a more significant public life in the

140 Blein deemed Corrales y Molezún's interior as a hotel lobby, and Sota's as a luminous gymnasium, Ibid, 4.
141 "Sesion Critica de Arquitectura. Las Nuevas Parroquias de Vitoria," 7.

realm of cultural promotion, as the models of the various projects became spearheads of the modernization of architecture and the Church itself. Following de Miguel's Sesión Crítica, Aguilar included the models in the exhibition "Continuity in Sacred Art" held in the Sala Catalina of the Ateneo in Madrid.[142] Speaking to the regime's sanctioning of the program and its aspirations, the show was commissioned by the Ministry of Information and reported on the State film magazine, No-Do, across the country as paradigmatic of the Church's leap into modernity **[Fig.4.41]**.[143] After Madrid, the Vitorial parish models travelled to Barcelona, where Bohigas included them in what would be the last exhibition organized by the *Grup R*, in the Layetana Gallery in June 1958; in July, the Vitoria Parish projects were part of an exhibition in Zaragoza meant to coincide with the *First National Week on the Parish*; and in August they were shown in Leon as part of the *First National Week on Sacred Art* **[Fig.4.42]**.[144]

By then, the project list had expanded with two more of Fisac's churches, including the celebrated Valladolid Church, as described in chapter three; the Chapel for the Aquinas Student Residence in Madrid by Rafael de la Hoz and Jose María Garcia de Paredes; the Church of Saint Jaume by Antonio de Moragas in Barcelona **[Fig.4.43]**; and a model for a church by Bohigas and Martorell, most likely for the Church du Redemptor in Barcelona that they built soon after **[Fig.4.44-45].** A warehouse-like container in the middle of the city fabric and part of an existing parish, the church was built in exposed brick and bare concrete beams with a pitched roof on wood trusses. In this, the building both echoed the construction of the Pallars housing block and interpreted the contemporary discourse on the modernization of religious architecture alongside a social-oriented narrative**.** In 1957, Bohigas also participated of the publication in Barcelona of the *Anuario de Arte Sacro***,** where

142 *Continuidad del Arte Sacro*, Ateneo, Madrid, March 30-April 21 1958, Catalogue (Madrid: Movimiento de Arte Sacro and Minsiterio de Informacion y Turismo, 1958)

143 NoDo,no_796B, año XVI (April 1958)

144 *I Semana nacional de arte sacro,* Leon, August 15-20, 1958, Catalogue and Normas directivas published by Comision Nacionla Organizadora.; *I Semana de la Parroquia*, Zaragoza, July 10-17 1958. A review of the art exhibition for the latter is in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 32 (1958): 42.

he articulated his take on modern religious architecture. For him, a parish church ought to provide little more than a space for congregation, a structure that ought to be "legible to the community and provider of a social service."[145] Engaging directly with Fisac's ideas, Bohigas deemed his approach to church design as "theatrical," since Fisac's sense of phenomenological space was not all that fitting for the social purposes of religioun. In its effort to carry the body into an experience of spiritualism, as Bohigas saw it, Fisac's architecture was nothing short of expressionist. In this, it was not humble and sincere enough. For Bohiga*s* the church assumed a social bent rather than a sensorial and spiritual character, but retained the notion of its architecture as purveyor of truth. For Bohigas, the means to the humbleness and "honesty" that the Church ought to promote was in the use of local materials, lack of ornament, and eschewing of monumentality.[146] This was manifest in the Church du Redemptor, as well of a church in San Sebastian de Verdum, designed in 1960 and following a similar composition but built in concrete block **[Fig.4.46].**

In this way, the architecture could be of and for its congregation—that is to say, though implicit, for the new city dweller. As put by one reviewer of the Zaragoza exhibition, the religious projects of these various architects represented an effort made to "face the new man [who] is troubled by pure ornament and fiction and prefers the truth and nakedness of life."[147] Tellingly, the Zaragoza event expanded the debate that Peralata Billabriga had initiated in Vitoria on the social and physical aspects of the parish, and the various types of parishes in relation to the urban condition.

145 Oriol Bohigas, "La arquitectura religiosa en España," in *Anuario de Arte Sacro*, ed. by Fernando Roig (Barcelona: Aymá Sociedad Anonima Editora, 1957), 15. The publication includes also a text by Jose maria Sostres, "El templo católico de nuestro tiempo," which ideas Bohigas largely echoes.

146 Bohigas, "La arquitectura religiosa en España," 17.

147 Alfonso Roig, "Arte Sacro Español, en Zaragoza," *Blanco y Negro*, July 19, 1958, 63. Roig, like Aguilar, draws directly from Eugeni d'Ors in his review, and his extensive and influential writing on religious art of the period. The Zaragoza event is significant as it continues the debate, and makes rather more public, Peralata Billabriga's ideas on the social and physical aspects of the parish, and the various types of parishes in reltion to the urban condition, with architects and artists crucial participants of the debate alongside memnerd of the clergy. "Se ha iniciado en Zaragoza la I Semana Naciona de la Parroquia, " *La Vanguardia*, April 15, 1958, 5.

The debate summoned as much architects as it did members of the clergy.[148] This on-going conversation culminated in the *Conversations on Religious Architecture*, a three-day event celebrated in Barcelona in October of 1963. Funded and published by the main institution behind Viviendas del Congreso, the Patronato Municipal de la Vivienda, a large part of the conference was dedicated to debating the role of the parish as an instrument of "urban sociology" in the growing city. Bohigas was one amongst the participants. He emphasized the role of church and architecture as a social services and called to make no distinction between religious and non-religious architecture, for he saw the symbolic value of the former as irrelevant in the face of the changing times.[149] It was to the new city man looking to identify with his parishioners to whom Bohigas' architecture—religious or otherwise—intended to speak.

The echoes between Bohigas's narrative of realism and that of the modernization of church architecture and of the Catholic Church itself, serves here merely to illustrate the fact that the housing question went hand-in-hand with the transformation of the State-Church alliance. More specifically, it related to the challenges of industrial urbanization and the transition of the peasent into the city worker, as these would be adressed through the institution of the parish. In the end, the elision in Bohigas's formulations on religious architecture and on architectural realism reads as a symptom of the holistic approach to religious and cultural reform during the Franquista period, or, of the inevitability of religion at the point in time, so to speak. As Bohigas later ackowledged, his intellectual project and left-leaning ideals toward the social and material aspects of architecture were only possible within the confines of Catholicism.[150] For one, the institution of the Church reached almost all spheres of culture. In Catalunya, this included the more progressive intellectuals

148 "Se ha iniciado en Zaragoza la I Semana Naciona de la Parroquia, " *La Vanguardia*, April 15, 1958, 5.

149 *Conversaciones de Arquitectura Religiosa* (Barcelona: Patronato and COAB, 1963), especially the first session on the parish, 11-66, and bohigas lecture in 69-77.

150 Oriol Bohigas in conversation with the author, 2012.

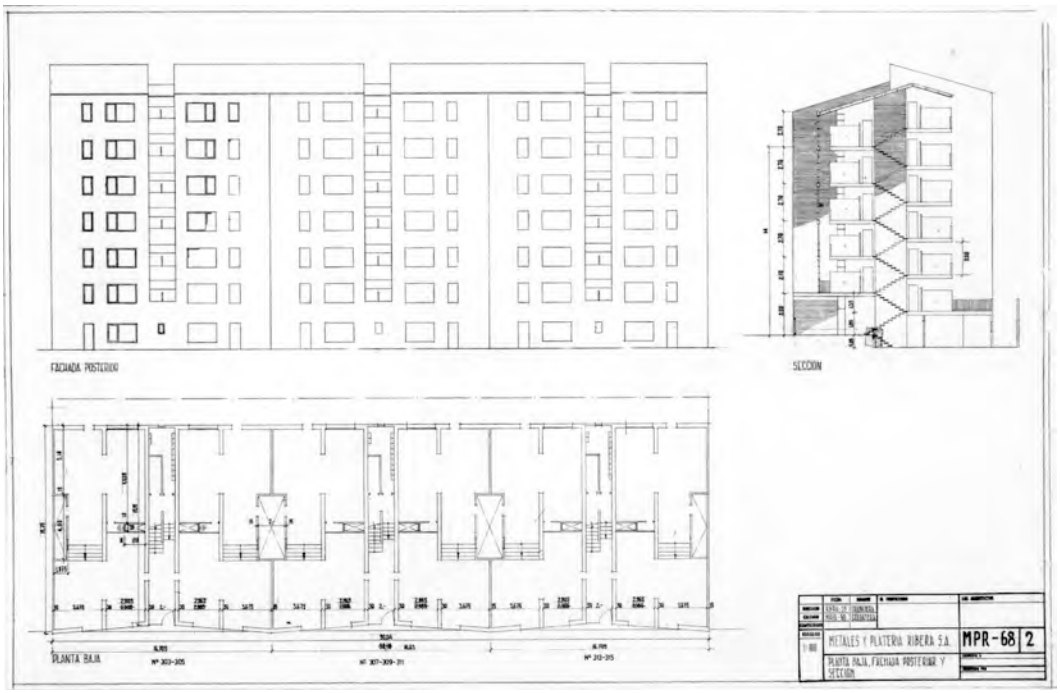
and also grounded the anti-regime nationalist project. Bohigas devised his discourse on the social value of architecture not only through the design of workers housing, but alos and relatedly, through his design of churches and his participation of debates on religious architecture. Moroever, he was aonly able to articualte his theory of realism within a religious institution. *Serra d'Or*, where he published his early essays on realism between 1959 and 1963, was the publication of the Benedictine Abbey in Montserrat, in Catalunya. A stronghold of Catalanidad, this was the very same center of religious reform that d'Ors and Santiago Marco had highlighted in the 1939 Exhibition.[151]

More urgently with regards to the "housing question," both affordable housing and parish design were ultimately destined not to speak to the man-in-the-street in order to offer a critique of the here and now, as Bohigas liked to put it. Parishes as much as housing blocks were meant to speak the language of the man-in-the-street in order to help him conform to city living as per an ideal subjectivity: the pious family man and the decent worker. These various exhibitions and debates on the modern parish in the summer of 1958 were aimed at normalizing the modernization of the church not only at the liturgical, aesthetic and technological levels, but also at the social level. Bohigas, amongs the others involved in these events, was both explicit and implicit in quoting the d'Ors of 1939 in this regard. Here, we come full circle with the events and ideas with which I opened this dissertation in chapter one. By 1963, discussions around the directions of religious architecture

151 In late 1959 there was a merger of two publications within the abbey, one leading with the abbey's workers affairs and the other with cultural reviews manly of religious topics. The journal produced roughly 8000 copies a month and was structured so that sections on literature and linguistics, history and archeology, theater, economics, art, music, and one on "design, architecture and urbanism" followed the main subject matter on religion, covered in a section titled "Cronicas del Mundo Católico." Bohigas was a member of the editorial board and was responsible for the design section. The topic gradually gained relevance within the debates of the magazine, to the extent of it being centerpiece in a series of special issues such as the March of 1962 issue on urbanism and Barcelona and the October 1964 on the question of pedagogy in the School of Architecture. *Serra d'Or* was as close as one could get to an independent magazine on architecture before the mid-1960s. Essentially interdisciplinary, it located architecture amid cultural, economic and social developments. More importantly, it acted as a decantation chamber for Bohigas' ideas. Since the late 1940s he had pursued his role as a critic writing in various other journals and newspapers about the problems of the city, housing, and the vicissitudes of modernist architecture. But it was arguably not untill these ideas found a context in *Serra d'Or* that they take a theoretical dimension. The journal summoned the progressive members of the region's intelligentsia and, due to its Church credentials, was somewhat of a censorship-shelter as manifest in its publishing in Catalan that was banned at the time. Carme Ferré-Pavia, "Intel-lectualitati cultura resistents. Serra d'Or 1959-1977," *folios* 26 (2011): 111-128.

and of Catholicism went hand in hand with adressing the challenges of industrialization, the growth of the city, housing provision, and the advent of the urban subject. That was, as we may recall, the ultimate purpose of d'Ors' International Exhibition of Sacred Art in 1939, which he had envisioned as only the first of a series that would include subsequent exhibitions on the House and the City. Through a cross-informed reconfiguration of religious, domestic, and urban spaces, d'Ors aspired to no less than to devise a form of city and social life under the rubric of a renewed Culture; a Catholic Culture that would in turn serve as the foundation of the regime. In answering the call to relocate God in the city by means of the "housing question," the work of architects two decades later carried on this same twofold redefinition of Catholicism and Franquismo and, with it, of the conception of their social subjects.

Fig.4.1: Exterior view. Pallars Housing Block for workers of Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, 1959, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.



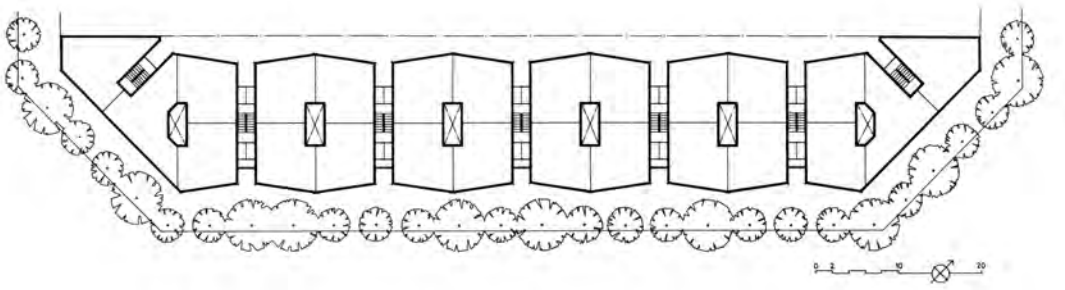


Fig.4.2: General plans. Pallars Housing Block for workers of Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, 1959, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.

Fig.4.3: Exterior view, detail of entrance and terrace screen. Pallars Housing Block for workers of Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, 1959, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.

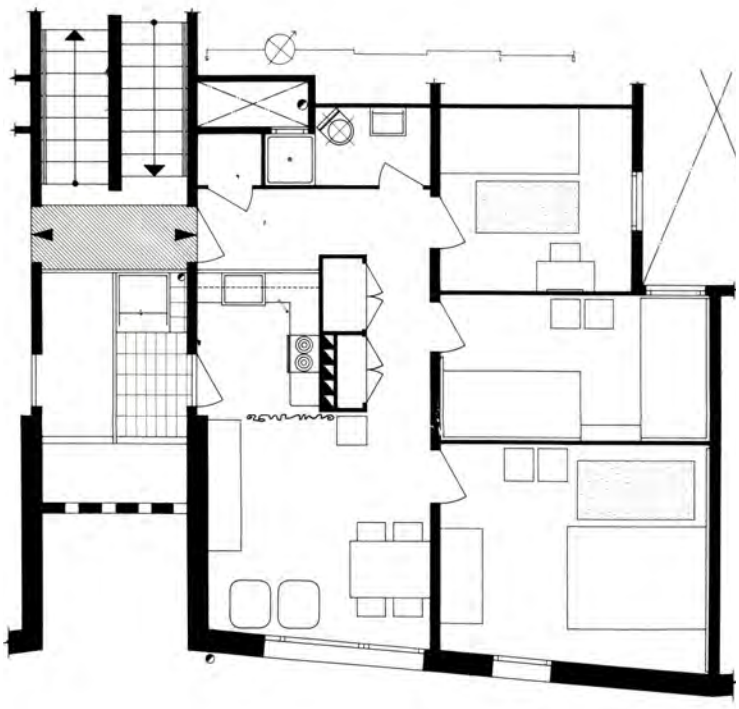


Fig.4.4: Unit plan. Pallars Housing Block for workers of Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, 1959, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.

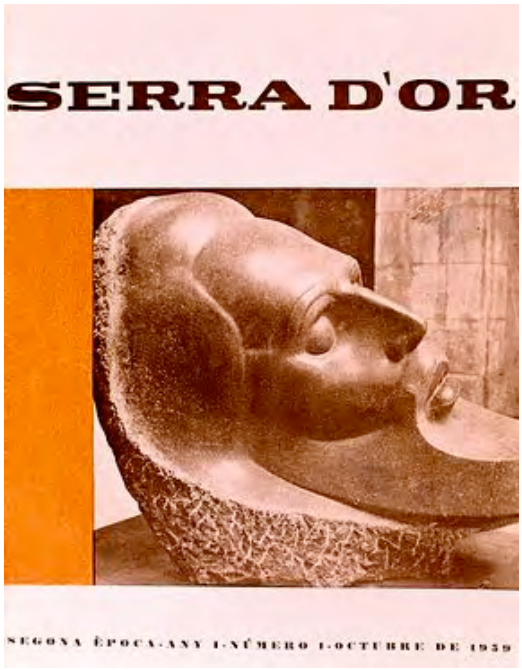
Fig.4.5: Interior view of model unit, looking toward the kitchen from the living area. Pallars Housing Block for workers of Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, 1959, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.

Fig.4.6: Interior views of model unit, bedroom (above) and living area (below). Pallars Housing Block for workers of Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, 1959, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.

Fig.4.7: Poster, Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona. Popularly know as Can Culleres.

Fig.4.8: Aerial view of factory Metales y Plateria Ribera, Poblenou, Barcelona, to the abck of the image is the site for the Pallars Housing Block.

Fig.4.9: Exterior view and floorplan of unit. Roger de Flor Housing Block, Barcelona, 1954-58, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep María Martorell.



DISSENY • ARQUITECTURA • URBANISME

CAP A UNA ARQUITECTURA REALISTA

La nova polèmica

És evident que l'evolució de l'arquitectura es troba encara en un punt transcendental, en un moment que, si no fos pel risc pessimista de la paraula, en diríem un moment de crisi. Creure que l'arquitectura ha arribat a una situació estable dirmatiu una manera greu d'informació de tot el que en aquesta moment passa arreu del món. O una resignació excessiva davant el fet que Catalunya sembla atènyer avui aquella ingènua unanimitat d'estil que Europa va assolir abans de la guerra i que avui ja ha trencat d'una manera rotunda. Sortosament, però, aquesta unanimitat no existeix ni a Catalunya, malgrat les seves actuals limitacions. A Catalunya, més o menys soterrada, però amb valors tan intensos com en d'altres països o més, la polèmica és també viva. Cada dia semblen definir-se més clarament dos moms contraposats dins l'abnegada i valuosíssima lluita de l'arquitectura moderna. Ara fa poques setmanes, la inauguració del nou Col·legi d'Arquitectes a Barcelona ha actualitzat la polèmica. Entre la gent de l'ofici, entre els aabticament interessats per l'arquitectura, les discussions no han pas voltat inútilment sobre el fet si l'edifici havia d'adoptar les formes dites tradicionals, o si convenia una determinada referència arqueològica, com hauria estat fa uns quants anys. Avui la polèmica ha girat sobre les diferents posicions de la nova arquitectura, posicions que poden haver quedat molt paleses en el mobliament i el disseny de l'interior dels diferents pisos de l'edifici, encarregats a diversos arquitectes de molt diferent sutisació i, fins i tot, de posicions francament contraposades.

Els protagonistes de la polèmica

Aquesta crisi és tan intensa arreu del món, que ha provocat escissions tan importants com la ja famosa d'Otterlò que va pronoure la desaparició dels venerables CIAM, després de tants anys d'actuació eficaç, després de portar abnegadament la continuïtat i la unitat de tot el moviment modern. La presència a la reunió del Museu Kröller-Müller de l'obra de l'equip B.B.P.R. o de Magistretti, era ja un fet tan polèmic, que va provocar una esquerda definitiva i incurable. Ara ens sembla ben clar que la presència de l'"arquitectura orgànica", fa uns quants anys, no fou sinó un pròleg i potser una visió fragmentària de la poesa de posicions d'avui, ja gairebé irreconciliables. Revistes com "Casabella" i "L'Architettura" llancen menysalment un manifest d'inconformisme contra les posicions tecnicament tradicionals de "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui" o "Bauen + Wonen", "Architectural Review", pel seu cantó, va introduint tota una nova mentalitat en els judicis arquitectònics i es mou en uns criteris justíssim, contra els formalismes i els amaneraments. Precisament un dels seus editors, el professor Nikolaus Pevsner, ens ajurrein com un dels crítics més representatius d'aquest moment de crisi: a ell devem la primera actualització dels moviments de la fi de segle i, per tant, l'admiració subconscient que tots sentim per l'"Art Nouveau" o "Arts and Crafts". Però, al mateix temps, és el més qualificat condemnador de les derivacions del racionalisme — un racionalisme, cotès, naturalment a l'anglesa —i, alhora també, el perseguidor més amatent dels formalismes banals, dels purismes sense contingut.

Arquitectura i revolució industrial

Ja és prou sabut que un dels temes fonamentals en la formulació de la nova arquitectura fou la revolució industrial amb la doble conseqüència tècnica i social: la possibilitat d'una nova tecnologia basada en el maquinisme i en la industrialització i la presència d'un nou tipus d'usuaris amb una nova estructuració social. Els arquitectes, doncs — els arquitectes clarividents —, van veure venir tot un nou món essencialment distint del que havia conformat els estils del passat. Van veure venir un món en què la construcció s'industrialitzaria rapidíssimament, en què la màquina substituiria l'obra artesana i el treball manual, en què la casa i el mobiliari acabarien essent el producte d'un simple i racionalitzat procés de fabricació, com ho ha arribat a ésser un automòbil o una nevera. Per altra banda, van veure venir un món amb una nova estructura econòmica i social en què els béns essencials serien distribuïts més justament i en què qualsevol família tindria dret a uns determinats *standards* de vida i a uns nivells elevats de confort.

Els prototipus

Aquest moment va coincidir — com passa gairebé sempre en les grans sotragades essencials — amb l'aparició d'uns quants arquitectes genials, amb una empenta capaç de fundar tota una manera nova d'enfocar el problema arquitectònic. A Europa: Gropius, Le Corbusier i Mies Van der Rohe. A Amèrica: la personalitat extraordinària però a vegades desconcertant de Wright. Aquests arquitectes — i sobretot els europeus — van comprendre molt bé quina era la direcció que prendria la nova societat maquinista. I anticipant-se genialment a les seves realitats, van "pre-inventar" les formes de la nova arquitectura industrialitzada i socialitzada. Aquesta nova arquitectura va definir-se, per exemple, en obres com la casa Savoye, el Pavelló de Barcelona, el Bauhaus. Però totes aquestes no són pas obres definitivament incloses en un nou ordre maquinista, sinó simplement uns prototipus, fets encara amb els mitjans artesans més antiquats i al servei d'una clientela passada de moda. Es a dir: totes les obres històriques del que hom ha anomenat "període racionalista" són obres insòlites, genials, anticipadores de les formes que l'arquitectura haurà d'adoptar quan funcionarà la nova era tècnica i social, però assolides com a simples excepcions enmig d'una tècnica i d'una societat absolutament distants. De la mateixa manera que avui la indústria crea artesanalment el prototipus d'un automòbil o d'una ploma abans de llançar-ne les grans sèries, també així podem considerar que les obres

11

Fig.4.10: Cover and title page.“Cap a una arquitectura realista” *Serra d’Or* V, March 1962, by Oriol Bohigas.

Fig.4.11: Exterior view at night. Seat Headquarters, Barcelona, 1956-58, Cesar Ortiz Echagüe. FAD Prize 1958.

DISSENY...

tradicionals que res no aconsellava de canviar i que poden entrar vàlidament al nostre àmbit cultural. I, sobretot, la lluita contra qualsevol símptoma de formalisme, lluita en la qual potser alguna vegada han estat tan polèmicament exagerats els termes, que han fet caure alguns "realistes" a inconfessables *revivals*.

El realisme i la poesia social

Per altra banda, aquest nou realisme arquitectònic no ve a ésser res més sinó l'exacta correspondència en el nostre àmbit d'un corrent cultural molt generalitzat i que en la literatura ha donat fruits tan importants com el que, per entendre'ns, anomenem "poesia social". En un número recent de SERRA D'OR J. M. Castellet en feia una anàlisi clarividents, i ens sorprenia de comprovar que gairebé tots els seus termes esquesen a la problemàtica de l'arquitectura. Es així quan diu: "1. L'actitud personal del poeta que deixa de considerar-se un home il·luminat, un geni solitari, un creador inspirat per una musa irracional, per esdevenir un home com els altres, un treballador intel·lectual que s'uneix als altres homes en el camp de la cultura; ...3. El mètode d'abstracció de l'experiència real que ja no és mitològico-simbòlic, sinó històrico-narratiu; ...5. L'objecte de la poesia que ja no és l'art per l'art, sinó una paraula, un cant o un crit dirigit a la comunitat dels lectors en disponibilitat d'escoltar o d'entendre."

El realisme i el racionalisme

Però, amb aquesta reacció, ¿haurem perdut totes les grans conquestes que va fer el racionalisme d'avantguerra? En absolut. El nou realisme ve a ésser l'única possibilitat de continuació i la vitalització del racionalisme. L'únic camí perquè totes les conquestes de Gropius, Le Corbusier i Mies no caiguin en un amaneriament inoperant— en el formalisme. No és cap casualitat que els arquitectes de major efectivitat cultural i els que desperten majors entusiasmes entre la joventut no siguin pas els tecnicistes alemanys ni els suïssos desangelats, sinó precisament els que viuen al voltant de personalitats tan lligades al nou realisme con Louis Kahn, Franco Albini, Kenzo Tange, potser Paul Rudolph, Vázquez Molezún i, entre nosaltres, Sostres, Coderch, Moragas i la gran personalitat de Josep L. Sert, avançadíssim polèmic en l'admirable "prototipus" del Dispensari Antituberculós als anys trenta i avui eficacíssim "realista", des dels tallers de Joan Miró fins a la Fundació Maeght. El nou realisme és el retorn a la raó i l'única forma de passar "racionalment" dels prototipus dels anys peonerístics a la successiva i modesta adaptació a les exactes condicions de l'home i de la natura, a les exactes premisses sociològiques, tècniques, econòmiques i polítiques.

ORIOL BOHIGAS

El gran dibuix mural de Picasso ha estat, naturalment, el centre d'una vivíssima polèmica. Per damunt de tot cal reconèixer l'extraordinari i intel·ligent esforç del nostre artista per integrar-se, modestament, a l'arquitectura i a l'ambient urbà

ACTUALITATS

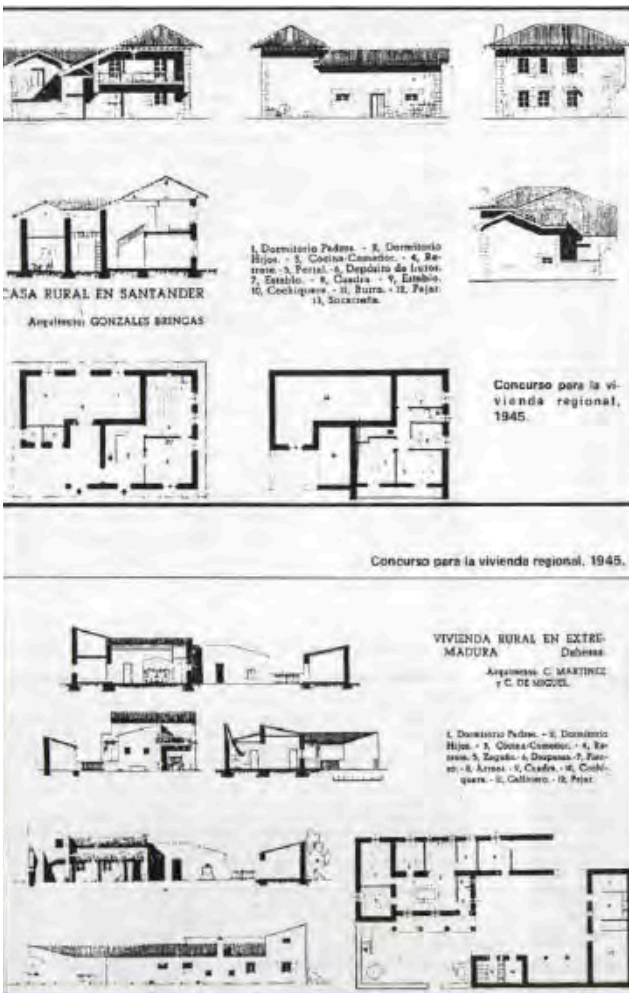
El Col·legi d'Arquitectes

Ha estat inaugurat el nou edifici del Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya a la Plaça Nova de Barcelona. Ara, l'antiga i inútil polèmica sobre el fet si l'edifici encaixaria o no encaixaria en l'anomenat "barri gòtic" ha estat substituïda per altres dues polèmiques: la de realisme-idealisme en la nova ar-

El nou Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya a la Plaça Nova de Barcelona. L'edifici de l'arquitecte Xavier Busquets restarà, segurament, com un dels més representatius de la ciutat, no solament pel fet d'estar adscrit a un moment artístic ben determinat, sinó encara per la seva eficaç inclusió en el recinte monumental de la ciutat

Fig.4.12: Front view and detail of carved stone base. Colegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 1958-1962, by Xavier Busquets. As published in *Serra d'Ors* V, March 1962, following Bohigas' essay "Cap a una arquitectura realista."

Fig.4.13: Poster of *Surcos*, 1951, directed by José Antonio Nives Conde.



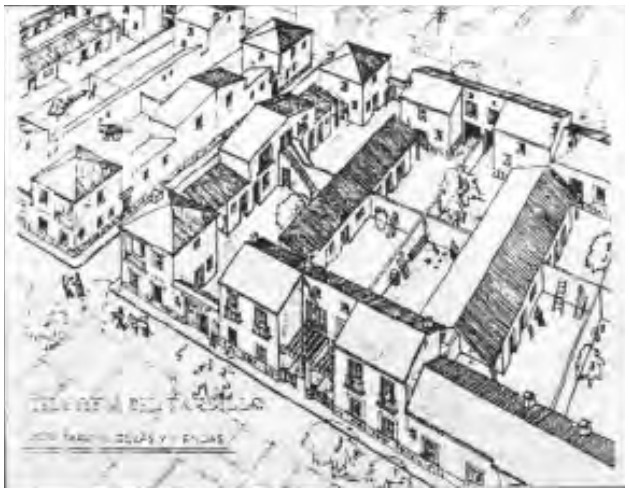


Fig.4.13: Plans and sections, competition boards. Competition for Rural Housing, 1945 (above) and agricultural new village, 1941 (below). As published in *Arquitectura* 199, 1977, p.7.

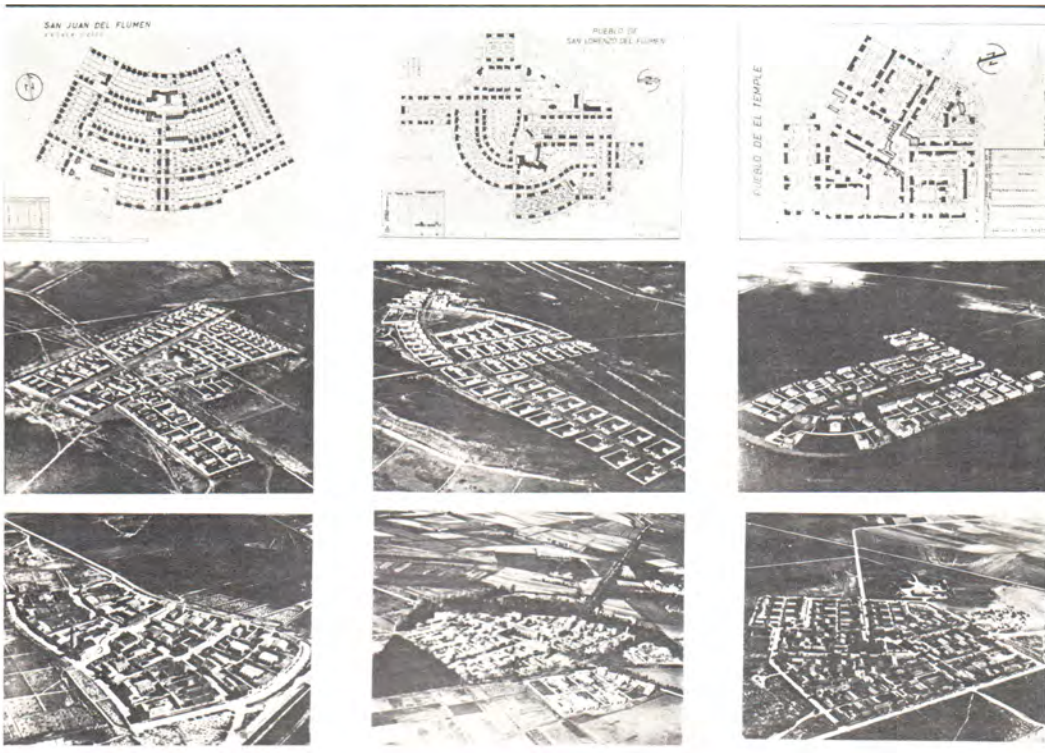


Fig.4.14: Plans of new villages by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization). As published in *Arquitectura para despues de una guerra* (Architecture For After War), 1977, p.58.

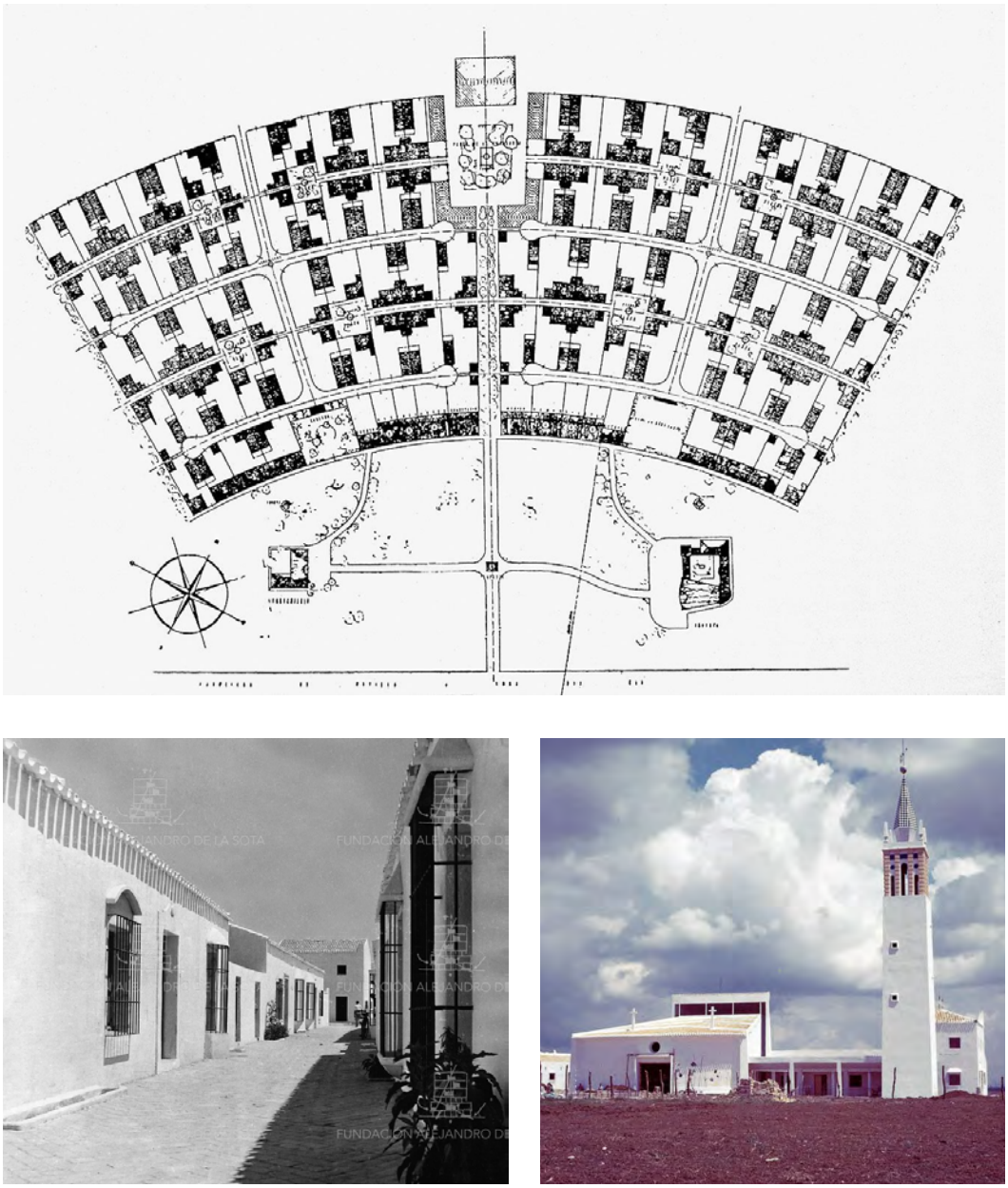


Fig.4.15: Plan and exterior views of Esquivel, Andalucia, 1952, new village by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization) by Alejandro de la Sota.

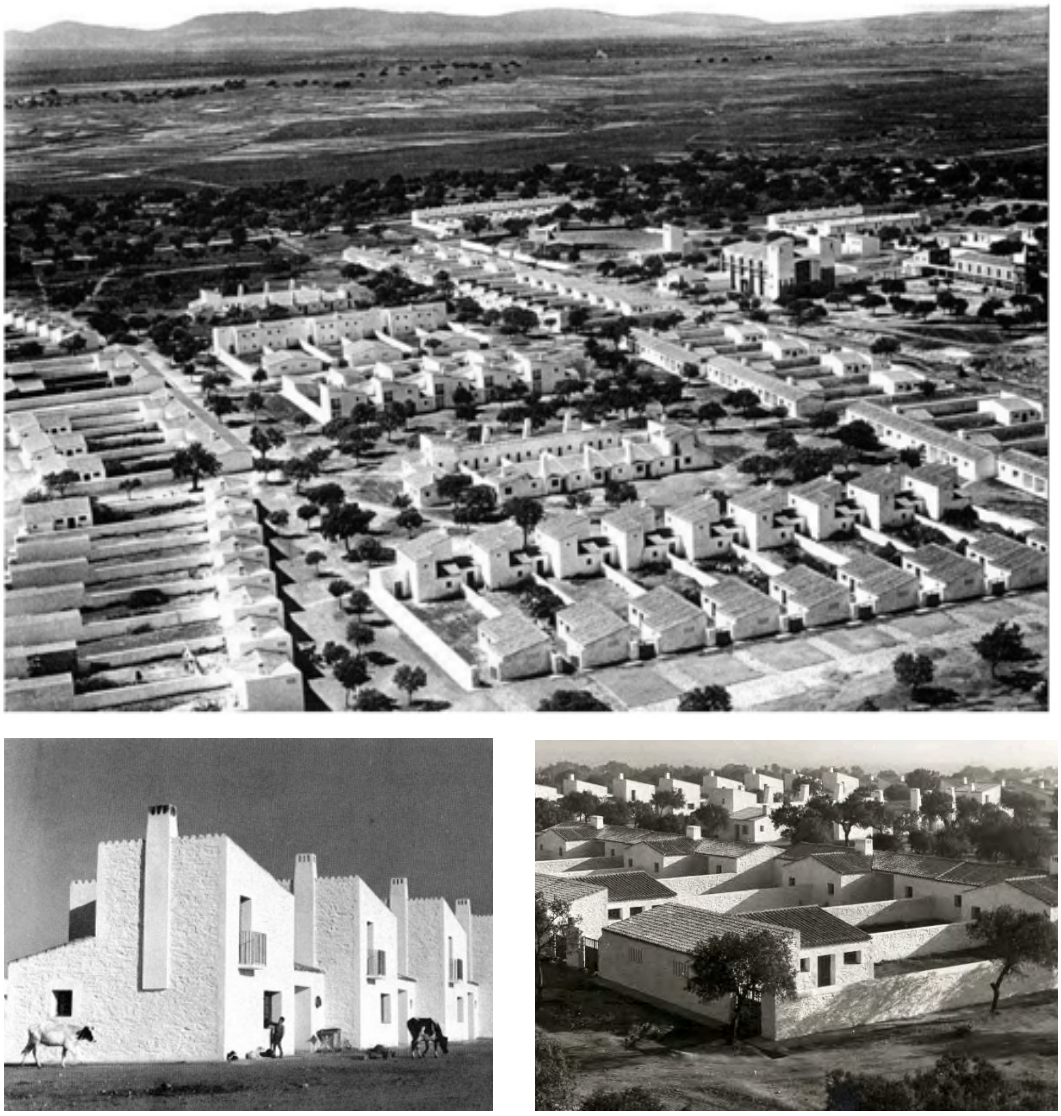


Fig.4.16: Aerial view and street views of Vegaviana, Cáceres, 1955, new village by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization) by Rafael Fernández del Amo.

Fig.4.17: Exterior view of Vegaviana, Cáceres, 1952, new village by the Instituto Nacional de Colonizacion (National Institute of Colonization) by Rafael Fernández del Amo. Photpgraph by Kindell.

Fig.4.18: Census of barracas (in black) and caves (in red) in Barcelona, c.1950, issued by the Barcelona Civil Government (above); general overview of barraca area in the outskirts of Barcelona, c.1950.

Fig.4.19: Exterior views of barracas in the outskirts of Barcelona, c.1950.

Fig.4.20: General overview of barracas in the outskirts of Barcelona, c.1950. On the background, smoke columns from the burning of structures by the Barracas Eradication Service of the Barcelona Civil Government.

Fig.4.21: Cover and interior page. *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*,1942, by Jose Luis Sert.

.

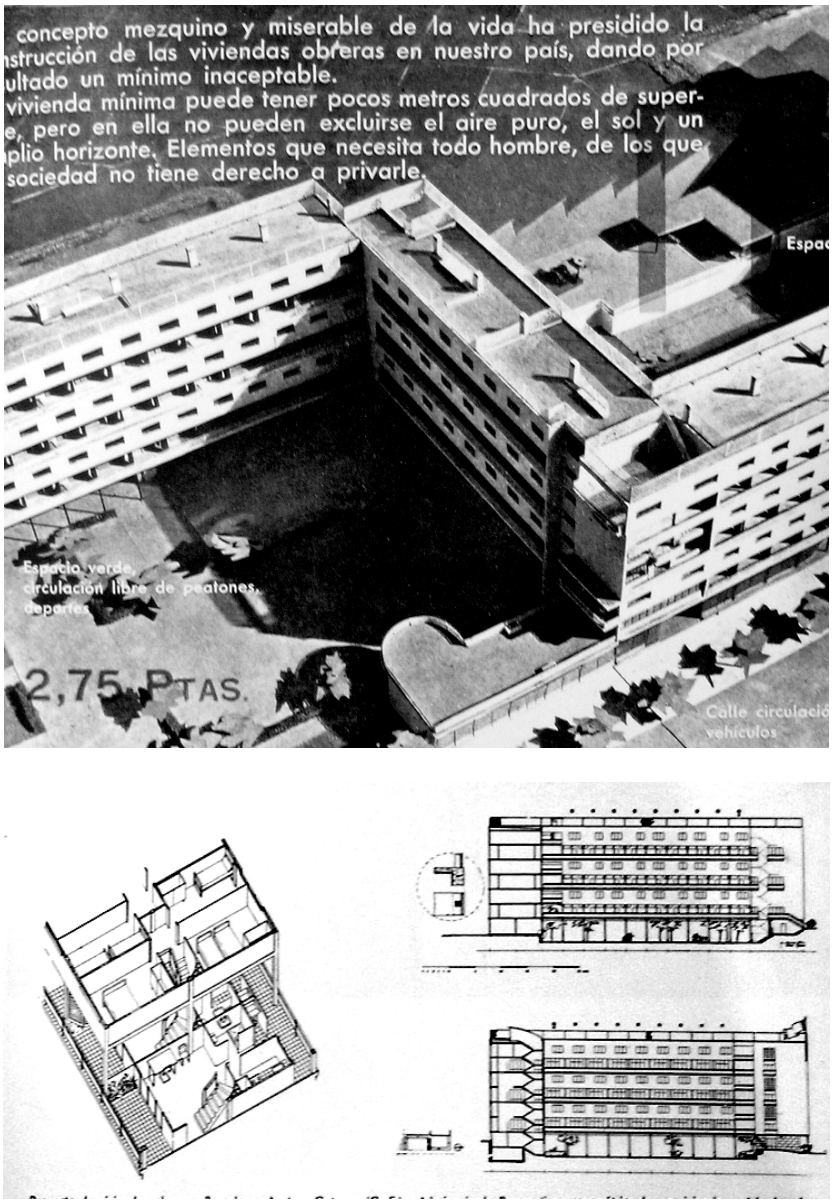


Fig.4.22: Aerial view and unit plan. Casa Bloc, workers housing quarters, Barcelona, 192-36 by GATCPAC, *Catalan Group of Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture.* As published in the journal *AC. Documentos de Arctividad Contemporánea,* 11.

.

Fig.4.23: Fifth National Architects' Assembly, Barcelona, May 10-11-12, 1949. Inaugural lecture by the General Director of Architecture, Francisco Prieto Moreno (above); Gio Ponti speaking up and amongst the audience (below).

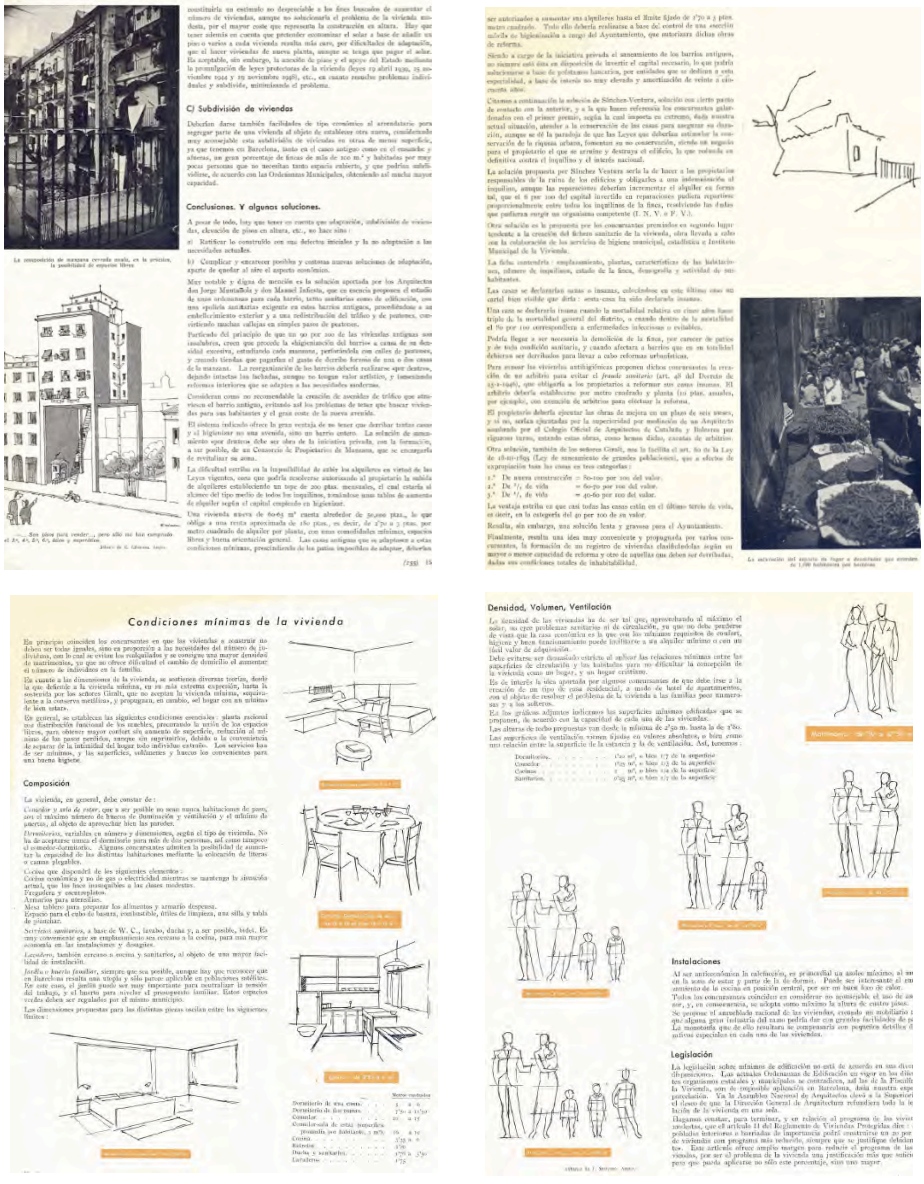


Fig.4.24: Summary of the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition. “The housing problem,” special issue of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 15, 1953,edited by Oriol Bohigas, Francisoc Bassó and Jose Maria Buxo.

Fig.4.25: Map of urban areas under analysis and diagrams on living standards per area of the city Barcelona. As published in the summary of the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition. “The housing problem,” special issue of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 15, 1953,edited by Oriol Bohigas, Francisoc Bassó and Jose Maria Buxo.

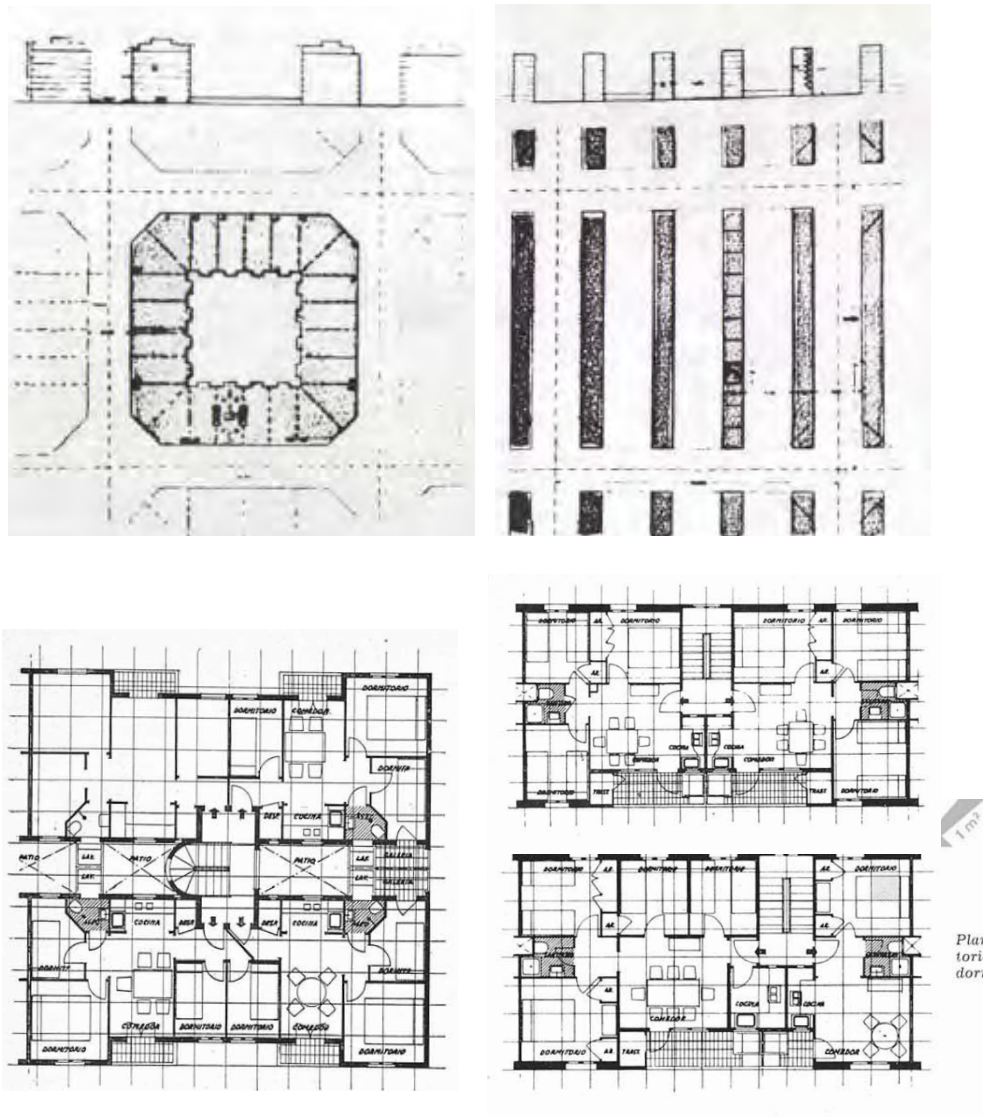


Fig.4.26: Housing types proposed in the 1949 Affordable Housing Competition. Proposal of open block for the Manzana Cerdá by winning team, by Antonio de Moragas, Franciso Mitjans, Ramon Tort, Jose Balcells, Antonio Perpiña, and Jose Maria Sostres (above). Proposals for 35 to 75 m^2 three-bedroom units with kitchen open to the living area by the various participants (below).

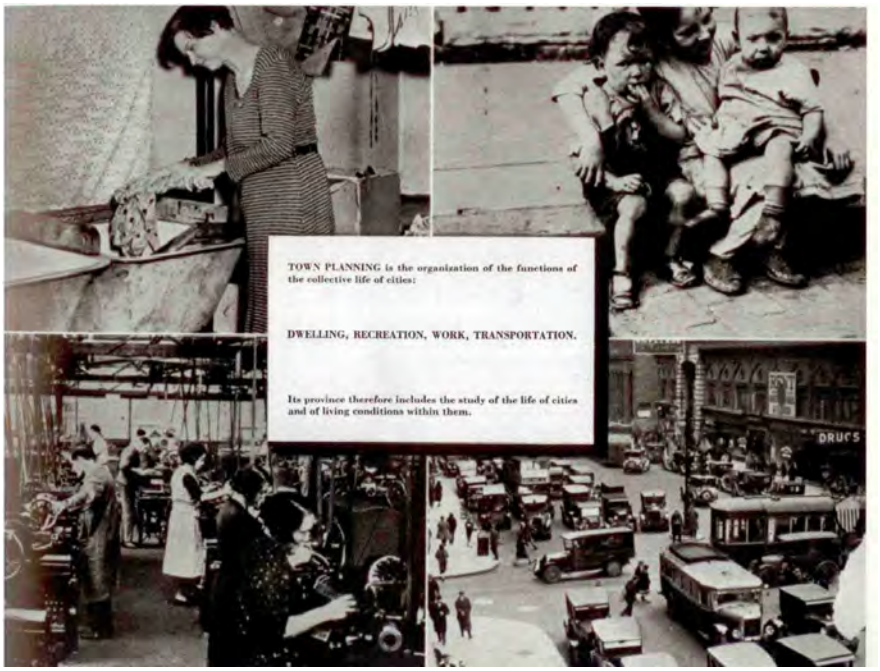


Fig.4.27: "Town planning….includes the study of the life of cities and of living conditions within them." *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*,1942, by Jose Luis Sert.

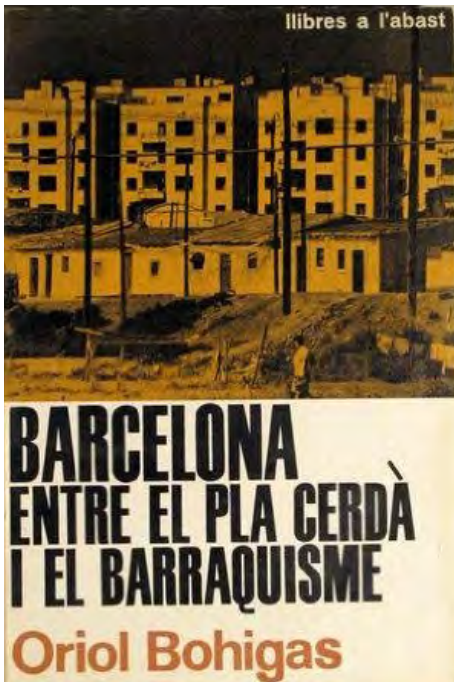


Fig.4.28: Cover. *Barcelona. Entre el Plan Cerdá I el barraquime*,1963, by Oriol Bohigas

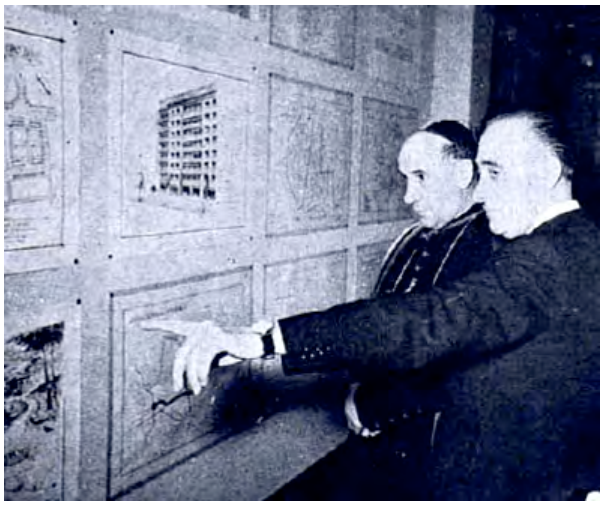


Fig.4.29: Barcelona Bishop Gregorio Modrego y Casaus and the diretor of the Colegio de Arquitectos de Catalonia visit the exhibition of the works submitted for the Affordable Housing Competition, November 1949.

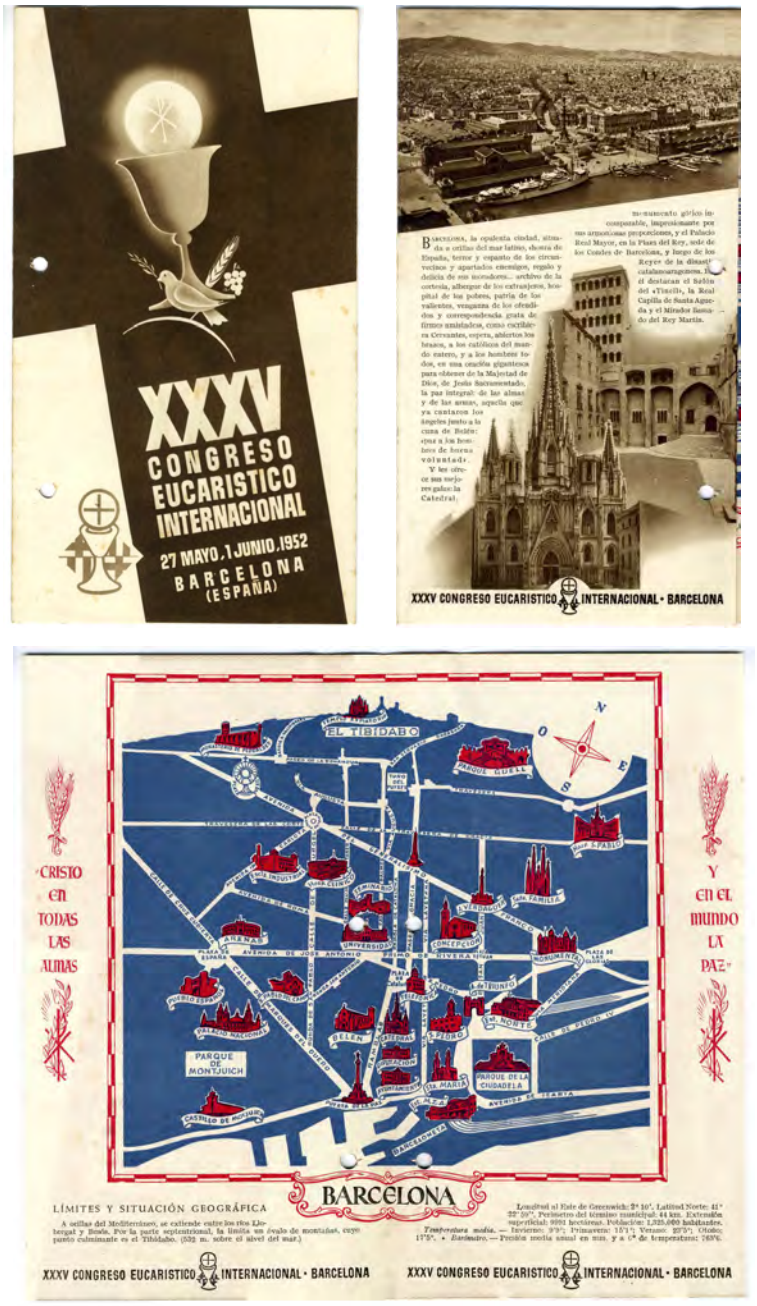


Fig.4.30: Official brochure for the Thirty-fifth International Eucharistic Congress, held in Barcelona, May 27-June 1, 1952. Edited by the Dioceses of the Catholic Church of Barcelona and Bishop Modrego, it shows how the city was promoted as a site for evangelism.

Fig.4.31: Perspectival drawing. Housing development along Felipe II Avenue (later known as area of Can Ros), Barcelona, 1953, promoted by Viviendas del Congreso Eucaristico and the National Institute of Housing, designed by Josep Soteras Mauri, Carles Marquès y Antoni Pineda. As published in *La Vanguardia*, January 29, 1953 (above), under construction in *La Vanguardia*, January 26, 1955 (below) with the heading "The new neighborhood of the 'Congress Housing' is a splendid reality."

Fig.4.32: Aerial view and street view of complex of Can Ros, Barcelona, upon completion, c.1967, by Josep Soteras Mauri, Carles Marquès y Antoni Pineda.

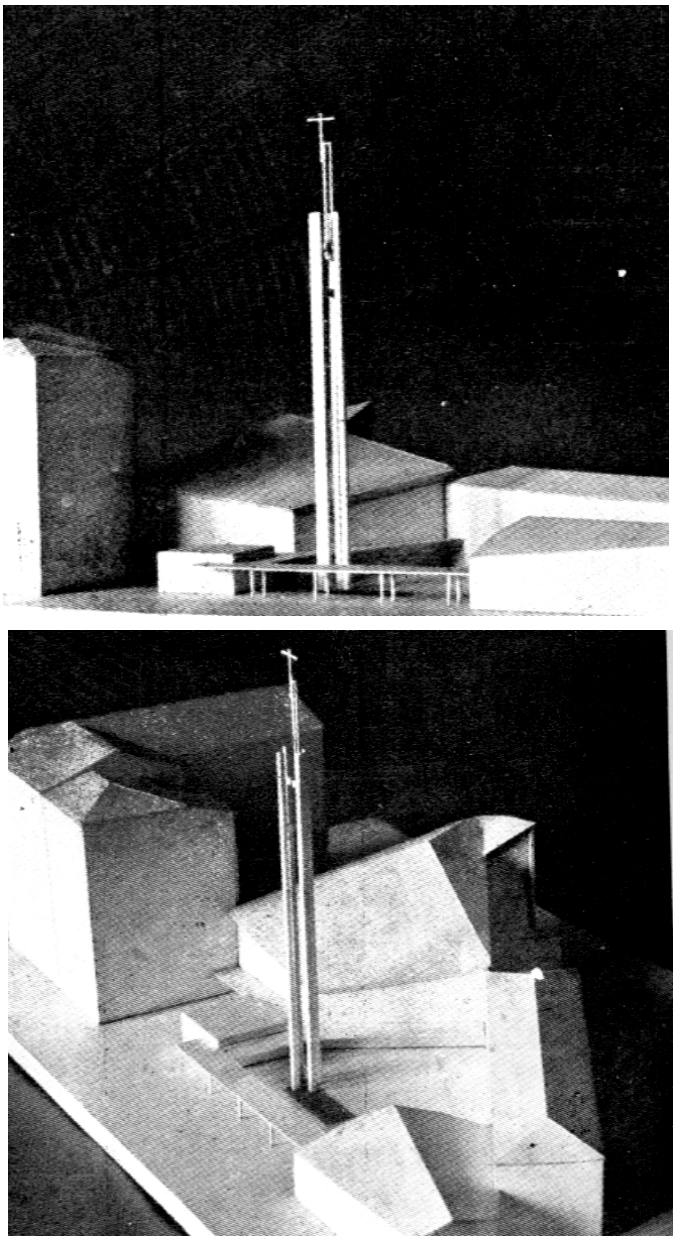


Fig.4.33: Model. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Miguel Fisac. As shown in Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, February 28, 1958.

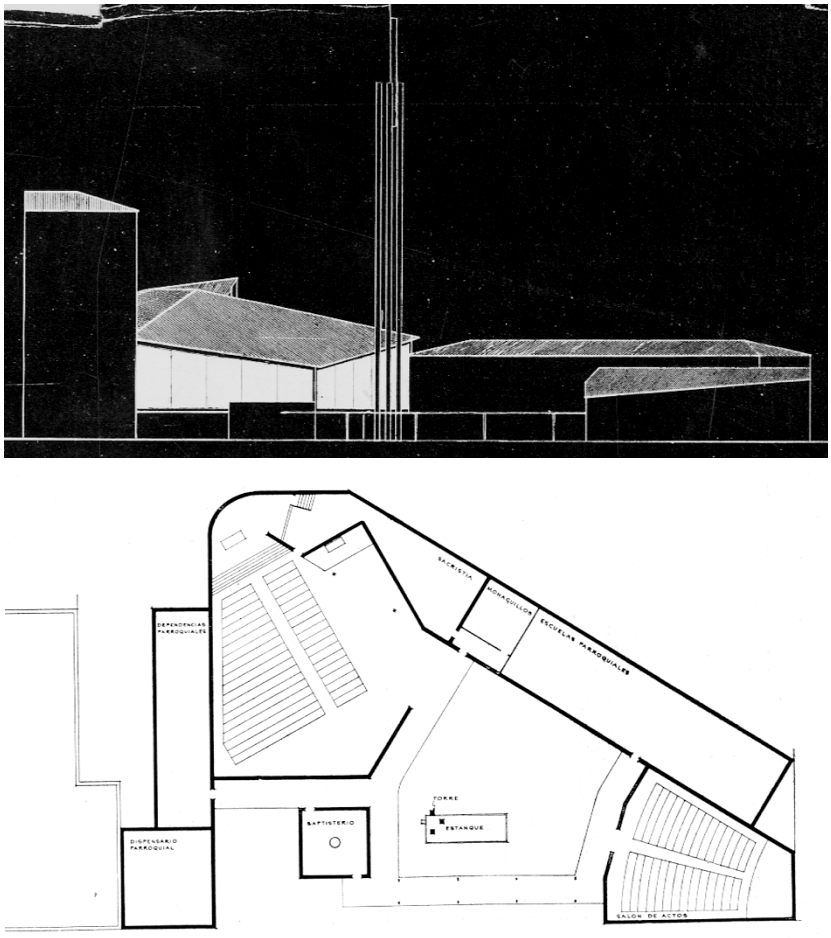


Fig.4.34: Elevation and plan of complex. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Miguel Fisac. As shown in Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, February 28, 1958.

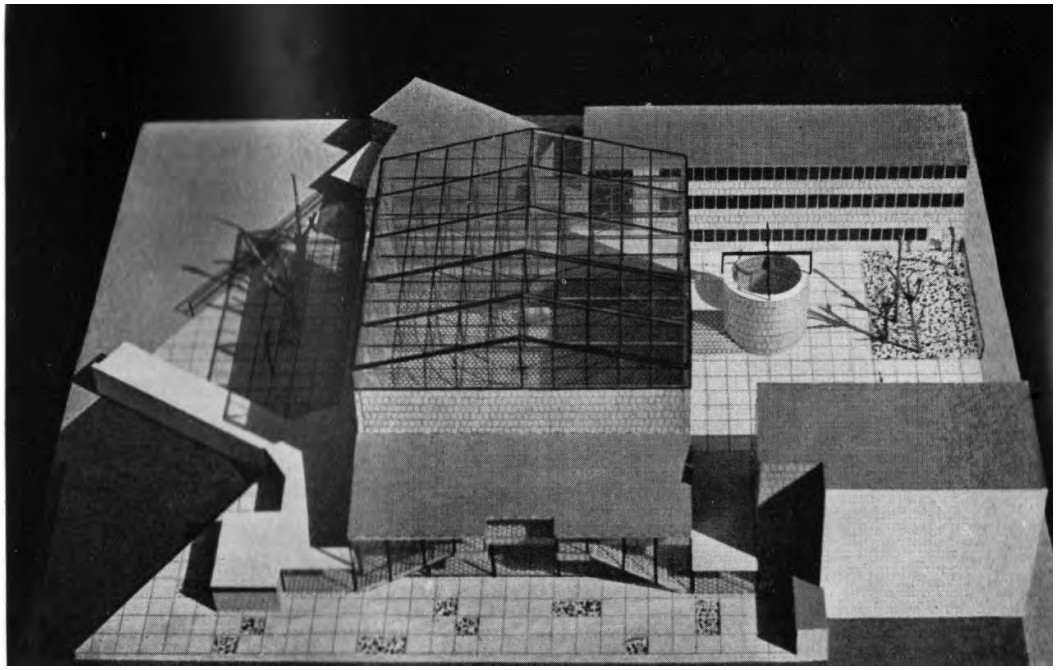


Fig.4.35: Model. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Alejandro de la Sota. As shown in Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, February 28, 1958.

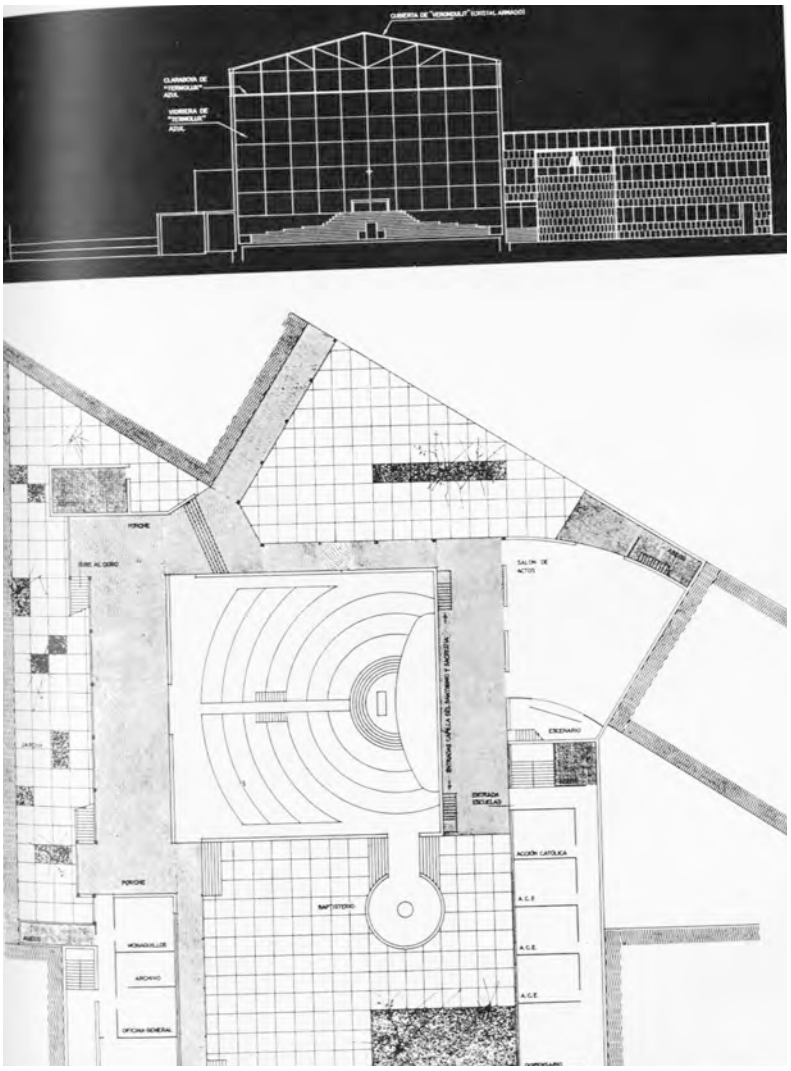


Fig.4.36: Elevation and plan. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Alejandro de la Sota. As shown in Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, February 28, 1958.

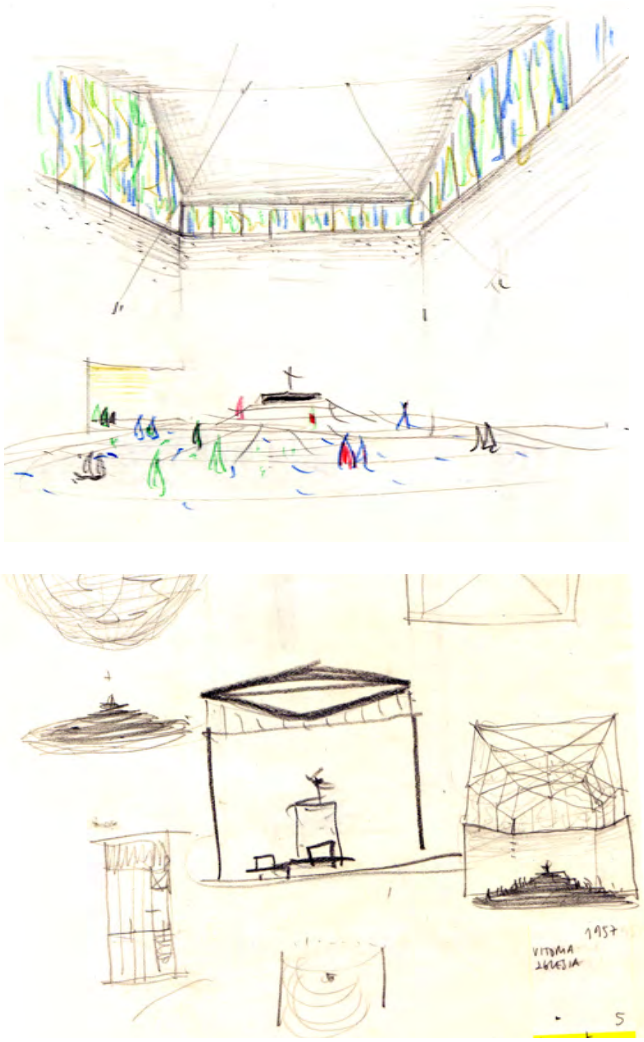


Fig.4.37: Sketch drawings of church interior, looking up to the spatial steel roof structure. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Alejandro de la Sota.

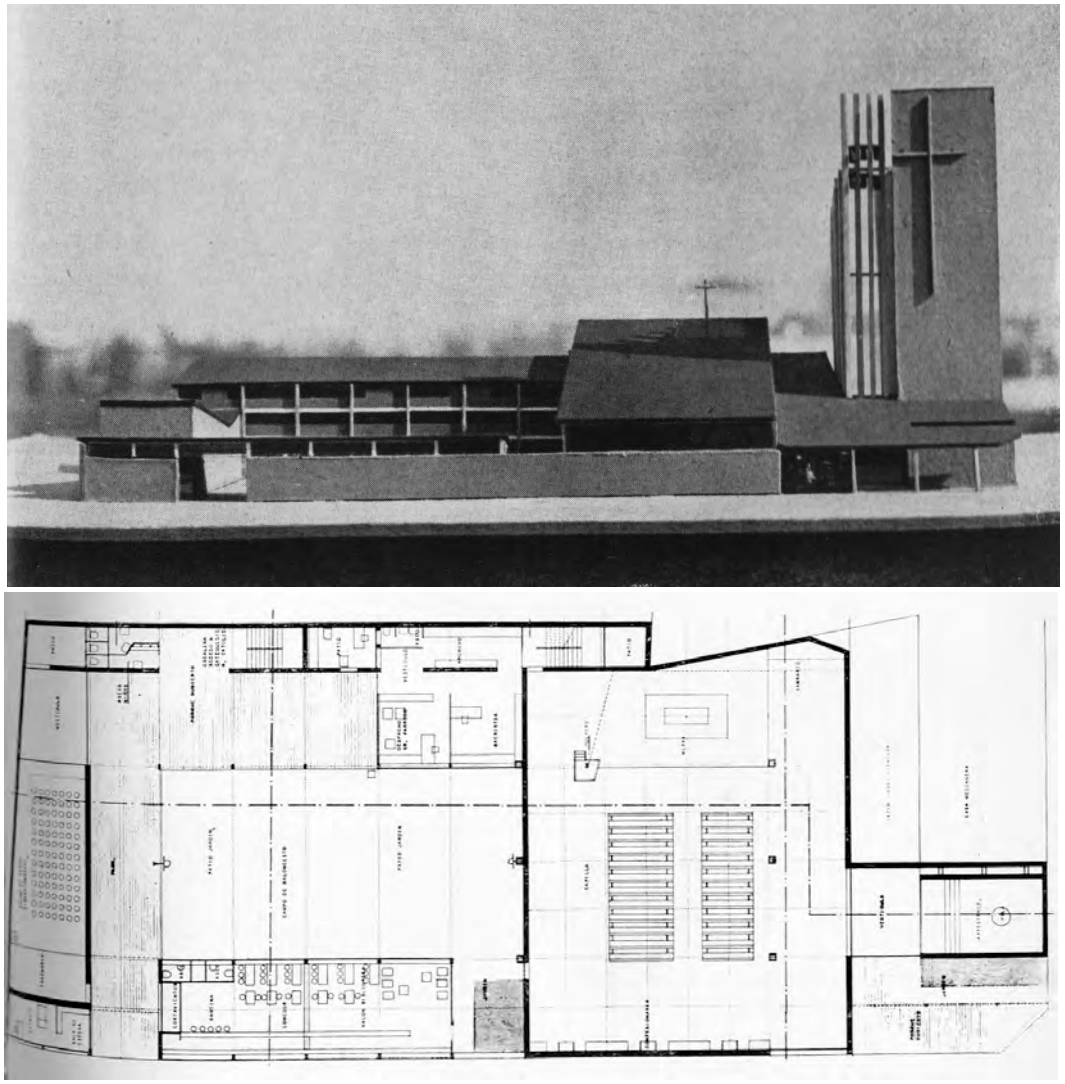


Fig.4.38: Model and plan. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún. As shown in Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, February 28, 1958.

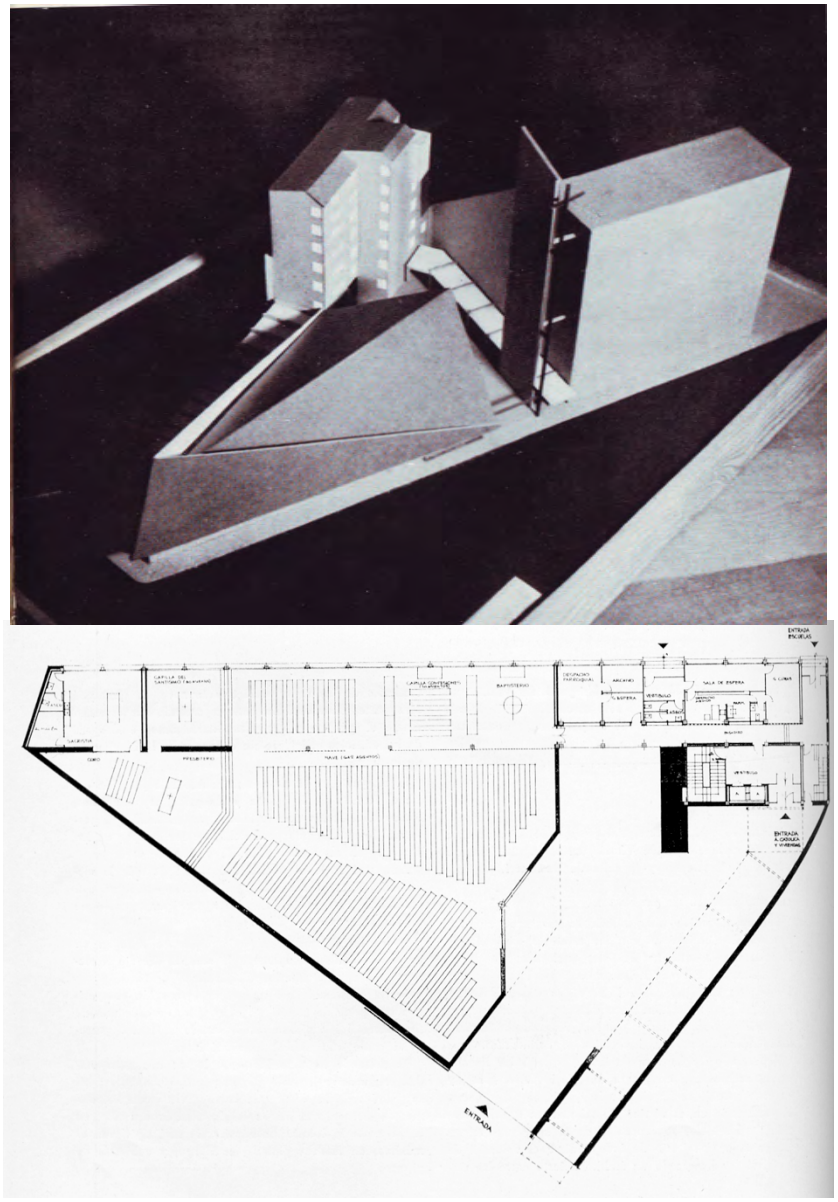
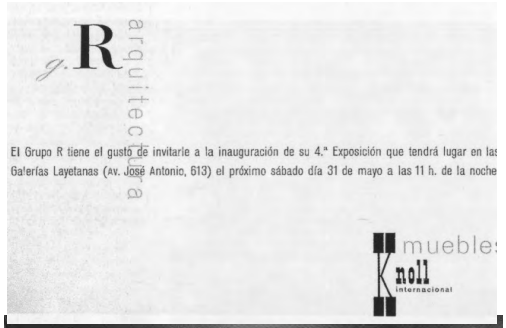


Fig.4.39: Model and plan. New Parish, Vitoria, 1957, by Javier Carvajal and Jose María García de Paredes. As shown in Sesión Crítica de Arquitectura, February 28, 1958.

Fig.4.40: Exterior view. Church of our Lady of Angels, Vitoria, 1957-62, by Javier Carvajal and Jose María García de Paredes.

Fig.4.40: Cover of brochure for the exhibition "Continuity in Sacred Art," Sala Catalina at the Ateneo, Madrid, March 30-April 21 1958 (above) and images of the show as shown in No-Do, 796B, año XVI (below), including images of the model of the new parish for Vitoria of Juan Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez-Molezún .



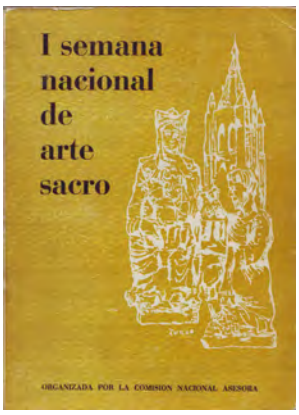
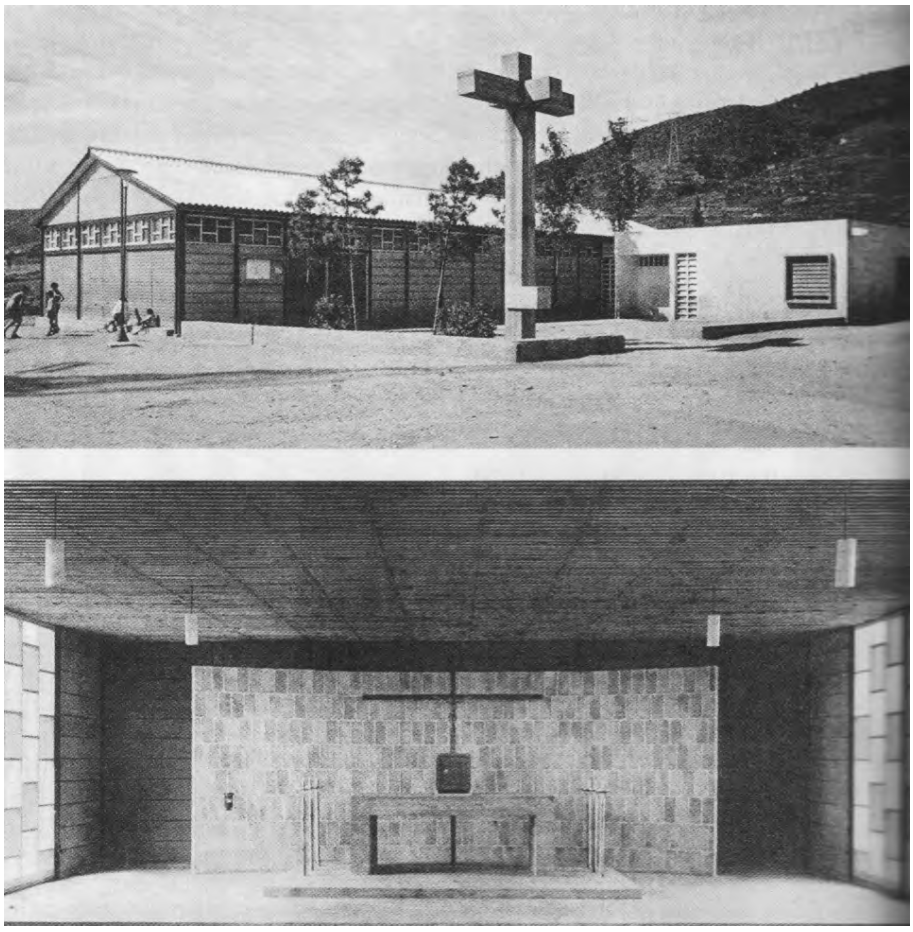


Fig.4.41: Exhibition GrupR, Galerias Laetanas, Barcelona, June 1958 (above) and catalogue and image of "First Week of Sacred Art, Leon, August 1958 (below) both venues in which the models for the New Parish program in Vitoria were exhibited.

Fig.4.43: Exterior and interior views, Church of Saint Jaume, Badalona, 1957, by Antonio de Moragas.

Fig.4.44: Exterior views. Church du Redemptor, Barcelona, 1957-1960, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep Maria Martorell.

Fig.4.45: Interior views and detail of wood truss and brick wall. Church du Redemptor, 1957-1960, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep Maria Martorell.



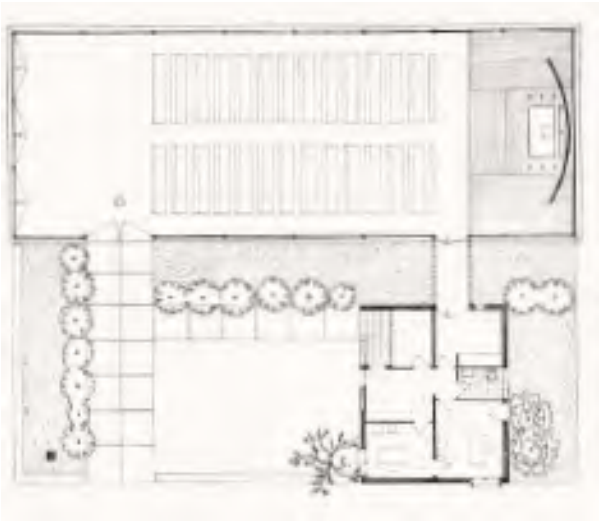


Fig.4.46: Exterior views and plan. Parish Church San Sebastian de Verdum, Barcelona, 1960-1966, by Oriol Bohigas and Josep Maria Martorell.

Conclusion

Modern Architecture and Formations of the Secular

Late in December of 1959, US President Dwight D.Eisenhower visited Spain. The much-celebrated *abrazo* (embrace) between Eisenhower and Franco came to represent, in Spain at least, the "international apotheosis" of the regime and to signal its full conversion from the archaic fascist military regime that had come to power in 1939 into a technocracy welcomed by the modern democratic world.[1] This dissertation has traced the ways in which the forages into the techniques, images, materials, types, forms, and tropes of architectural modernism participated of this transformation. It has attempted to argue for the significance of both religion and architecture in the conformation of Spain's distinct form of technocratic government—a Catholic technocracy— that in turn conformed new conceptions of political subjects both inside the government, the technocrat, and in the city streets, the apolitical pious worker. In so doing, it has perhaps provided as much a political history of Franquismo as told from the lenses of buildings, as the history of the politics of Spanish architecture that was initially intended.

The Valle de los Caidos, the construction of which was completed a few months before Eisenhower's visit, has been invariably invoked as the most significant work of Franquista architecture. Set in contrast with Eisenhower's visit, as Stanley Payne proposes in his account of the

1 Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 458.

event, the monument reveals the contradictions that characterized and in fact sustained Franco's realpolitik. Throughout his thirty-six years in power, Franco variously adapted his cabinet, administration, and governing strategies and techniques, as well as the state's image and rhetoric. This served him to garner support from various international leaders, ranging from Hitler and Mussolini in the late 1930s to Perón in the late 1940s to Eisenhower in the 1950s; to manage and keep by his side the various reactionary factions within Spanish politics; and to keep social disruption at bay while gradually silencing Spaniards on issues pertaining to politics. As the *New York Times* put it on November 2, 1959, Franco had ultimately triumphed and "flown in the face of the spirit of the age" by means of his governmental finesse. Franco's mausoleum certainly stands as a marker of Franquista contradictions and of Nacional Catholicism; of Franco's personal preferences in architectural matters and of the early search for a monumental neoclassic style of building appropriate to his initial ideas of a fascist state. Moreoever, the status of the monument today speaks of the ways in which the ghosts of Franquismo continue to haunt Spanish political, cultural and social life, and of the need for a discursive construction of memory.

This dissertation has tried to show that it is rather in the steady development and eventual success of a discourse on modern architecture, and within the architecture of a series of highly refined buildings where we can best indentify and unpack the political dynamics of Franquismo. Accordingly, I would propose another, virtually unknown building as more precisely embodying the politics of Franquismo at the time of Eisenhower's visit. This is the project that made it to the cover of the September of 1959 issue of *Arquitectura*, the journal that had been recently renamed from *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* as a sign of changing times. The image showed the model of a Latin cross plan covered in a hexagonal grid structure that ascended in section as it came toward the center of the cross. Surely, the reason this project was chosen for *Arquitectura* was the monumental interpretation, by the master's student who designed it, of the modular system deployed by Corrales

and Molezún at Expo 58 the previous summer. The runner-up among student's projects, published second in Arquitectura, was an even more literal quotation of the pavilion, as it borrowed their use of the hexagonal grid, materials, scale, and landscaping of a religious building.

The subject matter of these students' projects was hardly unique. As seen throughout this dissertation, since 1939 in Spain architects, critics, clerics, and the media had dedicated much effort to debating the design of new buildings, images, and urban infrastructures for religious purposes. What these projects reveal more subtly, however, is the permeation of religious and non-religious ideas of architecture, a diffusion between religion, secular, technical and aesthetic that was as crucial for effectuating changes in Spanish Catholicism and Franquista politics as for the ideological reconciliation with modernist architecture. Moreoever, this fluidity between religious and profane values and spaces defined the distinct form of Spanish modernism. Amongst architects, as I have tried to show, this resulted in the forging of a particular imagination; a Catholic imagination that went well beyond church design and determined a value system and a set of concepts that permeated architects' narratives and their supposedly secular designs. By recognizing the religious content of the national pavilion the previous summer, the students' projects in *Arquitectura* reveal this process as a *fait accompli.*

In the process of assimilating the religious into the techniques and aesthetics of modernism, buildings like the 1958 pavilion also articulated political programs that would lead, directly or indirectly, to Eisenhower's embrace of Franco. If the pavilion, as argued in chapter three, conferred the Franquista regime normality and legitimacy vis-à-vis the liberal Western world, the government building discussed in chapter two was testament to the new technical administration of the government. The decline of traditional and bombastic fascism in lieu of a tehnocracy implied a structural transformation of politics both inside the government and in the streets. If the efficient expert in matters of governance substituted the overtly ideological politician inside the government,

the peasant was to become the nonpolitical and pious city worker. This double gap between ideology and the State and between the State and society was as aptly performed by de la Sota's enigmatic façade as by Corrales and Molezun's empty interior. This divide is essential to technocratic modes of government and, in the case of Franquista Spain it was of course an effective masquerade, since all matters of social and political life continued to fall under the control of the state. An argument I tried to make in all chapters is how a discourse on silence —or emptiness, or invisibility—was loudly and explicitly advanced in the architecture to perform this masquerade.

Initially intended to discern the ways in which buildings partook of the ideologies, politics and culture that conformed Franquismo—and that sustained it for over three decades—this dissertation has recognized the crucial relationship of Catholicism to the state, of the Church as the institution more directly related to the social and cultural politics of Franquismo, and of religion as essential to understanding the modernization of architecture. During the 1940s and 1950s, the question among architects, cultural agents, and state officials in Spain was not whether or not to modernize architecture. The question was one of how and for what purposes to do so. An urgent the mission was that of consecrating the technologies, spaces, images, houses, and cities that resulted from modernization. The ideological alliance with Catholicism allowed a distancing of modernism from its historical affiliation with political liberalism and what was bluntly called "Bolshevism," in the context of Spain at least. It also favored the distinct modernization of Spanish Catholicism that underpinned the regime's technocratic model of state.

This two-fold project was roughly outlined as early as May of 1939 by Eugeni d'Ors in his International Exhibition Architecture of Sacred Art, discussed in chapter one as starting point of this dissertation and a reference that reveal how the advent of technocracy and demise of Falange can hardly be interpreted in terms of a neat historical progression. Since 1939 and in the two decades that followed, the prospect of consecrating architectural modernism was variously explored

alongside other projects integral to the regime of promoting scientific research, as with Jose María Albareda's CSIC and discussed in chapter one; government development and economic liberalization, as with Laureano Lopez-Rodo's administrative reform explored in chapter two; modernizing the image of the state, as with Florentino Perez-Embid's cultural campaign seen in chapter three; and urbanization, as discussed in the context of housing in chapter four. Accordingly, these episodes were crucial to the development of the two institutions that most effectively served the shifting agendas of the regime and the Catholic Church at the point in time: Opus Dei and Acción Católica.

In looking to reveal the intersections of architecture and politics during Franquismo, this dissertation has distinguished and given historical detail to these episodes of the country's partial modernization. But as I noted in my analysis of the pavilion, in looking to conciliate modernization with religion and in mobilizing architecture for this purpose, Spain was not alone. Manifest in the general guidelines given by Expo 58 organizers, and in pavilions other than the Spanish one, the anxiety about technological modernization and a future void of spiritual content was widespread, and invariably translated into a narrative of the need for a new humanism. The situated study of the architecture of Franquista Spain points to the need for further analysis of the religious foundations of humanist discourses that were pervasive elsewhere at mid-century. In Spain, uneasiness about the dehumanization of modern life drew from the 1920s and 1930s writing of Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, to whose thinking this dissertation refers to but does not pay enough consideration. The reason, in part, is that in the context of Franquismo, the critique of dehumanization and modernization and the new theories of humanism than ensued, took on a bent toward religion arguably absent in Ortega y Gasset. As in CSIC's redefinition of scientific and material progress and in the narrative around Hispanism, the theories of humanism concealed infact new modes of religious life.

In architecture, both Miguel Fisac and Oriol Bohigas attempted reformulations of modernism with humanist tropes. Serving very different purposes and coming from an entirely distinct set of ethical and political concerns—Fisac turning toward the spiritual and directly related to Opus Dei, and Bohigas leaning on ideas of the communal in the context of the Catalan left—they both drew from and served Catholicism in their theoretical and built projects. More research could certainly follow that would bring together and nuance the comparison of Fisac and Bohigas in the context of Spanish architectural culture. This would imply further research on the religious architecture of the latter, which is virtually unadressed in the scholarship. For Fisac, a humanist modernism meant first and foremost an architecture that allowed for spiritual fulfillment through a bodily or sensorial experience. He conceptualized this aspiration through a phenomenological approach, which served him also as a counterpart to holding critical discourse in contempt. I have suggested that, if not the expression or style of an Opus Dei architecture per se, Fisac's work attempted to articulate an Opus Dei mode of cultural discourse. If Escrivá formulated his worldly asceticism in ontological terms, Fisac, drawing on Eugeni d'Ors, did so in aesthetic and technical terms. While he began this formulationon a mode of consecrated modernism by focusing on the stylistic aspects of architecture, the discourse gradually moved into the realm of technology and this shift was affected by the impact of the Camino Chapel of Sáenz de Oiza, Romany and Oteiza.

In the end, Fisac's designs for the CSIC and his evolving theories were aimed at putting architecture in the service of one of the main objectives of Opus Dei, namely, that of eliminating "the traditional tensions between religion and world, between work and devotion, between individual profit and brotherly love," as Casanova has put it.[2] Once he had left Opus Dei in the mid-1950s, Fisac manifested that his main interest in Escrivá's movement lay in a scheme in developing an "evangelism of the intelligence, an evangelism that could reach all fields of knowledge and artistic

2 Casanova, *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*, 434.

creation."[3] In this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate Fisac's relative success, and how his calls to redefine abstraction and adapt humanist ideas to modern architecture were in fact an effort at such evangelism on the part of the architectural intelligentsia, undertaken through architectural discourse.

It was perhaps de la Sota who best folded Fisac's project in the work. While not as directly involved in the development of Opus Dei, de la Sota was not far removed from the institution and he designed an Opus Dei collective home in Madrid, a small and unknown project that deserves a closer look. Rather than tracing individual allegiances to Opus Dei, I hope to have proven how Sota's mobilization of abstraction for the Tarragona Civil Government building, Corrales and Molezún's trascendetal space for the Brussels pavilion, and even Bohigas' architecture of realism can be said to fulfill Fisac's evangelical campaign, whether wittingly or not and as advanced by the Camino Chapel in 1954. Beyond ideological relationships between the architects, which certainly existed and others may more closely trace, these buildings have been more emphatically presented here as objects that participated in the modernizing efforts of the Franquista government and were effected by Opus Dei thinkers. The Tarragona Government building, for instance, was part of a broad and loosely defined plan to reform the administration that was initially launched from the drawing boards, collectively, and on the basis of architecture's aesthetic and functional value. In their deployment of functionalist interiors, the grid and the curtain wall for civic buildings, architects effectively anticipated and thus produced the reforms promoted by the key enforcer of technocracy, Laureano Lopez-Rodó. In particular, de la Sota's inversion of the curtain wall in Tarragona gave form to the apparent distancing of the body politics from the efficient and technical workings of the government that defines technocracy. The 1958 pavilion also provided an aesthetic object for the cultural agenda of

3 Moncada, *Historia Oral del Opus Dei*, 93.

this Catholic form of technocracy, as devised by another of Opus Dei officials, Florentino Pérez-Embid.[4]

The story of the pavilion insist on the central role Fisac played both as decision-maker within the cultural apparatus of the regime and as a public intellectual whose lectures and publications defined discursive boundaries with regard to architecture and modernism. The form-to-culture relationship promoted by d'Ors has also proven pervasive amongst Spanish architects in the 1950s. While Fisac, d'Ors, and later Bohigas were crucial loci of ideas, I have tried to indicate the broad character of the origins and genealogy of the ideas and designs that define Spanish architecture culture of the period, and show how these migrated rather fluidly, developed collectively, and were discussed rather loudly. Put differently, during Franquismo architects were far from silent, as they regularly engaged with state officials, artists, cultural thinkers, clerics, and above all with each other.

For instance, a month after architects debated Molezún's use of the spatial steel structure in his proposal for the Museum of Contemporary Art of 1953 (a crucial project of the period that demands a closer look) and which was a referent to the pavilion, Sáenz de Oiza, Oteiza, and Romany borrowed the floating grid to design the Camino Chapel. Soon after, architects lauded the chapel for using steel technology for the purposes of religion, during the Sesión Crítica that opens chapter one of this dissertation, and more or less half a year later Molezún recuperated the solution of a steel portico for the Finance Headquarters of La Coruña, which he designed in collaboration with de la Sota and as seen in chapter two. In the months that followed the design of this building, de la Sota tirelessly manipulated the curtain wall until he arrived at the inside-out solution of Tarragona. Later, in 1957, when asked to design a parish church, he covered the space with a steel structure so that the inside recalled ascension to heaven, as seen in chapter four. Corrales and Molezún developed

4 These conclusions call for a broader ideological reassessment of the self-defined followers of this generation and who have determined the direction of Spanish architecture culture in the last leg of the twentieth century. These include Rafael Moneo and Iñaki Abalos and Juan Herreros, to name a few of the most internationally reknown. To do so, one should begin with Moneo's crucial essay of 1966, "A la conquista de lo irracional."

more subtly this same design mechanism for the pavilion, which was under construction around the time of the parish design program.

Of course, architectural forms, materials, and structural systems do not convey religious values or political ideals in and by themselves, regardless of d'Ors' argument. But in Spain at least, the majority of the architects who experimented with these forms, materials and structural systems, discussed them and developed them from one project to the next, did so on the basis that forms, materials and structural systems carried certain values. As is perhaps more evident in the Expo 58 pavilion and the Pallars housing block, a set of such migrating values pertained to the spiritual and social dimensions of Catholicism. This much was made clear in the hexagons' covered church designed by students and published in the September of 1959 issue of *Arquitectura*.

In the case of Bohigas, the values that sustained his formulation of humanism through architecture had to do less with spirituality and phenomenology, or the experience of the body moving through space, than with social ethics and materiality. A close look at his narrative of realism and at the story around realism's main architectural example has revealed resonances with the program of Acción Católica of suffusing society with a moral agenda. The physical and cultural moral crisis conferred on country-city migrations, the expansion of the city and the housing shortage presented both the Church and architecture—as institutions—with a challenge and an opportunity to redefine their reach; a challenge and an opportunity they shared in the context of housing and parish designs. In each of these instances, buildings were proposed, explored, and built as a means to bring God out beyond the space of the church, to redefine the religious, and in turn reconfigure the state. An important disclosure of this dissertation has been on the political dimension of the relationship between architecture and religion, and at the ways in which modernization through church building was central to the regime and its survival.

In the centrality of religion in the development of architecture, postwar Spain was hardly alone. Throughout the twentieth century, religion in its various forms was an enduring force in the various formulations of architectural modernism. From Frank Lloyd Wright's Unity Temple, to the Bauhaus symbol of the Cathedral of Socialism, to Mies van der Rohe's "God is in the detail," references to religion pervade avant-garde projects and the emergence of modernism. As far as architecture culture is concerned, the impact of religion arguably strengthened in the postwar period. Between the 1940s and 1960s, in Spain as elsewhere in Western Europe, the United States, and Latin America the various churches were major architectural patrons, often of the most innovative buildings. Religiosity and spiritual aspirations informed architects' imaginations, design practices, and theories, while religious institutions decidedly embraced modernist aesthetics for their art and architecture. In the European postwar reconstruction and American development alike, the commissions for ecclesiastic buildings can be assimilated to efforts made at the time in housing, school, and office buildings. By the mid-1950s, there was much debate worldwide on whether abstraction, new materials, and new building technologies could realize the purposes of a religious space. Every major architectural journal of the epoch, from *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* to Architectural Forum, dedicated special issues to religious architecture. Mies van der Rohe's IIT chapel in 1952, Le Corbusier's Notre Dame du Haut in 1954, Eero Saarinen's MIT chapel in 1955, Eladio Dieste's Church of Cristo Obrero in 1958, and Felix Candela's Cuernavaca Chapel of 1959, are a few of the best-known examples of the boom in religious architecture that adopted the ascendant language of modernism In the context of Catholicism, the importance of modernist architecture was well-established well before the opening of the Second Vatican Council in October of 1962, the moment in which the Roman Catholic Church officially embarked on a debate over how to adapt to the forces and aesthetics of modernization.

And yet, regardless of mention to these and other religious buildings, the structural relationship of religion and spirituality to modern architecture has remained routinely excluded in historical and theoretical accounts of modernism. Renata Hedjuck has recently argued for spirituality as the "apocryphal project of modern architecture," or, the missing ideological link in studies on the development of twentieth-century architecture. In architectural history as much as in other fields of cultural studies, the impact of religion has been lost in the misrecognition of modernization and secularization as processes that all but erase religion from the public sphere. Broadly caught in a predominantly Marxist narrative of material analysis and critique of political economy, even the more critically engaged architectural historians have long misunderstood modernity as an essentially non-religious condition. The field is beginning to take account of the resilience of religion and the importance of ecclesiastic buildings in the twentieth century architecture, and it is worth pointing to the recent research of Robert Proctor in postwar England and Kathleen James-Chakraborty in postwar Germany, and the efforts of Karla Britton to gather contemporary narratives and buildings around the religious.

The majority of those who study the impact of religion in architecture do so, somewhat obviously, in the context of church building and in order to explore the relationship of theology to aesthetics, often discussing the design of cult spaces in terms of stylistic and typological developments and as these embody or represent a doctrine. In so doing, studies on religion and architecture often displace them from their framework of power, rarely engaging the evolving ideological and political dimensions of religion and the urgent need to better understand the condition known as the secular. Alternatively, those engaged with the politics of architecture continue to overlook religion. The more recent embrace of biopolitics as a frame of analysis for the politics of architecture and its institutions still allows religion to fall through the cracks. But as Foucault once noted, if there ever was a technology of power, it was religion. By calling attention to

the politics of religion in the context of Franquista Spain, and to the ways in which the politics of religion unravel in the built environment well beyond the typology of the church alone, this dissertation invites to expand the study of the politics of architecture by engaging the politics of religion.

It has also attempted to expand the institutional analysis of architecture by foregrounding its aesthetics—what the buildings look like, how they are experienced and what they are made of. While being firmly grounded in the field of architectural history and its methodologies—again, looking to emphasize formal analysis as a prelude to institutional, political and cultural arguments—I have relied on scholarship in other fields such as cultural studies, political history and sociology of religion. More heavily, I have drawn from José Casanova's analysis on the role of an Opus Dei ethos on the modernization of Spain during Franquismo, and his calling attention to the permeability between the religious and the non-religious as essential to the policing of the Franquista State as to the success of Opus Dei. His reading of the period sustains my main thesis on buildings as interface of the religious, the non-religious, the political, the social, the technical, and the aesthetic.

Following from Casanova's subsequent work on the politics of religion beyond Spain and on the condition of the secular, this dissertation calls for further research into the ways in which architecture and the built environment throw light onto processes of secularization. More studies and a theoretical narrative are needed of the ways in which buildings and cities have historically performed intersections of religion and the body politic, and certainly do so today, and on how these intersections relate to different regimes of modernization. Such studies might join and help the broader and variegarted project in the Humanities that looking to disprove the Enlightenment assumption wherein religion loses sway in the face of scientific and technological advance. Today, the secular has proven to be a condition all too intertwined with Christianity and the Western narrative on reason, and anything but absent from the public sphere. As the anthropologist Talal

Asad has put it, the processes of the formation of the secular reveal how, far from the religious and secular functioning as opposites, secularism must be seen to be itself a religious phenomenon. The need is now to trace the ways in which the relationships of religions to culture, society, and power have been variously refined, reformed, and relocated. If buildings and cities have shaped and built the spaces that imagine, enact, conform, and confront the religious throughout history—well beyond the confined spaces of cult and into, perhaps, the spaces of the government, the exhibition, the house and the city—it might as well be the case that architecture can serve as a shadow of the secular and thus crucial instrument through which to probe is historical development and contemporary state of being.

SOURCES

ARCHIVES

AGA: Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares

Archivo de la Municipalidad de Tarragona

Archivo Digital de Barraques; http://www.barraques.cat/en/2-barraquisme-en-temps-de-repressio-i-racionament.php

Archivo Fisac: Archivo Miguel Fisac, Fundacion Miguel Fisac, http://fundacionfisac.org/fondos/

Archivo No-do, Radio Nacional de España, Madrid

Archivo Sota: Archivo Alejandro de la Sota, Fundación Alejandro de la Sota, Madrid

BOE: Boletín Oficial del Estado

Fondo d'Ors ANC: Fondo Eugenio d'Ors, Fons 255 in Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya

Fondo FPE: Colección Florentino Pérez-Embid, Archivo General Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona

Fondp JMA: Fondo José María Albareda, Archivo General Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona

Fondo LLR: Fondo Laureano Lopez-Rodó, correspondence, Archivo General Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona

Legado d'Ors: Legado Victor d'Ors, Archivo Histórico Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid, COAM, Madrid

Legado FA:Legado Antonio Fernández Alba, Archivo Histórico Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid, COAM, Madrid

Legado Fisac: Legado Miguel Fisac, Archivo Histórico Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid, COAM, Madrid

Legado Molezún: Legado Ramón Vazquez-Molezún, Archivo Histórico Colegio de Arquitectos de Madris, COAM, Madrid

Oficina de Información de la Prelatura del Opus Dei en España, Archivo General Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona

JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS

ABC
AC. Publicaciones del Gatepac In Arquithemas. (Madrid: Fundacion Caja de Arquitectos, 2005.)
ARA
Arbor. Revista del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas.
Architectural Forum
Architectural Review
Arquitectura
Arquitecturas Bis
Arriba
BDGA: Boletin de la Direccioón Generald e Arquitectura.
CAU. Construcción, Arquitectura y Urbanismo
Cortijos y Rascacielos: *casas de campo, arquitectura y decoración*
Cuadernos de Arquitectura
Destino
Domus
España
Hogar y Arquitectura. Revista bimestral de la obra sindical del hogar
La Gaceta del Norte
L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hu
L'Art Sacré
La Vanguardia
Memorias de la Secretaria General CSIC
Nueva Forma
Pensamiento Alavés
Quaderns
Razón y Fé
Reconstrucción
RNA: Revista Nacional de Arquitectura
Serra d'Or. Abadia Montserrat
Ya, Madrid

International Monographs on Spanish Architecture
*Zodia*c 15 (1965)
L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 149 (1970)
Controspazio 4 (1979)
L'architettura. Cronache e Storia
Arbitare 264 (1986)

INTERVIEWS

Carlos Sambricio, interview by María González Pendás, Boston, MA, US, November, 11, 2008; and Madrid, December 22, 2010.

Antón Capitel, interview by María González Pendás, Cangas de Onís, Asturias, Spain, August 18, 2012.

Tomás Lloréns, interview by María González Pendás, Denia, Spain, January 3, 2011.

Oriol Bohigas, interview by María González Pendás, Barcelona, Spain, May 29, 2012.

Enrique de la Sota, interview by María González Pendás, Madrid, Spain, May 25, 2012.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abalos, Iñaki, Llinas, Josep, and Puente, Moises. *Alejandro de la Sota*. Madrid: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2009.

Abellán, Rafael. *Por el imperio hacia Dios: crónica de una posguerra (1939-1955).* Barcelona: Planeta, 1978.

Ades, Dawn, Tim Benton, et al., ads. *Art and Power. Europe under the Dictators 1930-1945*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

Affron, Matthew and Mark Antliff, eds. *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Alba, Antonio. *La crísis de la Arquitectura Española, 1939-72.* Madrid: Cuadernos para el diálogo, 1972.

Albareda, José Maria. *Consideraciones sobre la investigación científica*. Madrid: Vita Brevis, 1951.

Aggregate. *Governing by Design. Architecture, Economy and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittburgh Pres, 2012.

Aguilar, Paloma. *Memory and Amnesia. The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2002.

_____. *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2008.

Althusser, Louis. *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso, 1984.

Åman, Anders. *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe During the Stalin Era: An Aspect of Cold War History*. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1992.

Amir Arjomand, Said. *The Political Dimensions of Religion*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Antliff, Mark. "Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity." *Art Bulletin* 84, no.1 (March 2002): 148-169.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of

Minnesota Press, 1996.

Ardavín, Carlos, ed. *Oceanografía de Xénius. Estudios Criticos dea Eugenio d'Ors*. Girona: Universidad de Girona, 2005.

Aranguren, José Luis. *La filosofia de Eugenio d'Ors*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1981.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, 1971 [1948]

Argan, Giulio Carlo. "Architecture and Ideology" [1957], *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, 253-59. Edited by Joan Ockman. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1985.

Arostegui, Julio. "La historiografia sobre la España de Franco. Promesas y debilidades." *Historia Contemporanea* 1 (1992) 77-99.

Arques Soler, Francisco. *Miguel Fisac*. Madrid: Pronaos, 1996.

Arrese, Jose Luis. *Una etapa constituyente*. Barcelona:Planeta, 1982.

Asad, Talal. *Formations of the Secular*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Asensio-Wandosell, Carlos and Moisés Puente. *Miguel Fisac, Alejandro de la Sota*. Madrid: Fundacion ICO, 2014.

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003 [1953].

Aureli, Pier Vittorio. *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008.

Baldellou, Miguel Angel. *Alejandro de la Sota*. Madrid: Gobernación de Urbanismo, Vivienda e Infraestructiras, 2006.

_____, and Antón Capitel. *Arquitectura española del siglo XX*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1995.

_____. "Neorerealismo y Arquitectura. El "Problema de la Vivienda" en Madrid, 1954-1966." *Arquitectura* 301 (1995): 20-51.

Balibar, Etienne. "Cosmopolitanism and Secularism: Controversial Legacies and Prospective Interrogations," *Grey Room* 44 (2011):. 6–25.

Banham, Reyner. "Neoliberty. The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture." *The Architectural Review* 125 (1959): 230-235.

_____. "The New Brutalism." *Architectural Review* (December 1955): 354-61.

Basilio, Miriam. *Visual Propaganda, Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War*. London: Ashgate, 2014.

Barge Ferreiros, Santiago. *La Restauración del Patrimonio Arquitectonico Moderno. Analisis y Crítica de las Intervenciones en el Gobierno Civil de Tarragona*. Phd Diss., Universidad Politecnica de Catalunya, 2014.

Barreiro-López, Paula. A*rte Normativo Español. Procesos y principios para la creación de un movimiento*. Madrid: CSIC, 2005.

_____. *La abstracción geométrica en España (1957-1969)* Madrid: CSIC, 2009.

_____. "La invención de la vanguardia en la España franquista: estrategias políticas y realidades aparentes," in *¿Verdades cansadas? Imágenes y estereotipos acerca del mundo hispánico en Europa.* Edited by Víctor Bergasa and Miguel Cabañas. Madrid: CSIC, 2009.

Barrie, Thomas. *The Sacred In-Between. The Mediating Roles of Architecture*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Barry, Andrew. *Political Machines: Governing a Technological Society*. London ; New York: Athlone Press, 2001.

Behrman, Greg. *The Most Noble Adventure: The Marshall Plan and How America Helped Rebuild Europe*. New York: Free Press, 2008.

Bermúdez, Julio, ed. *Transcending Architecture: Contemporary Views on Sacred Space*. Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press: 2015.

Benevolo, Leonardo. *Historia de la Arquitectura Moderna*. 8th ed. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1999.

Ben-Ghiat, Ruth. *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Beniger, James R. *The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Benjamin, Walter. *Angelus Novus*. Barcelona; La Gaya Ciencia, 1971.

_____. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction (1935)," in *Illuminations*. Edited by Hannah Arendt; translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

Bianco, Coque. "Poética y Arquitectura. Sostres y su noticiero universal." *Annals d'arquitectura* , 1 (1983).

Blinkhorn, Martin. "Spain: the 'Spanish Problem' and the Imperial Myth."In *Journal of Contemporary History* 15-1. Special issue on Imperial Hangovers (1980): 5-25.

Bloch, Ernst. *The Principles of Hope Vol. I*, translated by Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice and Paul Knight Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986 [1959].

Bloch-Robin, Marianne. "Les Madrilènes et les espaces de la ville: de Surcos (José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1951) à Barrio (Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998)" *Chaiers de la civilisation espagnole contemporaine* 13 (2014), on-line, published December 30 2014, accessed September 20, 2015.

Bohigas, Oriol. *Barcelona entre el Plá Cerdá y el barraquisme*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1963.

_____. *Contra una arquitectura adjetivada*. Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1969.

_____, et al. *Arquitectura, Historia y Teoría de los Signos; El Symposium De Castelldefels*. Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1974.

_____. *Modernidad en la Arquitectura de la España Republicana* [1970]. Barcelona: Tusquests, 1998.

_____. *Once arquitectos*. Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1976.

_____. "La arquitectura para después de una guerra y el buen gusto de antes de la guerra." *Arquitecturas Bis* 20 (1978): 31.

_____. "Sartoris: the first classicist of the avant-garde." *Oppositions* 17 (1979): 76-79.

_____. *Entusiasmos compartidos y batallas sin cuartel*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1992.

_____. *Desde los años inciertos*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1992.

_____. *Realismo, Urbanidad y Fracasos*. Ediciones Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona: T6, 2003.

Bonino, Michele . *Josep Maria Sostres : 1915-1984*. Torino: CELID, 2000.

Borkin, Joseph. *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben*. London: The Free Press, 1978.

Boyd, Carolyn. *Historia patria: politics, history, and national identity in Spain, 1875-1975*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

_____. *Violencia política en la España del siglo XX*. Madrid: Taurus, 2000.

Box, Zira. *España, año cero: la construcción simbólica del franquismo*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2010.

_____. "La tesis de la religión política y sus críticosaproximación a un debate actual." *Ayer* 62 (2006): 195-230.

_____. "Secularizando el apocalipsis. Manufactura mítica y discurso nacional franquista de la narración de la Victoria." *Historia y política: Ideas, porcesos y moiminetos sociales* 12 (2004): 133-160.

_____. "Hacer patria. La arquitectura al servicio de la nación durante el primer franquismo." In *Nuevos horizontes del pasado. Culturas políticas, identidades y formas de representación: Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea*. Ed. by Angeles Barrio Alonso, Jorge de Hoyos Puente, and Rebeca Saavedra Arias (2011)

Boyd White, Iain. *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators, 1930-46*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Bozal, Valeriano, et al., eds. *Estudios de Historia del Arte en honor de Tomás Llorens*. Madrid: Machado Libros, 2007.

Bozdogan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic.* Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Braham, William W., Jonathan A. Hale, and John Stanislav Sadar. *Rethinking Technology: A Reader in Architectural Theory*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Brennan, Marcia. *Curating Consciousness. Mysticism and the Modern Museum*. Cambridge, MIT Press,

2010.

Briggs, Philip J. *Making American Foreign Policy: President-Congress Relations from the Second World War to the Post Cold War Era*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994.

Bru, Eduard, and José Luis Mateo. *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1984.

Burian, Edward R. "Modernity and Nationalism: Juan O'Gorman and Post-revolutionary Architecture in Mexico, 1920-1960." In *Cruelty and Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America*, edited by Jean-François Lejeune, 211-23. NY: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Cabañas Bravo, Miguel. L*a política artística del franquismo: el hito de la Bienal Hispano-Americana de Arte.* Madrid: CSIC, 1996.

_____. *Artistas contra Franco.* Mexico D.F: Universidad Autónoma de Mexico, 1996.

_____, ed. *El Arte Español del Siglo XX: su perspectiva al final del milenio.* Madrid: CSIC, 2001.

_____, ed. *Presencia e influencia en España del arte americano a través de las Bienales Hispanoamericanas.* Madrid:CSIC: 2004.

_____, ed. *El Arte foráneo en España: presencia e influencia*. MAdrid: CSIC, 2005.

Calatrava, Juan. "Leopoldo Torres Balbás. Architectural restoration and the idea of "tradition" in Early Twentieth Century Spain." Translated by María González Pendás. In *Future Anterior* IV-2 (2007): 41-45.

Caldeira, Marta. "Batallas sin Cuartel: Rogers et la cultura architettonica catalana (1958-1969)." In *Ernesto Nathan Rogers: 1909-1969*, 182-195. Edited by Chiara Bagliones. Milan: Franco Agneli, 2012.

Callahan, William James. *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000.

Calleja, José María, and Julián Casanova. *El Valle de los Caídos*. Madrid: Espasa, 2009.

Calvo Serraler, Francisco. *España, medio siglo de arte de vanguardia, 1939-1985*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educacion, Cultura y Deporte, 1985

Cánovas, Andrés, ed., *Pabellón de Bruselas '58: Corrales y Molezún*. Madrid: Ministerio de Vivienda, 2004.

Cañellas Mas, Antonio. *Laureano López Rodó: Biografia política de un Ministro de Franco (1920-2000)* Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2003; Kinlde Edition, 2013.

Capitel, Antón. *Arquitectura española. Años 50-80*. Madrid: MOPU, 1986.

_____, and Wilfried Wang, eds. *Twentieth Century Architecture Spain*. Madrid: Tanais, 2000.

_____. "Teologia y Funcionalismo. Las Formas Sagradas de Rudolf Schwarz." *Arquitectura Viva* 58 (1998): 68-71.

Caprotti, Federico. *Mussolini's Cities: Internal Colonisation in Italy, 1930-1939*. Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007.

Cardullo, Bert. *Cinematic Illusions. Realism, Subjectivity and the Avant-Garde.* Newcastle upon Tyme: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008.

Carr, Raymond. *Modern Spain. 1875-1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

_____, and Juan Pablo Fussi. *Spain. Dictatorship to Democracy*. London: Harper Collins, 1981.

Casanova, José. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994

_____. *The Opus Dei Ethic and the Modernization of Spain*. (PhD Diss. New York: New School for Social Research, 1982)

_____. "The Spanish State and its Relations with Society." *State, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 2 (Winter, 1985), 109-136.

_____. "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain." *Social Science Information* 22, 1 (1983), 251.

_____. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Castillo Genzor, Adolfo, and Mariano Tomeo Lacure. *Albareda fue así*. Madrid: CSIC, 1971.

Castillo, Gregg. *Cold War on the home front: the soft power of midcentury design*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Causse, Françoise. *La revue 'L'Art Sacré': Le débat en France sur l'art et la religion (1945-1954)*. Paris: Cerf, 2010.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Checa Artasus, Martín. "La Diocesis de Barcelona en la Posguerra: Entre la reconstruccion de edificios religiosos y la promoción inmobiliaria." In *Barcelona-Montreal: desarrollo urbano comparado*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1998.

_____. "Viviendas para empresas y catolicos: el caso del Patronato de las Viviendas del Congreso."In *Habitatge obrer i colonies industrials a la península Ibérica. Actas 2005*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008.

Chueca-Goitia, Fernando. *Invariantes Castizos de la Arquitectura Española*. Madrid: Dossat, 1947.

_____. *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*. Madrid: DGA, Ministerio de la Gobernación, 1953.

_____. *Viviendas de Renta Limitada en Estados Unidos*. Madrid: Direccion General de Arquitectura, 1956.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

_____. *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914.* Seattle:

University of Washington Press, 2008.

Cenarro Lagunas, Ángela. *La sonrisa de Falange: Auxilio Social en la guerra civil y en la posguerra*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2005.

Centellas Soler, Miguel. Lo*s Pueblos de Colonización de Fernandez del Amo: Arte, Arquitectura y Urbanismo*. Madrid: Fundacion Caja de Arquitectos, 2010.

Crinson, Mark. *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.

Critchlow, Keith. *Islamic Patterns. An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Cirici, Alexander. *La estética del Franquismo*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977.

Ciucci, Giorgio. "The Classicism of the E42: Between Modernity and Tradition." *Assemblage* 8 (1989): 79-87.

Clark, T. J. *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Coderch, Juan Antonio. "No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora," Revista Nacional de Arquitectura (1962):21-26; in English in *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, ed. by Joan Ockman (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 335-337.

_____. "No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora. Espiritualidad en la Arquitectura." In *Arquitectura española contemporánea. Documentos, escritos, testimonios inéditos*, ed. by Angel Urrutia Nuñez (Madrid: COAM, 2002), 306-309.

_____, and Rafael Diez Barreñada. *Coderch: Variaciones Sobre una Casa*. Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2003.

Cohen, Jean-Louis. *Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge, 1893-1960*. Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1995.

Colomina, Beatriz. *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994.

_____. *"*Pavilions of the Future." In *Your Black Horizon*, ed. Olafur Eliasson and David Adjaye. Cologne: Walter Konig, Cologne, 2007.

Corrales, Jose Antonio. *Corrales y Molezún: Pabellón de España en la Exposición Universal de Bruselas,* 1958-59. Madrid: Rueda, 2004.

Cortés, Juan Antonio. *Gobierno Civil de Tarragona, 1957-1964*. Almeria: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 2006.

Cox, Harvey. *The Secular City. Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1966.

Crespo Montes, Luis. *Las reformas de la Administración Española*. Madrid, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000.

Crowley, David, and Jane Pavitt. *Cold War Modern. Design 1945-1970*. London: V&A Publishing, 2008.

Cupers, Keny. *The Social Project. Housing Postwar France*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

_____. "Designing Social Life: The Urbanism of the Grands Ensembles," *Positions* 1 (2010): 94-121.

Curtis, William. *Modern Architecture since 1900*. 3rd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996.

_____. "Authenticity, Abstraction and the Ancient Sense: Le Corbusier's and Louis Kahn's Ideas of Parliament." *Perspecta* 20 (1983): 181-194.

_____, et la. *Alejandro de la Sota: The Architecture of Imperfection*. London: Architectural Association, 1997.

Dalmace, Michèle, Marías, Fernando et al. *Equipo Crónica: crónicas reales*. Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 2007.

Davis, Ian, ed. *Christian Dimensions in Architecture and Planning*. Leicester: Association of Christians in Planning and Architecture, 1982.

De Diego, Álvaro. *José Luis Arrese o la Falange de Franco*. Actas: Madrid, 2001.

De Grand, Alexander. *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: The "Fascis" Style of Rule*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

De Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empires: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005.

_____. *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Delgado Orusco, Eduardo. *Entre el suelo y el cielo. Arte y Arquitectura sacra en España, 1939-1975*. Madrid: Funzacion SEK, 2006.

_____. *Arquitectura Sacra Española, 1939-1975: de la posguerra al Concilio*. PhD Dissertation, Madrid: Universidad Politécnica, 1999.

_____. *Santa Ana de Moratalaz, 1965-1971 Miguel Fisac*. Almerria: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almeria, 2007.

Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, Lorenzo. *Diplomacia franquista y política cultural hacia iberoamérica, 1939-1953*. Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988

Devos, Rika. "Het Vaticaanse paviljoen on Expo 58 en de moderne religieuze kunst in België." In *Trajecta* 10, 3 (2001): 244-263.

_____, and De Kooning, Mil, eds. *L'architecture moderne à l'Expo 58 : Pour un monde plus humain.* Antwerp: Fons Mercator, 2006.

_____, Alexander Ortenberg and Vladimir Paperny, eds. *Architecture of Great Expositions 1937-1959. Messages of Peace, Images of War*. Farnham: Ashagate, 2015.

Díaz del Campo, Ramón Vicente. *Miguel Fisac: arquitector, teórico y artista.* Phd diss., Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 2009.

_____. "Iglesia y modernidad. Miguel Fisac y la nueva arquitectura en España." In *Arte, poder y sociedad en la España de los siglos XV a XX* (Madrid: CSIC, 2006), 673-686.

_____. "El conjunto del CSIC en Madrid: La Creación de la Ciudad de Dios y de la Ciencia." In *Memoria e identidades*, s/p.Edited by.Justo Beramendi. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2004.

Díaz Sánchez. Julián. *La "oficialización" de la vanguardia artística en la postguerra española*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla la Mancha, 1998.

_____. *La crítica de arte en España, 1939-1976*. Madrid: Istmo, 2004.

_____. *El triunfo del Informalismo. La consideración de la pintura abstracta en la época de Franco*. Madrid : Metáforas del Movimiento Moderno, 2000.

_____. "Los criticos, los artistas y la pintura abstracta en la Espana de la posguerra." *ABA* LXXV, no. 297 (2002) 297, 39- 50.

_____, and Angel Llorente, eds. *La Crítica de Arte en España, 1939-1976*. Madrid: Istmo, 2004.

Díez Pastor, María Concepción. *Carlos Arniches y Martín Domínguez, arquitectos de la generación del 25*. Madrid: Mairea Libros, 2005.

Dobrenko, Eugeny, ed. *Socialist Realism without Shores*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997.

Dodds, Jerrilynn. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

_____. A*rchitecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 1990.

Doménech, Lluis, Carlos Sambricio and Antón Capitel. *Arquitectura para después de una guerra, 1939-1949*. Special issue in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo* 121 (1977)

_____. *"*Ideologia y lenguaje en las arquitecturasdel poder." *Arquitecturas Bis* 12 (1976): 19-24.

Duranti, Massimo, ed. *Piety and Pragmatism: Spiritualism in Futuristic Art*. Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2010.

Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology. An Introduction*. New York: Verso, 2007.

Eco, Umberto. *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*. Translated by Hugh Bredin. New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Ecker, Heather. "The Great Mosque of Córdoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 113-14.

Eisenstadt, S. N. "Multiple Modernities." *Daedalus* 129,1 (2000): 1-29.

Ellul, Jacques. *The Technological Society.* Translated by John Wilkinson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf,

1964.

Engels, Frederick. *The Housing Question*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1979 [1872].

Escrivá de Balaguer, Jose María. *El Camino* [1939] Madrid: Rialp, Kindle ed. 2002

Fernández Alba, Antonio. *La crisis de la arquitectura española. 1939-1972*. Madrid: Cuadernos para el Dialogo, 1972.

_____."25 años de arquitectura Espanola, 1949-1964." *Arquitectura* 64 (1964).

Fernández Cobián, Esteban. *El espacio sagrado en la arquitectura española contemporanea*. Santiago de Compostela: Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, 2005.ƒ

Fernández del Amo, José Luis. *Palabra y Obra: Escritos reunidos*. Madrid: COAM, 1995.

Fernández Galiano, Luis, et al. *La quimera moderna: los Poblados Dirigidos de Madrid en la arquitectura de los 5*0. Madrid: Blume, 1989.

Fisac, Miguel. "Gracias a Dios, nos fuimos! Entrevista a Miguel Fisac," ODAN, Opus Dei Awareness Network, 2000, in http://www.opuslibros.org/escritos/entrvista fisac.

Flores, Carlos. *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. Bilbao: Aguilar, 1989 [1961]

_____. *Sobre arquitecturas y arquitectos*. Madrid: COAM, 1994.

Forty, Adrian. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000.

Foucault, Michel. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador, 2007 [2004]

Fox, Inman. *Invention of Spain*. Madrid: Catedra, 2007.

Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1992.

_____. *Labour, Work and Architecture*. London: Phaidon, 2002.

_____. *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995.

_____. and Adolf Martinez. *Bohigas, Martorell Mackay: 30 Anni Di Architettura, 1954-1984*. Milano: Electa, 1984.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Fullaondo, Juan Daniel, and María Teresa Muñoz. *Historia de la Arquitectura Contemporánea Española*. . 3 volumes. Madrid: Editorial Munillalería, 1995.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Cold War: A New History*. London: Penguin Books, 2005.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. *Alternative Modernities*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Garcia Cuéllar, Fidel. *La obra artística de Fisac, Adsuara y Stolz en la Iglesia del Espíritu Santo*. Madrid: CSIC, 2007.

García Fuente, Josep María. *La construcción del Montserrat Moderna* (Phd diss., Universitat Politecnica de Catalunya, 2012)

Garrido, Gines and Andrés Cánovas, eds. *Textos de Crítica Arquitectónica Comentados*. Madrid: ETSAM, 2003.

Gentile, Emilio. "Fascism as Political Religion." *Journal of Contemporary History* 25 (1990): 229-251.

_____. *Fascismo di pietra*. Roma:Laterza, 2007.

Ghirardo, Diane. "Architects, Exhibitions, and the Politics of Culture in Fascist Italy." *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, 2 (1992): 67-75.

_____. *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Giedion, Siegfried. *Space, Time and Architecture; the Growth of a New Tradition*. 9th ed. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 2008.

_____. "Nine Points on Monumentality" [1943] in *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, 27-30.Edited by Joan Ockman. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.

_____. *Mechanization Takes Command, a Contribution to Anonymous History*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948.

Giménz Caballero, Ernesto. *Arte y Estado* [1935] Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2009.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Godfrey, Mark. *Abstraction and the Holocaust*. New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Golan, Romy. *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Golomstock, Igor. *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China*. London: Collins Harvill, 1990.

Golsan, Richard, ed. *Fascism, Aesthetics, and Culture*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992.

González Pendás, María. "Modernity Consecrated: Architectural Discourse and the Catholic Imagination in Franquista Spain" in *Modern Architecture and Religious Communities 1850-1970: Building the Kingdom*. Edited by Ayla Lepine and Kate Jordan. New York: Routledge, 2017.

_____. "Politics of the Void: Franquista Spain at Expo'58" in *Architecture of Great Expositions 1937-1958: Messages of Peace, Images of War*. Edited by Rika Devos, Alexander Ortenberg and Vladimir Paperny. London: Ashgate, 2015.

_____. “Apátridas Architectures: Candela, Sert, and the Return of the Modern to Postwar Spain” in *Coming home?. Conflict and return migration in the aftermath of Europe’s twentieth-century civil wars*. Edited by Scot Soo and Sharif Gemie. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2013.

_____. “Technics and Geopolitics: Felix Candela’s Political Imaginary” in Latin American Modern Architectures: Ambiguous Territories. Edited by Patricio del Real and Helen Gyger. New York: Routledge, 2012.

_____. “Franquismo at Expo’58: Mirage Effect of the Content-Form” in *Las exposiciones de arquitectura y la arquitectura de las exposiciones*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2014.

Grabbar, Oleg. *The Formation of Islamic Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Gracia, Jordi. *Estado y cultura. El despertar de una conciencia crítica bajo el franquismo, 1940-62*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1996.

_____. *La resistencia silenciosa. Fascismo y cultura en España*. Barcelona:Anagrama, 2004.

Graham, Helen, and Jo Labanyi, eds. *Spanish Cultural Studies*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.

Graham, John T. *Theory of History in Ortega y Gasset: "The Dawn of Historical Reason"*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997.

Gramsci, Antonio*. Selections from the Prision Notebooks*. Translated by Quintin Hoarse and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Granados, Anastasio*. El Cardenal Gomá. Primado de España*. Madrid:Espasa-Calpe, 1969.

Grassi, Giorgio. "Avant-Garde and Continuity." In *Oppositions Reader*, edited by Michael Hays, 391-99. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

Greenhalgh, Paul. *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai 1851-2010*. London: Papadakis Dist A C, 2011.

Gregotti, Vittorio. *New Directions in Italian Architecture*, New York: Braziller, 1968.

_____. *Il Territorio dell'architettura Materiali*. Milano: Feltrinelli, 1966.

Guardini, Romano. *Letters from Lake Como. Explorations in Technology and the Human Race*. Translated by Geoffrey Bromiley. Michigan: Grand Rapids, 1994.

Guerra, Javier Sáenz. *Un mito moderno. Una capilla en el Camino de Santiago. Sáenz De Oíza, Oteiza y Romani, 1954*. Navarra: Fundación Museo Oteiza, 2007.

Guilbaut, Serge. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983.

Heidegger, Martin. *Poetry, Language, and Thought*. New York: Harper Colophon, 1971.

Habermas, Jurgen. "Modernism: An Incomplete Project." In *The Anti-Aesthetic : Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, 3-15. Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay Press, 1983.

_____. “Religion in the Public Sphere,” *European Journal of Philosophy* 14 (2006), 1-25.

Hammond, Peter. *Towards a Church Architecture*. London: Architectural Press, 1962.

Hays, Michael. “Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form.” *Perspecta* 21 (1984)

_____. *Modernism and the Posthumanist Subject. The Architecture of Hanes Meyer and Ludwig Hilberseimer*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995.

Herbert, James D. *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernisms: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Herzog, Jonathan. *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Heynen, Hilde. *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Isaac, Angel. “Los invariantes castizos y el Manifiesto de la Alhambra.“ In *Goya. Revista de Arte* 264 (1998): 175-186.

_____, ed. *El Manifiesto de la Alhambra: 50 años depues. El monumento y la arquitectura contemporánea*. Granada: Consejeria de Cultura, 2003..

Jackson, Anthony. *The Politics of Architecture; a History of Modern Architecture in Britain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Jameson, Fredric. “Architecture and the Critique of Ideology.” In *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology,* 52-87. Edited by Joan Ockman, et al. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1985.

_____. “Periodizing the 60s.” In *The Ideologies of Theory. Essays 1971-1986. Volume 2, Syntax of History*, 178-210. New York: Routledge, 1988.

_____. “The Politics of Theory: Ideological Positions in the Postmodern Debate.” *New German Critique* 33 (Fall 1984): 53-65.

_____, ed. *Aesthetics and Politics*. London: Verso, 1977.

_____. *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present*. New York: Verso, 2002.

Jerez-Farrán, Carlos and Samuel Amago, eds. *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy. Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Notre Dmme: University of Notre Damme, 2010.

Jimenez-Blanco, María Dolores. *Arte y Estado en la España del siglo xx*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989.

Joll, James. *Three Intellectuals in Politics*. New York: Harper Colophon, 1960.

Jones, Owen. *Design, Ornament, Architecture and Theory in an Age in Transition.* New York, Rizzoli, 2006 [1856].

Juan-Navarro, Santiago. "'Una sola fe en una sola lengua:' La Hispanidad como coartada ideological en el pensamiento reaccionario español." In *Hispania,* 89-2 (2006), 392-399.

Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005.

Kidder-Smith, George E. *The New Churches of Europe*. New York: Holt, 1964.

Kinder, Marsha. *Blood Cinema. The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1993

Kulić, Vladimir, and Wolfang Thaler, eds. *Modernism In-Between. The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia.* Berlin: Jovis, 2012.

_____, Monica Penick and Timothy Parker, eds. *Sanctioning Modernism: Architecture and the Making of Postwar Identities*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2014.

Krauss, Rosalind. "Grids." In *October* 9 (Summer, 1979): 50-64.

Labanyi, Jo , ed. *Constructing Identity in Twentieth-Century Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practices.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

_____. *Ironía e Historia en tiempo de silencio*. Madrid: Taurus, 1985.

Lahuerta, Juan José. *1927, La Abstracción Necesaria en el Arte y la Arquitectura Europeos de entreguerras*. Pensamiento Crítico/Pensamiento Utópico ;. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1989.

_____. *Antonio Gaudí [1852-1926]: Arquitectura, Ideología y Política*. Madrid: Electa España, 2000.

_____. *Humareda : Arquitectura, Ornamentación, Medios Impresos*. Madrid: Lampreave.

_____, and Max von Moos-Stiftung. *Religious Painting: Picasso and Max Von Moos*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015.

Latour, Bruno. *The Pasteurization of France*. Translated by A. Sheridan and J. Law. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Legault, Réjean, and Sarah Williams Goldhagen. *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*. Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2000.

Lejeune, Jean-Francois. "Planned Cities in Spain 1944-1969." In *Cities of Stone: The Other Modernity*, Edited by Claudio d'Amato, 158-167. Milan: Marsilio, 2006.

_____, and Michelangelo Sabatino, eds. *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean. Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities.* London: Routledge, 2010.

Levine, Neil. *Modern Architecture: Representation and Reality*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2009.

Llorens, Tomás. "Realismo y arte comprometido." *Suma y Sigue del Arte Contemporaneo* 4 (1963): 12-

16.

_____. “Oriol Bohigas: Barcelona entre el Plá Cerdá i el barraquisme.” *Suma y Sigue del Arte Contemporaneo* 5-6 (1964): 80-83.

_____. “La Arquitectura del franquismo: a proposito de una revisión.” *Arquitecuras Bis* 28 (1979): 12-19.

_____. “Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History.” *Architectural Design* 6-7 (1981): 83-95.

_____, Valeriano Bozal et al., eds. *España. Vanguardia artítstica y realidad social: 1936-1976.* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1976

Llorente, Angel. *Arte e ideología en la España de la posguerra, 1939-1951*. Madrid: Machados Libros, 1995.

_____. *Arte para después de una guerra.* Madrid: Fundación Caja de Madrid, 1993

_____, and Julián Díaz Sánchez. *La crítica de erte en España,1939-1976.* Madrid: Istmo, 2004.

Loeffler, Jane. *The Architecture of Diplomacy Building America's Embassies*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

López, Jesús. “Vivienda social y Falange: ideario y construcción en la década de los 40.” *Scripta Nova* VII 146.

López Pelaez, Jose Manuel. “La difusa presencia de Mies en la Arquitectura Madrileña.“ *Quaderns d’Arquitectura i Urbanisme* 172 (1987): 80-93.

López Rodó, Laureano. *Política y Desarrollo*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1971.

_____. *Estructura y Funciones de la Administracion Financiera*. Madrid: Oficina de Coordinacion y Programación Económica, 1959.

Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

Maeztu, Ramiro de. *En Defensa del Espíritu*. Madrid: Rialp, 1958.

Mallgrave, Harry Francis, and Eleftheriou Ikonomou, eds. *Empathy, Form and Space. Problems in German Aesthetics 1873-93.* Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994.

Martin, Reinhold. *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space*. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 2003.

_____. “Empty Form. Six Observations.” In *Log* 11 (2008): 15-21.

_____. “The MIT Chapel: An Interdiscursive History.” In *A Second Modernism. MIT, Architecture and the Techno-Social Moment.* Edited by Arindam Dutta. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013.

Martínez González, Javier. *Historiografía de la arquitectura española moderna. 1945-1978*. (PhD Diss.

Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2006)

Marín Viadel, Ricardo. *Equipo Crónic : pintura, cultura y sociedad*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2002.

Marzo, Jorge Luis. "La vanguardia del poder. El poder de la vanguardia. Entrevista a Luis González Robles." In *Revista de Calor* 1, (1993): 30-35.

Mas Torrecillas, Vicente Javier. A*rquitectura Social y Estado entre 1937 y 1957: La Direccion General de Regiones Devastadas*. PhDiss UNED, Madrid, 2008.

Masey, Jack, and Conway Lloyd Morgan. *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and their Role in the Cultural Cold War.* Baden: Lars Müller Publishers (2008)

Mazower, Mark. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Books, 2000.

McLeod, Mary. "Le Corbusier and Algiers." [1980] In *Oppositions Reader,* edited by Michael Hays, 487-519. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

_____. *Urbanism and Utopia: Le Corbusier from Regional Syndicalism to Vichy* (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1985)

Medina Dominguez, Alberto. *Exorcismos de la memoria. Políticas y poéticas de la melancholia en la España de la transición*. Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 2001.

Mendelson, Jordana. *Documenting Spain. Artists, Exhibition Culture and the Modern* Nation, 1929-1939. Pennsylvania Park: Penn State University Press, 2005.

_____, and Lauren McLaren*. Constructing Democracy in Southern Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Italy, Spain, and Turkey*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Méndez, Diego. *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*.Madrid: Ed. Alberti. Madrid, 2009.

Mendieta, Eduardo and Jonathan Vananwerpen, eds., *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Mercader, Laura, Martí Peran, and Natalia Bravo. *Eugenio D'ors del Arte a la Letra*. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1997.

Merino, Eloy E., and H. Rosi Song, eds. T*races of Contamination: Unearthing the Francoist Legacy in Contemporary Spanish Discourse*. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2005

Mertins, Detlef. *Modernity Unbound*. London: Architecture Association, 2011.

Miller Lane, Barbara. *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945*. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Miller, James. "What Secular Age?" *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 21, 1/4, (2008), 5-10.

Mitchell, Tomithy, ed. "The Stage of Modernity." In *Questions of Modernity*, 1-34. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Moleón Gavilanes, Pedro. *La arquitectura oficial en las décadas de 1930 y 1940*. Cuadernos del Instituto Juan de Herrera. Madrid: Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2000.

Moncada, Alberto. *Historia Oral del Opus Dei*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janes, 1992.

Moneo, Rafael. *Rafael Moneo, 1967-2004*. Madrid: El Croquis Editorial, 2004.

_____. "A la conquista de lo irracional" [1966]

_____. "On Typology." *Oppositions* 13 (1978).

_____. *The Solitude of Buildings.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, 1986.

_____. "The Mosque and the Cathedral," *FMR* 33, (July-August 1988): 91-120.

Montaner, Josep María. *Despues del Movimiento Moderno: Arquitectura de la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1993.

_____. *La modernidad superada: arquitectura, arte y pensamiento del siglo XX*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1997.

_____ and Fabián Gabriel Pérez, eds. *Teorías de la Arquitectura. Memorial Ignasi de Solà-Morales*. Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 2003.

Morán, Gregorio. El *maestro en el erial: Ortega y Gasset y la cultura del franquismo*. Barcelona: Tusquets, 1998.

Moraña, Mabel, ed. *Ideologies of Hispanism*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005.

Morell, Alberto. *Miguel Fisac. El espacio dinámico*. Guadalajara: Colegio de Arquitectos de Guadalajara, 2005.

Moreno, Joaquim. *Arquitecturas Bis (1974-1985): From Publication to Public Action*. PhD diss., Princeton University, 2011.

Muehlenbeck, Philip. *Religion and the Cold War*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012.

Mumford, Eric. *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*. Cambridge, Ma: MIT Press, 2000.

Mumford, Lewis. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, 1934.

Murga Castro, Idoia. "El Pabellón Español de 1939: Un Proyecto frustrado para la Exposición Internacional de Nueva York" *Archivo Español de Arte LXXXIII*, 331 (2010): 213-234.

Narotzky, Susana, and Smith, Gavin. "Being politico in Spain: An Ethnographic Account of Memories, Silences and Public Politics." *History & Memory* 14 (2002)

Neumeyer, Fritz. *Mies van der Rohe. La palabra sin artificio*. Translated by Jordi Siguan. Madrid: El Croquis Editorial, 2000.

Nichols, Aidan. "The Dominicans and the Journal *L'Art Sacré.*" In *New Blackfriars*, 88 (2007): 30-45.

Nolte, Ernst. *Three faces of fascism; Action Française Italian fascism, National Socialism*. New York:

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Ockman, Joan, ed. *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.

_____. "The Most interesting Form of Lie." In *Oppositions Reader*, edited by Michael Hays, 412-21. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

_____. "Lessons from Objects: Perriand from the Pioneer Years to the Epoch of Realities," in *Charlotte Perriand: an art of living*. Edited by Mary McLeod, 68-89. New York: Architectural League of New York, 2003.

Oldenziel, Ruth, and Karin Zachmann. *Cold War Kitchen. Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 2009.

Ors, Eugenio d. *Las ideas y las formas; estudios sobre morfología de la cultura*. Madrid: Editorial Paez, 1928.

_____. *Lo Barroco*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1993.

_____. *Teoria de los Estilos y Espejo de la Arquitectura*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1944.

_____. *Gigiotti Zanini*. Milan: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1953.

_____.Nuevo Glosario, vol. III (1934-1943). Madrid: Aguilar, 1949.

_____, and Santiago Marco. *EIAS. Catálogo de la Exposición Internacional de Arte Sacro*. Zarauz: Ministerio de Educacion, Jefatura Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1939.

Ors, Carlos d. *El Noucentisme: Presupuestos ideológicos, estéticos y artísticos*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2000.

Ortega y Gasset, José. *Deshumanización del Arte*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2005.

_____. *La rebelión de las masas*. Madrid: Alianza, 2005.

_____. Meditacion de la tecnica y otros ensayos sobre ciencia y filosofia. Madrid: Alianza, 2008.

Otero-Pailos, Jorge. *Architecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

_____. *Spain on Spain : Debates Sobre La Arquitectura Contemporanea = Debates on Contemporary Architecture*. Alcorcón: Rueda, 2009.

Palacios, Jesús. *Las Cartas de Franco, La correspondencia desconocida que marco el destino de España*. Madrid: La Esfera, 2005; Kindle edition, 2013.

Pasamar, Gonzalo. *Historiografia e Ideologia en la Posguerra Espanola*. Zaragoza: Edicion Universitaria de Zaragoza, 1991.

Paxton, Robert. "The Five Stages of Fascism." *Journal of Modern History*, 70:1 (1998) 1-23.

Payne, Stanley. *The Franco Regime. 1936-1975*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987

Pérez, Carlos, ed. *España años 50. Una decada de creación*. Madrid: Seacex, 2004.

Pérez Arroyo, Salvador. *Los años críticos. 10 arquitectos españoles*. Madrid: Fundación Antonio Camuñas, 2003.

Pérez-Embid, Florentino. *El mudejarismo en la Arquitectura Portuguesa en la Epoca Manuelina*. Madrid: CSIC, 1955.

Pérez Escolano, Victor. "La arquitectura española del segundo franquismo y el "Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura", 1946-1957." In *RA: revista de arquitectura* 16 (2014): 25-40.

_____. "Arquitectura y política en España a través del Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1946-1957." In *RA: revista de arquitectura* 15 (2013): 35-46.

_____. "De vuelta…A.C: documento del destino de la vanguardia." In *Arquitecturas Bis* 13-14 (1976)

Pérez-Monfort, Ricardo. *Hispanismo y Falange: Los sueños de la derecha Española* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992)

Péteri, György. "Sites of Convergence: The USSR and Communist Eastern Europe at International Fairs Abroad and at Home," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47:3 (2012): 3-12.

Petrina, Alberto. "Oriol Bohigas: la persecucion de la modernidad." *Summa* 228 (1986) p. 23-32.

Piñon, Helio. *Arquitectura moderna de Barcelona (1951-1976)*. Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1996.

Piqueras, Norberto and Maria Jose Millán Trujillo, eds. *Memoria y vigencia de un compromiso: Universitarios contra la dictadura*. Valencia: Universitatde Valencia, 2013.

Pizza, Antonio, and Josep Maria Rovira, eds. *Desde Barcelona. Arquitecturas y Ciudad. 1958-1975*. Barcelona: COAC, 2002.

Plazaola, Juan. *Futuro Del Arte Sacro*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1973.

_____. *Introducción a La Estética: Historia, Teoría, Textos*. Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1973.

Pluvinage, Gonzague, ed. *Expo 58: between utopia and reality*. Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2008.

Pozo Municio, José Manuel, ed., *Los Brillantes 50: 35 Proyectos*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2004.

_____. et al. eds., *De Roma a Nueva York. Itinerarios de la nueva arquitectura española. 1950-1965*. *Actas*, Escuale Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra. Pamplona: T6, 1998.

_____. et al. eds., *Los años 50. La arquitectura y su compromiso con la historia*. *Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2000.

_____. et al. eds., *Arquitectura, ciudad e ideología antiurbana. Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2002.

_____. et al. eds., *Modelos alemanes e italianos para España en los años de posguerra*. *Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2004.

_____. et al. eds., *La arquitectura norteamericana, motor y espejo de la arquitectura española en el arranque de la modernidad (1945-1965) Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2006.

_____. et al. eds., Miradas cruzadas: intercambios entre Latinoamérica y España en la arquitectura del siglo XX. *Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2014.

_____. et al. eds., Viajes en la transición de la arquitectura española hacia la modernidad. *Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2014.

_____. et al. eds., Las revistas de arquitectura (1900-1975) crónicas, manifiestos, propaganda. *Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2014.

_____. et al. eds., Las exposiciones de arquitectura y la arquitectura de las exposiciones. La arquitectura española y las exposiciones internacionales (1929-1975) *Actas*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2014.

Proctor, Robert. *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church in Britain, 1955 to 1975* (London: Ashgate, 2012)

Puig-Samper, Miguel Angel, ed*. Tiempos de investigación: JAE-CSIC, cien años de ciencia en España*. Madrid: CSIC, 2007.

Quek, Raymond and Darren Deane, eds. *Nationalism and Architecture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.

Quetglas, Josep. *Pasado a Limpio*, Pre-Textos De Arquitectura. Valencia: Editorial Pre-Textos,1999.

_____. *Josep M. Sostres : Cinc Assaigs D'arquitectura*. Barcelona: COAC, 1990.

_____. *Conversaciones En Torno a Alejandro De La Sota*. Madrid: Departamento de Proyectos ETSAM, 1996.

Rabinbach, Anson. "Moments of Totalitarianism."*History and Theory* 45:1 (February 2006): 72-100.

_____. "The Aesthetics of Production in the Third Reich," *Journal of Contemporary History* 11-4, Special Issue: Theories of Fascism (1976): 43-74.

Ramos, Carlos. *Construyendo la modernidad: Escritura y arquitectura en el Madrid moderno*. Lleida: Universidad de Lleida, 2010.

Redondo, Gonzalo. *Política, cultura y sociedad en la España de Franco (1939-1975)*. Pamplona: Eunsa, 2005.

Reichlin, Bruno. "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1)" *Grey Room* 5 (2001): 79-101.

_____."Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 2)" *Grey Room* 6 (2002): 111-33.

Reina, Diego de. *Directrices Arquitectónicas de un Estilo Imperial*. Madrid: Ediciones Verdad, 1944.

Resina, Joan Ramon, ed. *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory since the Spanish*

Transition to Democracy. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000.

Rifkind, David. *The Battle for Modernism: Quadrante and the Politicization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy.* Venice: CISA Andrea Palladio and Marsilio Editori, 2012.

_____, and Elie Haddad, eds. *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture, 1960-2010.* London: Ashgate, 2014.

Risselada, Max, and Dirk van den Heuvel. *Team 10: 1953-81. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*. Rotterdam: NAi, 2005.

Robinson, Cynthia. *Interrogating Iberian Frontiers: A Cross-Disciplinary Research Symposium on Mudéjar History, Religion, Art and Literature.* Special issue of *Medieval Encounters* 12.3, 2006.

Roca, Jose Manuel. *La oxidada transición*. Madrid: La Linterna Sorda, 2013.

Rodríguez, Carme, and Jorge Torres, eds. *Grup R*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1994.

Ross, Kristin. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995.

Rogers, Ernesto Nathan. "Programma: Domus, la casa dell'uomo" [1946] In *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, edited by Joan Ockman, 77-79. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.

_____. "Continuità o Crisis?" *Casabella Continuità* 215 (May0 1957): 3-4.

Roig, Fernando, ed. *Anuario de Arte Sacro*. Barcelona: Aymá Sociedad Anonima Editora, 1957.

Rojas, Carlos. *Intelectuales frente al drama*. Barcelona: Dirosa, 1977.

Rovira, Josep María. *La arquitectura catalana de la modernidad*. Barcelona: UPC, 1987.

_____. *José Luis Sert: 1901-1983.* Milano: Electa Architecture, 2003.

_____. *Sert. Half a Century of Architecture: 1928-1979. Complete Works*. Barcelona: Fundació Joan Miró, 2005.

_____. "El edifico de la Delegación Nacional de Sindicatos." In *DC. Revista de Crítica Arquitectónica* 5-6 (2001): 149-63.

Rowe, Colin, Robert Slutzky, and Bernhard Hoesli. *Transparency*. Boston, MA: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1997.

Rubottom, Richard, and Carter Murphy, J. *Spain and the United States since World War II*. New York: Praeger, 1984.

Rudofsky, Bernard. *Architecture without Architects, an Introduction to Nonpedigreed Architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964.

Ruiz Cabrero, Gabriel. *The Modern in Spain: Architecture after 1948*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001.

_____. ed. *L'Arquitectura i l'art dels anys 50 a Madrid*. Barcelona: Fundacio Caixa d'Estalvis y Pensions, 1996.

_____. *Francisco de Asís Cabrero*. Madrid: Ed. COAM, 2007.

Sabatino, Michelangelo, Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy. Toronto,: The University of Toronto Press, 2010.

_____. "Spaces of Criticism: Exhibitions and the Vernacular in Italian Modernism." *Journal of Architectural Educati*on (2009): 35-52.

_____, and Lejeune, Jean-François, eds., *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010)

Sáenz Guerra, Javier. *Un mito moderno*. Alzuza, Navarra: Fundacion Museo Jorge Oteiza, 2007.

_____., et al. *Francisco Javier Saenz de Oiza*. Madrid: Ediciones Pronaos, 1996.

Said, Edward. *Orientalismo.* Translated by María Luisa Fuentes. Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2003.

Sambricio, Carlos. "A propósito de la arquitectura del franquismo: Carlos Sambricio responde a Tomás Llorens y Helio Piñón." *Arquitecturas Bis* 26 (1979): 25-27.

_____. "*Crítica: de Oriol Bohigas.*" In *Revista de Occidente* 115 (1972): 113-116

_____. *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*. Murcia: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos, 1983.

_____. *Contemporaneidad vs. modernidad. EL concurso de vivienda experimental de 1956*. Madrid: COAM, 1997)

_____. *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo : 1900-1960 : de la "normalización de lo vernáculo" al plan regional.* Madrid: Akal, 2004.

_____, and Raquel Muñoz. "La Ley Salmon de 1935 y el Madrid de la Segunda República." In *Ilustración de Madrid* 9 (2008): 30-49.

_____, et al. *Arquitectura en Regions Devastadas*. Madrid: MOPU, 1987.

Sánchez Lampreave, Ricardo. *Miguel Fisac Premio Nacional de Arquitectura 2002*. Madrid: Ministerio de Vivienda, 2009.

Sánchez Recio, Glicerio, ed. *El primer franquismo, 1936-1959*. Madrid : Marcial Pons, 1999.

Sanchez Ron, José Manuel. *Cincel, Martillo y Piedra: Historia de la Ciencia Española*. Madrid: Taurus, 1999.

Santiañe-Tió, Nil. *Topographies of Fascism. Habitus, Space and Writting in Twentieth Century Spain*. Toronto: university of Toronto Press, 2013.

Sartoris, Alberto. *Encyclopédie de L'architecture Nouvelle*. Milan: U.Hoepli, 1948.

_____. "The newest encyclopedia: The utopia of reality - Oriol Bohigas." *Domus* 656 (1984), 30.

Saz, Ismael. "Fascism, fascistization and developmentalism in Franco's dictatorship." *Social History* 29/3 (2004), 342-357.

Schaffer, Simon. *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Schmidt, Carl. *Political Theology*. Translated by George Scwab. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Schoenbaum, David. *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany, 1933-1939*. New York: Norton, 1980.

Schwarz, Rudolf. *The Church Incarnate: The Sacred Function of Christian Architecture*. Translated by Cynthia Harris. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1958.

_____. "Concerning the Building Art, 1951." In *Architecture Culture 1943-1968*, edited by Joan Ockman, 129-35. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.

Scott-Smith, Gilles, and Krabbendam, Hans, eds. *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Scott, Felicity. *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics after Modernism*. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 2007.

_____. "'Primitive Wisdom' and Modern Architecture." *Journal of architecture* 3, no. 3 (1998): 241-161.

Serna, Justo, and Pons, Anacleto. *La historia cultural. Autores, obras, lugares*. Madrid: Akal, 2005.

Sert, José Luis. *Can Our Cities Survive? An Abc of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*. Cambridge, MA: The Harvard University Press, 1942.

_____, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, and Ernesto N. Rogers.*The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*, C.I.A.M. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1979.

Sevillano Calero, Francisco. E*cos de papel: la opinión de los españoles en la época de Franco*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000.

Simona Pierini, Orsina. *Alejandro de la Sota. Dalla materia all'astrazione*. Maggioli Editore, 2010.

Skolnik, Jonathan and Peter Eli Gordon. "Introduction: Secularization and Disenchantment" *New German Critique* 94 (2005): 3–7

Smithson, Alison. *Team 10 Primer*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968.

_____, *Team 10 Meetings, 1953-1984*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1991.

_____, and Peter Smithson. *Without Rhetoric; an Architectural Aesthetic, 1955-1972*. London: Latimer New Dimensions, 1973.

_____, and Helena Webster. *Modernism without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of Alison and Peter Smithson*. London: Lanham, Md, 1997.

Sola-Morales, Ignasí de, Carlos Sambrcio, Victor Pérez-Escolano. *Arquitectura, Poder, Ideologia*, special issue of *Arquitectura* 199 (1976)

_____. *Differences. Topographies of Contemporary Architecture.* Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1997.

_____. *Eclecticismo y vanguardia y otros escritos.* Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2004.

_____. "Spanish Twentieth Century Architecture. Three Ideas to Interpret It." In *Birkhauser Architectural Guide, Spain 1920-1999*, 16-27. Seville: Tanais, 1998

_____. "Arquitecturas para después del movimiento moderno." *El Carrer de la Ciutat* 1 (1978)

_____, Cristian Cirici and Fernando Ramos. *Mies Van Der Rohe: Barcelona Pavilion*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1993.

_____, and Antón Capitel. *Contemporary Spanish Architecture: An Eclectic Panorama*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.

_____,"Critical Discipline: Giorgio Grassi *La Arquitectura Como Oficio*." In *Oppositions Reader*, edited by Michael Hays, 661-70. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

Sole, Ricardo. "The New Spain." *The New Left Review*, I/58 (November, December, 1969): 3-27.

Sopeña, Andrés. *El florido pensil: memoria de la escuela nacional-católica*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1994.

Speer, Albert, ed. *Arquitectura Moderna Alemana,* catalogue of the exhibition in Spanish (1942)

_____. *Inside the Third Reich*. New York: Avon Books, 1970.

Spinelli, Luigi, and José Antonio Coderch. *José Antonio Coderch : La Cellula e La Luce*. Torino: Testo & immagine, 2003.

Stone, Marla. *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univesity Press, 1989.

Sostres, José María. *Opiniones sobre Arquitectura*. Murcia: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos, 1983.

_____, Antonio Armesto, Carlos Martí Arís, and Josep Quetglas. *Sostres: Arquitecto = Architect*. Barcelona: Ministerio de Fomento, COAC, 1999.

Sota, Alejandro de la. *Alejandro de la Sota*. Madrid: Pronaos, 1997.

_____, and Moisés Puente. *Alejandro de la Sota: Escritos, Conversaciones, Conferencias*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2002.

_____. *Alejandro de La Sota: The Architecture of Imperfection*. Exemplary Projects. London: Architectural Association, 1997.

Stieber, Nancy. "Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58-3, (1999): 382-391.

Subirats, Eduardo. *Después de la lluvia. Sobre la ambigua modernidad española*. Madrid: Ensayo, 1993.

_____, ed. *Americo Castro y la revisión de la memoria: el Islam en España* (Madrid: Libertarias,

2003)

Sudjic, Deyan. *La arquitectura del poder*. Barcelona, Ariel, 2007.

Sutcliffe, Anthony. *An Economic and Social History of Western Europe since 1945*. New York: Longman, 1996.

Tafuri, Manfredo, and Francesco dal Co. *Modern Architecture* (Vol. 2). New York: H. N. Abrams, 1979.

_____. *Ludovico Quaroni E Lo Sviluppo Dell'architettura Moderna in Italia*, Panorami E Profili D'architettura E D'urbanistica ;. Milano,: Edizioni di Comunita, 1946.

_____. *Architecture and Utopia. Design and Capitalist Development* [1973]. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1990.

_____ , and Luisa Passerini, "History as Project: an Interview with Manfredo Tafuri," in *Being Manfredo Tafuri,* special issue of *ANY* 25/25, 44.

_____, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*. Translated by Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1987.

_____, "Realismé et Architecture" [1985] *Critique* 476-477 (1987): 23-42.

Taylor, Robert. *The Word in Stone: the Role of Architecture in the National Socialist Ideology*. Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1974.

Taylor, Mark. *Disfiguring. Art, Architecture and Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Termis Soto, Fernando. *Renunciando a todo. El régimen franquista y los Estados Unidos desde 1945 hasta 1963*. Biblioteca Nueva, 2005.

Torres Cueco, Jorge. *Italia y Catalunya. Relaciones e influencias en la arquitectura 1945-1968*. PhD Diss. Valencia: Universidad Politécnica, 1990.

Treglown, Jeremy. *Franco's Crypt: Spanish Culture and Memory since 1936*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

Tremlet, Gilles, *Ghosts opf Spain. Travels through Spain and its Silent Past*. London: Bloomsbury, 2006.

Tussel, Javier. *Franco y los católicos: La política interior española entre 1954 y 1957*. Madrid: Alianza, 1990.

_____. *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007.

Tussel, Genoveva. "La internacionalización del arte abstracto español: el intercambio de exposiciones con los Estados Unidos (1950-1964)." In *Espacio, tiempo y forma* 16 (2003): 223-232.

Ureña, Gabriel. *Arquitectura y urbanística civil y militar en el período de la autarquía (1936-1945): Análisis, cronología y textos*. Madrid: Istmo, 1979.

_____. *Las Vanguardias artísticas en la posguerra Española (1940-1959)* Madrid: Zeta Bolsillo,

1985.

Urrutia Nuñez, Angel. *Arquitectura española contemporánea. Documentos, escritos, testimonios inéditos*. Madrid: COAM, 2002.

Vallespín Muniesa, Aurelio. “Sobre la documentación gráfica bajo el tema ‘Capilla en el Camino de Santiago’ al Premio Nacional de Arquitectura 1954” in *Concursos de arquitectura: 14 Congreso Internacional de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica : Oporto, del 31 de mayo al 2 de junio de 2012*. (2012) 707-712.

Van der Veer, Peter. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Princeton University Press, 2001.

_____. *The Modern Spirit of Asia: The Spiritual and the Secular in China and India* (Princeton University Press, 2013)

Vidler, Anthony. *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism*. Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 2008.”

_____. “The Ledoux Effect: Emil Kaufmann and the Claims of Kantian Autonomy.” *Perspecta* 33 (2002): 16-29.

VVAA. *Textos de las Sesiones celebradas en el Teatro Español de Marid por la Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos los dias 26, 27, 28 y 29 de Junio de 1939*. Madrid: Servicios Tecnicos de las FET y JONS, 1939.

VVAA. *La Arquitectura Alemana Hoy.* Madrid: Bund Deutscher Architekten and Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1956.

VVAA. *Arquitectura en Regiones Devastadas*. Madrid: Mopu, 1987.

VVAA. *IIAS/IISA Administration and Service 1930-2005*. Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2005.

VVAA. *Continuidad del Arte Sacro, Catalogue*. Madrid: Movimiento de Arte Sacro and Minsiterio de Informacion y Turismo, 1958.

VVAA. *Conversaciones de Arquitectura Religiosa*. Barcelona: Patronato and COAB, 1963.

Wakeman, Rosemary, ed., *Themes in Modern European History since 1945*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2001.

Welles, Benjamin. *Spain, the Gentle Anarchy*. New York: Praeger, 1965.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Peter Baehr and Gordin C. Wells. New York: Penguin, 2002.

Wigley, Mark. *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995.

Willet, John. "The New Sobriety." In *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period*. New York: Da Capo Press,

1996.

Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

_____.*The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Winter, Ulrich, ed. *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el franquismo: representaciones literarias y visuales.* Madrid : Iberoamericana ; Frankfurt am Main : Vervuert, 2006

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*. London: Warburg Institute, 1949.

Wittrock, Bjorn. "Modernity: One, None, Many? European Origins and Modernity as a Global Condition." *Daedalus* 129:1 (2000), 31-60.

Woolf, Stuart. "Europe and its Historians." *Contemporary European History*, 12:3 (August 2003) 323-337.

Worringer, Wilhelm. *Abstraction and Empathy a contribution to the Psychology of Style*. Translated by Michael Bullock. New York: International Universities Press, 1953.

Zaera-Polo, Alejandro. "A Scientific Autobiography 1982–2004: Madrid, Harvard, OMA, the AA, Yokohama, the globe," *Rising Ambitions, Expanding Terrain: Realism and Utopianis. Harvard Design Magazine* 21 (2004)

Zevi, Bruno. *Towards an Organic Architecture*. London: Faber & Faber, 1950.

_____. *The Modern Language of Architecture*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978.

Zimmerman, Michael. *Heidegger's Confrontation with Modernity: Technology, Politics, and Art*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Zizek, Slavoj. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London; New York: Verso, 2008 [1989].